A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Da muss sich manches Rätsel lösen
Doch manches Rätsel knüpft sich auch.

Goethe, Faust.

A

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

INDO-GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

A CONCISE EXPOSITION

OF THE HISTORY

OF SANSKRIT, OLD IRANIAN (AVESTIC AND OLD PERSIAN), OLD ARMENIAN, GREEK, LATIN, UMBRO-SAMNITIC, OLD IRISH, GOTHIC, OLD HIGH GERMAN, LITHUANIAN AND OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

BY

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PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG.

VOLUME IV.

MORPHOLOGY, PART III:

VERBS: FORMATION OF THE STEM, AND INFLEXION OR CONJUGATION.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

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reviews and from private letters of fellow-scholars,[1]) among whom I would specially name Messrs. Conway, Holthausen, Leskien, Leumann, Osthoff, and Rouse. More detailed additions which should bring the first parts of the work up to date, I am obliged to forego, since thanks to the rapid progress of our science, whole paragraphs and pages would have to be remodelled. Naturally enough I am now in a position to improve upon many of the views I formerly exprest, particularly in the Phonology (Vol. I) publisht six years ago. Some of these I have expressly corrected, some tacitly. The reader should therefore consult in each case the explanation which I have given latest.

Leipzig, July 2. 1892.

K. BRUGMANN.

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1) Lith. *galù* ('I can') and the like forms are not misprints or oversights; see I § 26 p. 29. To avoid misunderstanding, I again call attention to the fact that while *for* (Ger. *aus*) denotes a regular phonetic connexion, *instead of* (Ger. *für*), denotes analogical substitution. Thus "*φιλοῦμεν* for *φιλέομεν*", but "Att. *δαίμοσι* instead of pr. Gr. **δαιμα-σι*".

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

When in 1889 I brought out the part of my work containing the account of Noun Morphology, I had in my mind, and partly on paper, a simpler plan for the remainder of the work than that which the reader has before him. I meant it to include the presentation of the forms of declension and conjugation, and little more. In view of the confusion and uncertainty that reigned in this department, where many questions of origin and history seemed utterly unsettled, I then thought it best to restrict the work to these limits; and I only hoped that perhaps after the lapse of years, if a second edition should be called for, the further developement of a science which had already made such rapid progress would have put me in a position to give a practical and useful history of Noun and Verb Inflexion. But in the course of my work I was gradually converted from this pessimism; the difficulties no longer seemed insurmountable; and I at length decided to attempt a more complete account, not merely exhibiting the results of the different developements, but even now as far as possible tracing their course. Thus the work grew; and thus it comes about that the size of the latter part is so greatly out of proportion to that of the former.

In giving up my first plan, I was influenced not a little by my belief, that from a comprehensive work such as this,

a work in which it is sought to present the facts and problems of language in connected form, more might reasonably be expected than what I had at first proposed. A student might fairly ask that the many questions which await an answer should not be simply avoided, but that some honest attempt should be made to advance a step towards their answering. It must surely be useful that he should not only read that which can be called certain, not only be taught well establisht facts, but that he should at the same time find the various problems and puzzles, with which the study of Indo-Germanic inflexion abounds, at least briefly mentioned and conveniently arranged. So will the scholar guard best against the mistake which not the best scholar is wholly free from, the danger that in trying to bring order and light into his palace of knowledge, he may leave some dark riddle unattempted, and only move it from one corner to another. If amidst these shifting theories I have often taken a decided stand, and declared myself for one or other of them, adding therewithal other and many new views and explanations, I am yet far from believing that I have placed beyond all doubt the view which I have preferred. In these matters to indicate a path for future research or simply to establish a prima facie case is far harder than most people think; and many a theory which seemed to be fixt on the firmest foundation and to offer no point to attack, has been broken down in the end. I can only hope that the mistakes which these volumes must inevitably contain, may help to supply the means for their own correction.

A few of my readers perhaps may wonder why certain new and some very recent theories upon Ablaut, proethnic Accent, formation of Roots and Suffixes, and other such atters, have in these last volumes been either altogether sregarded or only just glanced at. A good deal of the most ecent work I would indeed have included in this last volume

but that it had to be finisht in 1891.[1]) In other cases I saw before me hypotheses, which attractive as they are, and fruitful as they may prove to be, at the time of their publication were too slightly worked out by their authors, and had been too little tested to allow of my making them the basis of my own account. In this volume I have practically not touched the newest theories of Ablaut; I confess that I approach the glib and symmetrical systems of Ablaut Series (cp. Bartholomae in Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XVII 105) with very little confidence, and I must refer to what is said on this matter in Vol. I § 309. Even a question of Verb Morphology so important as the form of proethnic Roots (whether they were monosyllabic or not) I have left on one side; I believe neither the one thing nor the other, but only that in the present state of our knowledge we can know nothing about it. If in spite of this I have used hyphens freely, I would remind the reader that the hyphen means a real point of composition in such words as *Διόσ-κουροι*, *τοῦ-το*, *ἀνα-βάλλω*, *ἔ-φερον*, but in *ἄγ-ο-μεν* or *φέρ-ο-μεν* it only shows the etymological and morphological likeness of certain elements. And though I now as ever call *-ο-* in *ἄγ-ο-μεν* a suffix, I do not thereby commit myself to the statement that such elements were originally independent words. See I § 14 pp. 16 ff., II § 8 pp. 18 ff.

Whether in all these things I have been so happy as to hit the golden mean, scholars must decide. Bearing in mind

1) Since then I have had to do without any systematic examination and use of the new works which keep streaming in, or my book would never have come to an end. Only now and then have even the more important works been used, such as those of Bartholomae, Bechtel, Buck, Johansson, G. Meyer, Per Persson, von Planta, W. Schulze, Streitberg, and others; Streitberg's work Zur Germanischen Sprachgeschichte first reached me (in proof sheets) after my book was in print as far as the Additions and Corrections; in these I was able to make reference to it. However, I was glad to observe that I am in agreement with many others in matters not a few.

the paramount object of this work, I would rather be blamed for giving too little space to the newest speculations than give any reason for the reproach that I have allowed them too much.

A word is necessary as to the principle on which the labours of my fellow-workers have been cited or not cited in the text. Complaints have not been wanting that in giving various theories and views I have not always given the name of him who first suggested them, or mentioned others who before me had thought of much the same thing. My principle has been as a rule not to mention the originator of each view, or all those who *ante me mea scripsere*, except in such cases as Verner's Law, which I mention under his name. My book does not in the least aspire to be a compendious history of the new school of philology, or to display the part each of us has taken in the gathering of the spoil. Where reference is made in the text to the works of other scholars, this is done for practical ends and no other.

In these last two volumes I have had from Thurneysen the same generous and ready help as before in all that refers to Keltic. Here, as before, the reference to his advice in a few special paragraphs does not in any degree express my obligation to his aid. If the treatment of Irish questions (for I have rarely touched on the British dialects) is at all on a level with recent research, and sometimes even carried beyond it, this is due to Thurneysen. But I must again beg that he be not held responsible for any errors I may have made in using his communications, or for anything but the paragraphs in which his own words are given. I have also to thank Hübschmann for a number of communications on Armenian.

In the text a number of corrections (mostly in unimportant details) have been silently made, which I have received from

reviews and from private letters of fellow-scholars,[1]) among whom I would specially name Messrs. Conway, Holthausen, Leskien, Leumann, Osthoff, and Rouse. More detailed additions which should bring the first parts of the work up to date, I am obliged to forego, since thanks to the rapid progress of our science, whole paragraphs and pages would have to be remodelled. Naturally enough I am now in a position to improve upon many of the views I formerly exprest, particularly in the Phonology (Vol. I) publisht six years ago. Some of these I have expressly corrected, some tacitly. The reader should therefore consult in each case the explanation which I have given latest.

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The list of Additions and Corrections given in the concluding part of the German edition have been here put in their proper place in the text. Some few alterations have also been made, with Prof. Brugmann's sanction, by way of making clear what from its terseness might have been misunderstood. A list of misprints is given, but I fear there must be others: I hope that these will be forgiven, in view of the exceeding difficulty of correcting proof with so many different diacritic marks.

It may be well to point out that the word "Reduplicator" has been used as equivalent to Reduplicating Syllable or Syllable of Reduplication; and that "Phrase" has been extended to apply to a short complete sentence which fuses into a single word, as *ferē-bam*, *dātásmi* (see page 444).

In this volume as before I have to thank Mr. Conway for valuable help.

The Indices are nearly ready, and it is hoped they may be publisht along with this volume, or at least with small delay thereafter.

CHELTENHAM, July 17. 1894.

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Finite Verb. The other class consists of verbal nouns; the forms of the Infinitive (including the Supine), Gerund, and Participle (including the Gerundive). The last class is called the Verb Infinite.

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§ 461. The forms of the Finite Verb grew out of the connexion of subject and predicate. In the parent language, phrases made up of a word denoting some condition or action and a personal pronoun, used as a sentence in which the latter was subject and the former predicate, coalesced, and became a

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single word; this is the origin of all the finite verb-forms. The pronouns which specified the persons of whom the predication was made (it is these which we call the personal endings of the verb) always come second in these combinations; as in

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$e\underset{\frown}{i}$-mi (= Skr. *ē-mi* Gr. *εἶ-μι*), which consists of $\sqrt{}$*$e\underset{\frown}{i}$-* 'go' and *-mi*, a pronoun connected with Skr. *mā* Gr. *μὲ* 'me' (it will appear by and by that the *-i* of *-mi* originally was no part of

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v 133 ff. Ernault, Études bretonnes, vi: La conjugaison personelle et le verbe 'avoir', Rev. Celt. ix 245 ff.; vii: Sur l'analogie dans la conjugaison, *ibid.* xi 94 ff. Nettlau, Observations on the Welsh Verbs, Y Cymmrodor ix pp. 56 ff. Rhys, Notes etc., Revue Celt. vi 14 ff.

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Works dealing specially with the formation of Tense or Mood, or of Persons, and so forth, will be cited below in their proper place.

the first personal pronoun). Personal endings make the chief difference between Verbs and Nouns or Pronouns.

But it would be a mistake to explain all the Indo-Germanic personal endings which we find actually used as being without exception personal pronouns. Once the Verb was created by aid of real personal pronouns, forms of different origin might be associated with it, and used as though they had a personal pronoun tacked on to the end. In this way, to take an example, the Latin participial form *legi-minī* = Gr. λεγό-μενοι -μεναι was associated with the indicative *legor* etc. (see II § 71 p. 165); and the Romans felt no difference between *-minī* and *-mur* or *-ntur*. Again, many different languages employ infinitive forms, which are cases of *nomina actionis*, as imperatives used of a particular person. In the same way it is probable that some of the personal endings which have come down from the parent language were not really personal pronouns to begin with.

Another point is to be noticed. There are some forms without any personal ending at all which have been used like genuine verbal forms from the parent language onwards. The 2nd sing. imperative pr. Idg. **bhere* (= Skr. *bhára* Gr. φέρε etc.) is simply the present stem. It must be a survival from the time when tense-stems could be used as independent words. Undoubtedly **bhere* had at first a wider use, which narrowed by degrees to the use which it must have had ever since the end of the proethnic period. In the end, the form was quite clearly marked off from all others of its verbal system by the absence of any inflexion, in the same way as the voc. ἵππε or the nom. χώρᾱ were distinguished from all other of their associated cases (see III § 186 pp. 62, 63).

Remark. Although personal endings were a *sine qua non* for the use of a verb form as an ordinary sentence (except **bhere* and a few others like it), or as a copula in a sentence, still a sentence could exist without them. At all periods, the Indo-Germanic languages have used sentences that had no finite verb at all. See Paul, Principien[2] pp. 99 ff.

§ 462. The Verb Infinite consisted of noun forms, chiefly *nomina agentis* or *actionis*. The difference between these and nouns in the ordinary sense is that these share in certain verbal peculiarities; they have tense, they distinguish between momentary, continuous, or inceptive actions, they have voice, and can govern nouns. The participles were already a large and ramifying group in the parent language; and time has brought about no important change in them. But most of the forms classed as infinitives have arisen since the proethnic period came to an end.

The distinction between the finite verb and the verb infinite is not always kept; for, as we saw in § 461, forms of the latter kind sometimes came to be used in the same way as forms with genuine personal endings. Nor is a line always drawn between the verb infinite and nouns; this we saw in vol. II § 144 pp. 456 f., and § 156 pp. 470 f.

The forms of the Verb Infinite have been discussed under the head of Stem-Formation and Inflexion, so far at least as concerns their formative and inflexional suffixes. We have now to examine the points which mark them as members of a verbal system, connecting, for example, *λείπων* with *λείπω*, *λιπών* with *ἔλιπον*, *λείψων* with *λείψω*. But for convenience' sake verbal nouns will be only cited now and then while we deal with the various groups of the verb infinite, and the whole of them will be afterwards collected and examined in detail.

Verbal Compounds, such as would be formed by joining a real verb-stem to a form of the finite verb, and would answer to O.Pers. *hama-pitā* = Gr. *ὁμο-πάτωρ* among noun compounds, never existed as a distinct category, either in the later stages of the parent language, or since. The only exceptions are reduplicated verb forms such as Skr. *dár-darti* 'he bursts, breaks to pieces', so far as these can rightly be called compounds (§ 464). We must however not forget that the reduplication of uninflected "roots" was certainly older, on

the whole, than the fusion of roots with personal pronouns into verbal forms.

Whether the tense sign *-s-* in Gr. δείκ-σω ἔ-δεικ-σα etc. was the verb subst. *es-*; whether *-dh-* in Skr. *sá-dhati* Gr. ἔσθω (√ *ed-*) ἔ-σχε-θον O.C.Sl. *i-dą* etc. is the verb *dhē-* 'τιθέναι'; and whether these originally acted as auxiliaries, are questions which must be left alone. Even if this be the truth about them, they must have sunk to the level of inflexions long before the end of the proethnic period, and they could no longer be the type for compounds consisting of verb + verb.

Nor do we find in the periods for which there is direct evidence either noun stems compounded with genuine verb forms, or genuine verbal stems compounded with nouns. We cannot class under the second head words like Gr. ἀρχέ-κακος (from ἄρχω), ἐπιχαιρέ-κακος (from επιχαίρω), Στησ-αγόρης (from ἔ-στησα), H.G. *wetz-stein* 'whetstone' *melk-fass* 'milkpail' (from *wetze*, *melke*). These are due merely to a perversion or interpretative corruption, and the imitation of older compounds which had a noun stem for the first member. They are not real compounds of a verbal stem with a noun. See II § 30 pp. 51 ff., § 41 pp. 74 f., § 47 p. 86.[1])

Forms of the finite verb are clearly seen in composition only in the following classes of words; and here too one of the two parts has usually sunk to a kind of suffix or prefix.

1. A Verb form is compounded with Adverbial words; as Gr. ἄπ-ειμι Lat. *ab-eo*, Lat. *ne-scio*, pr. Idg. **é-dr̥ḱom* = Gr. ἔ-δρακον (I regard the augment as a temporal particle); Pruss. *quoitī-lai* 'he may wish, he might wish', pr. Idg. **bhéret-u* Skr. *bhárat-u*, — and also *-i* in **bhéret-i *bhéres-i* (beside **bhéret *bhéres*) was probably a demonstrative particle.

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1) There is a new essay by W. Christ, Abhängigkeitskomposita des Griechischen, Berichte der k. bayer. Akad., 1890 pp. 187 ff. I cannot agree with the theory for which Christ takes up the cudgels again (pp. 184 ff.), that Ἀγέ-λαος arose from the imperative phrase ἄγε λαόν, and that ἀρχι-θέωρος came from ἀρχε-θέωρος by phonetic change of ε to ι.

2. A Verb form is compounded with a Case, being itself the final member of the compound. The case, at the time of combination, was either a living case, or some kind of infinitive. Examples: Skr. *dātā́smi* (periphrastic future) for *dātā́ asmi* 'dator sum', Lat. *possum* for *potis sum*, *vēnun-do vēnum-do pessun-do*, Lat. *ārē-bam āre-facio* O.C.Sl. *nesě-achu* (III § 275 p. 177), Fr. *aimerai* (O.Fr. *amerai*) for *amāre habeo*, Lith. opt. 1st pl. *sùktum-bime*, etc.

The line between these two classes is not absolutely fixed, as we see from such words as Skr. *astam-ēti* 'goes down' (of the sun), which has for its first part *ásta-m* 'to one's house, home'.

Remark. There is no class of Verbal Compounds answering to Class I of Noun Compounds (*ὁμο-πάτωρ*), which might have been a model for later formations. It seems therefore best not to give a special chapter to Verb Compounds, as was done to Nouns, but to describe the various kinds in the place they most naturally come, along with the Tenses, the Personal Endings, or as it may be.

One point, however, should be touched on here. It is a matter of wider interest, and well illustrates an important principle of word-formation. When a sentence becomes a single word, it may be treated like a simple word, and it may be inflected or otherwise modified just as the simple word can. Lith. *dů̃-k* 'give' *eĩ-k* 'go' (both imperative), consisting of the 2nd sing. **dů̃* (cp. Lat. *ce-do*) and **ei* + the particle *-k*, are the foundation for a 2nd pl. *dũkite*, *eĩkite* etc.; and again *eĩksz* 'come here', which itself is *eĩ-k* + *szè* 'here', produced *eĩksz-te*. Pruss. *quoitī-lai* 'he might wish' (*lai* = O.C.Sl. *li* 'vel, aut') suggested the 2nd sing. *quoitī-lai-si* and 2nd pl. *quoitīlai-ti*. Slav. *daj-mi* and Mod. Gr. *δός-μου* 'give me' produced the 2nd pl. *daj-mi-te* and *δός-μου-τε*. Of the same kind were Gr. 3rd pl. *ἀγέτω-ν ἀγέτω-σαν* (2nd sing. *ἐλθετῶ-ς* Hesych). Lat. 2nd pl. *agitō-te*, since Idg. **aĝe-tōd* was a compound of the imperative **aĝe* with the adv. (abl.) **tōd* 'thence, then'. Also, according to Osthoff and Bugge, Gr. *δεδώκαμεν δεδώκατε*; they explain *δέδωκε* as **δεδω* = Skr. *dadā(u)* + the particle *κε* = Lat. *ce* in *cedo*. Analogous forms of nouns or pronouns are: Gr. *οὗτο-ς αὕτη* acc. *τοῦτο-ν* Boeot. *οὗτο-ν* etc., formed from the nom. **οὗ-το* **αὗ-το*, whose second part was a particle (cf. O.C.Sl. *kŭ-to* 'who'), see II § 4 p. 9, III § 415 p. 337; Mid. Ir. instr. pl. *donafī-b* built up on O.Ir. *donaib-(h)ī*, see footnote on page 357; O.H.G. gen. *deses* dat. *desemo* following *de-se* 'this' with the particle *se*, see III § 414 pp. 335 f.; Skr. dat. *asmá-bhyam* Lesb. nom. *ἄμμε-ς* following acc. **n̥s-me* (Lesb. *ἄμμε*) with the particle *sme*, see § 436 pp. 367 f., § 443 p. 379; Pol. gen. sing. *sztukamięsy* following nom. *sztukamięsa* 'a piece of meat', where *mięsa* is the gen. of *mięso*.

REDUPLICATED VERB-FORMS.

Reduplication, the repetition of a word or other element of speech with the same grammatical force, to express that an action or state is repeated, or to intensify it, is certainly older than the modes of forming cases or parts of the finite verb which we actually see in use. It had at first no special connexion with either verbs or nouns, but was used with both; verb types such as Skr. *dár-dar-ti* 'it bursts, breaks up' *da-dhṛṣ-imá* 'we have ventured' *ci-kit-ē* 'he knows', and noun types like Skr. *dar-dar-a-s* 'broken' *da-dhṛṣ-á-s* 'venturesome, bold' *ci-kít* 'knowing' may have been formed quite independently of each other. Compare II § 6 pp. 12 ff., § 51 ff. pp. 94 ff.[1])

Root reduplication in verbs came to be very important, and this very early in the history of the parent language, because it was turned to account in the formation of tenses.

1) Works on Reduplication in general have been cited in the footnote to vol. II page 12. On Verbal Reduplication see the following. A. Williams, On Verb-Reduplication as a Means of Expressing Completed Action, Transactions of the Amer. Phil. Assoc., 1875 pp. 54 ff. Pauli, Das praeteritum reduplicatum der idg. Sprachen und der deutsche Ablaut, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XII 50 ff. Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfects, pp. 264 ff. and *passim*. — Ernault, Du parfait en grec et en latin, pp. 1 ff. — Ebel, Reduplicierte Aoriste im Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. II 46 ff. — Von der Pfordten, Zur Gesch. des griech. Perf., pp. 42 ff. — Deecke, De reduplicato linguae Latinae praeterito, Lips. 1869. — Stokes, Reduplication im altir. Verbum, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 396 ff. Windisch, Das reduplicierte Perfectum im Ir., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 201 ff. — A. Moller, Die reduplicierenden Verba im Deutschen als abgeleitete Verba, eine etymologische Untersuchung, Potsdam 1866. Scherer, Die reduplicierten Praeterita, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn. XXIV 295 ff., and Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. XIX 154 ff., 390 ff. Sievers, Die reduplicierten Präterita, Paul-Braune's Beitr. I 504 ff. Pokorny, Über die redupl. Praet. der germ. Sprachen und ihre Umwandlung in ablautende, Landskron 1874. Holthausen, Die reduplicierenden Verba im Germ., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 618 ff. Hoffory, Die reduplicierten Praeterita im Altnord., *ibid.* 593 ff. — See also the works cited under the head of Tense-stems.

It was used to distinguish various kinds of action, and also the time at which the action took place. For these purposes Reduplication was very widely used, not only in the parent language but in most of its offshoots far on into the historical period. The wide use of verbal reduplication gave great impulse to similar reduplication in nouns. Noun-reduplication was at first a principle not very active or far-reaching; but thus reinforced it lasted much longer than it would have done, and in later times, under the influence of reduplicated forms in the verb infinite, reduplicated noun-forms appeared again where the proethnic reduplicated type had lost all its reproductive power. Examples are Gr. *κεκρᾱγ-μό-ς* (Eur.) *κέκρᾱγ-μα* (Aristoph.) 'cry, outcry', *κεκρᾱ́κ-τη-ς* 'one who cries aloud' (Aristoph.) beside *κε-κρᾱγ-ώς κέ-κρᾱγ-α*, *πεποίϑ-ησι-ς* 'trust' (Josephus, Philo) beside *πε-ποιϑ-ώς πέ-ποιϑ-α*, Mod.H.G. *zitterig* 'tremulous' beside *zittere* 'I tremble' = pr. Germ. **ti-trō-mi*.

§ **465.** The following Idg. types may be distinguished, according to the form of the reduplication:

I. Root-syllable and reduplication-syllable show the same vowel, or two ablaut-grades of the same vowel.

a. The Root begins and end in a consonant, and the syllable of reduplication, or Reduplicator, ends in a consonant which is taken from the final of the Root (we count as consonants the second part of the diphthongs *a̯i a̯u* and so forth). Of this there are three varieties; the first being a fairly exact reduplication, the second replacing a liquid by a nasal in the reduplicator, and the third inserting *ī̆*.

1. Aryan. Sanskrit *bad-badhḗ* 3rd sing. of *bādh-* 'press', *dár-dar-ṣi* 2nd sing. of *dar-* (√‿ *der-*) 'split, break', *tar-tūr-ya-ntē* 3rd pl. of *tar-* (√‿ *ter-*) 'pass over', *vár-vr̥t-ati* 3rd pl. of *vart-* (√‿ *u̯ert-*) 'vertere', *mar-mr̥j-yá-tē* 3rd sing. of *marj-* (√‿ *merĝ-*) 'wipe'. *janə-ghan-ti* 3rd sing. of *han-* (√‿ *ghen-*) 'strike, kill', *nam-namī-ti* 3rd sing. of *nam-* (√‿ *nem-*) 'bend', *dán-daś-āna-s* partic. of *daś-* (√‿ *daⁿn̂k̂-*) 'bite', *jañ-jabh-yá-tē* 3rd sing. of *jambh-* (√‿ *ĝembh-*) 'snap'. *vē-vē-ti* 3rd sing. of *vī-* 'appetere', *vē-vī-ya-tē* 3rd sing. of *vī-* 'flutter', *nē-nik-tē* 3rd

sing. of *nij-* (√ *neiĝ-*) 'wash'. *nō-nu-mas* 1[st] pl. of *nu-* 'cry out', *cō-ṣkū-yá-tē* 3[rd] sing. of *sku-* 'cover', *śō-śuc-āna-s* partic. of *śuc-* 'light, brighten', *a-nō-nud-ya-nta* 3[rd] pl. of *nud-* 'push'. Avestic *car'-ker'-mahi* 1[st] pl. of *kar-* 'think of' (Skr. imper. *ca-kṛ-dhi*). *daẹ-dōiš-t* 3[rd] sing. of *dis-* (√ *deiḱ-*) 'show' (Skr. 3[rd] sing. *dē-diṣ-ṭē*). *zao-zao-mī* 1[st] sing. of *zu-* 'call' (Skr. *jō-havī-mi*).

Greek πορ-φύρ-ω 'I move restlessly' for *-φυρ-ιω: cp. Skr. *jár-bhurī-ti* 'moves convulsively, throbs, palpitates'. μορ-μύρω 'I roar, murmur' for *-μυρ-ιω: cp. Lat. *murmurāre*, O.H.G. *murmurōn* (§ 595). γαρ-γαίρ-ω 'I swarm' for *-γαρ-ιω (γάργαρα neut. pl. 'swarm'). γαγ-γαίνειν· τὸ μετὰ γέλωτος προσπαίζειν Hesych. (Schmidt conjectures γαγγανεύειν): cp. O.C.Sl. *gą-gnają* 'I murmur, growl' (adj. *gągnivŭ*). παμ-φαίνω 'I shine clearly' for *-φαν-ιω, Epic partic. παμφανόων; the root was *bhā-*, and the nasal of the verb was therefore a present-suffix, see §§ 601, 611. ᾄττω Hom. ἀΐσσω 'rush, run at something i. e. *ϝαι-ϝικ-ιω (I § 96 p. 90, § 131 pp. 119 f.) may be connected with Skr. *vē-vij-yá-tē* (*vij-* 'quicken, burst out') by assuming an Idg. *u̯a^x i̯q-u̯a^x i̯g-* (cp. I § 469. 7 p. 346).

Remark. The origin of αι and οι is obscure in the reduplicating syllable of the following words: μαι-μάω, παι-φάσσω, παι-πάλλω, δαι-δύσσεσθαι ('ἕλκεσθαι' Hesych.), ποι-φύσσω, ποι-πνύω and others. The *i*-diphthong recals a reduplicative *i* in Skr. *bhári-bhr-ati* and in Skr. *bí-bhar-ti* Gr. γί-γνο-μαι. See § 473 Rem. p. 17.

Latin. *mur-murāre* (*murmur*): cp. Gr. μορμύρω O.H.G. *murmurōn*. *tin-tinnāre tin-tināre*, *tin-tinnīre* beside *tinnīre*.

Keltic. Mid. Ir. *der-drethar* 'there is a sound, or a cry', *s*-pret. *derdrestar*, cp. II § 52 pp. 94, 95.

Germanic. O.H.G. *mur-murōm mur-mulōm* 'I murmur' (Mid.H.G. *murmer murmel* 'murmur, growl'): cp. Gr. μορμύρω Lat. *murmurāre*. O.H.G. *rērēm* 'I bleat, bellow, roar', pr. Germ. 1[st] sing. **rai̯-rēi̯ō*, cp. Litt. *rė́ju* 'I bellow'. This verb changed its inflexion on the analogy of verbs like pr. Germ. **þulē-i̯ō* (Goth. *þula* O.H.G. *dolēm*), see §§ 592, 708, 739; hence A.S. *rārian*, with the same change to the 2[nd] weak conjugation as is seen in *ðolian* and some others.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *glagolją* 'I speak' for **gol-golją* (*glagolŭ* 'word'); *mrŭmŭrją* 'I gnaw, nibble'; *gągnają* 'I murmur, growl', cp. above, Gr. *γαγγαίνειν*.

§ **466.** 2. The reduplicating syllable has a Nasal instead of a Liquid; see I § 282 p. 226. Skr. *cañ-cūryatē* 'moves quickly or repeatedly'. Gr. *γογ-γύλλω* 'I round' (*γόγγυλο-ς* 'round'), *τον-θορίζω* 'I murmur'. Lat. *gin-grīre*.

This nasal reduplication passed on from roots ending in a nasal (see § 465) or a liquid to a few others: as Skr. *jañjap-yátē* from *jap-* 'whisper, say half-aloud', *dandahīti dandahyatē* from *dah-* 'burn' (which seemed natural in Skr. after such a form as *dan-daś-* from √ *deñk̂-* 'bite'), Gr. *γογ-γύζω* 'I growl'.

§ **467.** 3. In Sanskrit, *i* or *ī* is often inserted between the reduplicating syllable and the root; the Vedic language has *ī* before single consonants, *i* before more than one (compare Wackernagel, Das Dehnungsgesetz, p. 18). E. g. *bhári-bhr-ati* 3rd pl. of *bhar-* 'carry', *várī-vr̥j-at-* partic. of *varj-* 'turn, twist', *ghániī-ghn-at-* partic. of *han-* 'strike, kill', *ganī-gan-ti* 3rd sing. *gáni-gm-at-* partic. of *gam-* 'go', *kani-krad-yá-māna-* partic. of *krand-* 'bellow', *návī-nō-t* 3rd sing. of *nu-* 'cry out'.

Where *-ī-* comes after the root syllable, *-ī-* is never found after the syllable of reduplication; thus we have only *nō-navī-* and *navī-nō-*.

Forms with an aspirate at the beginning of the reduplicator, such as *bhári-bhr-ati ghání-ghn-at-*, are the older and are phonetically correct; but those like *dávi-dhv-at-* and *pánī-phaṇ-at-* have been altered, the former from **dhávi-dhv-at-* following *dō-dhavī-ti* (cp. I § 480 pp. 354 f.), the latter from **phánī-phaṇ-at-* following *pam-phaṇ-at-* (cp. I § 475 p. 350). Thus at a later stage we find *barī-bhar-ti* instead of *bhárī-bhar-ti* too.

How to regard this *ī* is not quite clear. Thus much, however, seems to me certain, that it is the same as an *ī*,

also of varying quantity, which characterises Class III of our reduplicated forms; and I shall give in the Remark to § 473 a conjecture as to its origin.

§ **468.** 4. Gr. *ἐγρή-γορα* 'I am awake' has the suffix *-ē-* in the reduplicating syllable after the root (§§ 587 ff.), cp. *ἐγρή-σσω* 'I am awake', beside *ἔγρ-ε-το* 'awoke', *ἐγείρω* 'I arouse' for **ἐγερ-ι̯ω*. Perhaps the same *-ē-* is contained in Skr. *carā-* *-cará-s* 'going far away', *ghanā-ghaná-s* 'killing easily' and similar words (cp. *sarī-sr̥pá-s* 'creeping, crawling' and the like).

§ **469.** *b.* The Root begins and ends in a consonant, and contains an *i-* or *u-*diphthong. This diphthong is represented in the reduplicator by *i* and *u* sonant, sometimes *ī* and *ū*, not followed by any consonant. Skr. *bi-bhē-mi* 'I fear' 3rd dual *bi-bhi-tas* partic. *bí-bhy-at* conj. 3rd sing. *bī-bhay-a-t*, O.H.G. *bi-bē-m* 'I shake'. Skr. *dī́-dhy-ē* 'I behold', Avest. *dī-đaẽiti* 'beholds'. Skr. pret. *a-ci-kṣip-a-t* from *kṣip-* 'throw', *a-rī-riṣ-a-t* from *riṣ-* 'be hurt'. Skr. desid. *ti-tik-ṣa-tē* from *tij-* 'be sharp'. Gr. *πι-πί-σκω* 'I give to drink': cp. Skr. 2nd pl. *pi-py-a-ta* 2nd sing. *pī-pi-hí* (*pī-* 'make overflow, give plenty to drink'). *δίζομαι* 'I seek, strive' (orig. 'gaze at something') for **δι-δι̯-ο-μαι* (on *δίζημαι* see § 594): cp. Skr. 2nd sing. *di-dī-hí* 3rd pl. *dī-dy-ati*, *dī-* 'shine, be bright' (*ácha dī-* 'direct one's mind to'). Goth. *rei-rái-þ* 'shakes, trembles': cp. Skr. *lē-lā́ya-ti* 'moves, trembles' with reduplication of the type of *a* (1) above (§ 465); the inflexion *reira reiráis* etc. is explained by the analogy of verbs like *þaha* 'taceo', see §§ 592, 708, 739. Skr. *ju-hṓ-ti* 'offers', pret. *a-cu-krudh-a-t* from *krudh-* 'grow angry', *a-dū-duṣ-a-t* from *duṣ-* 'grow bad, perish', desid. *bu-bhut-sa-ti* from *budh-* 'wake, learn'.

Remark 1. Despite such forms as Skr. *śi-śu-ṣ a-pi-plav-a-m* Gr. *τι-τύσκομαι πι-φαύσκω* (cp. II § 52 Rem. p. 97), I yet believe that where the *i*-roots had originally *i* in the reduplication, *u*-roots had *u*. The palatal consonant in the reduplicator of verbs whose root initial is a velar consonant does not prove that *ju-hṓ-ti* is instead of **ji-hṓ-ti*, *a-cu-* *-krudh-a-t* instead of **a-ci-krudh-a-t*, or *bu-bhut-sa-ti* instead of **bi-bhut-* *-sa-ti* (cp. *bí-bhar-ti a-pi-spr̥ś-a-t* etc., § 473); for *ku-* may have become *cu-* on the analogy (say) of *a-ci-krad-a-t*, and of perfect forms such a *cu-krōdha cu-krudhur* where *cu-* is instead of **ca-* = Idg. **qe-* (cp. Rem. 2).

Remark 2. *i* or *u* in the reduplicator of perfects like the following is not original: Skr. *ri-rḗca cu-krṓdha i-yā́ja u-vā́ca* Lat. *sci-cidī tu-tudī*, O.Ir. *ro chuala* for **cu-clova*, see § 851, 868, 878.

§ **470.** *c*. The Root begins in a sonant and ends in a consonant, and so also the Reduplicator.

1. Roots ending in a single consonant. Skr. *ál-ar-ti* 'moves', *ām-am-a-t* 'he was hurt'. Armen. *ar-ar-i* 'I made' (pres. *ar̃-ne-m*), beside Gr. *ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω* 'I join to', *ἤρ-αρ-ο-ν ἀρ-αρ-εῖν*; perf. *ἄρ-āρ-α*. Gr. *ἤγ-αγ-ο-ν ἀγ-αγ-εῖν* from *ἄγω* 'I lead', *ὤρ-ορ-ο-ν ὀρ-ορ-εῖν* from *ὄρ-νῡμι* 'I arouse', perf. *ὄρ-ωρ-α* 'I have arisen, I move', *ὄπ-ωπ-α* 'I have seen, see'.

2. Where roots end in two consonants, only the first appears in the reduplicator (cp. Skr. *vár-vart-ti* from √*u̯ert-* etc., § 465). Gr. *ἄλ-αλκ-ε* 'he warded off'. Skr. perf. *ān-ą́śa* (pres. *aś-nṓ-ti* 'attains' for **n̥k̑-*) O.Ir. perf. *t-ānac* 'I came' (*-c-* for *-nc-*) Gr. aor. *ἐν-εγκ-εῖν* 'to bring' (cp. Skr. *ānā́śa* Gr. *κατ-ήνοκα* § 846), Skr. perf. *ān-áñja* (*añj-* 'anoint'). On the analogy of these perfects arose in Sanskrit *ān-arca* (*arc-* 'shine, praise'), see § 851.

§ **471.** II. The reduplicating syllable ends in *e* or *ē*, no matter to what vowel grade the root belongs. This was the kind of reduplication used for the Perfect and for certain classes of the Present and Aorist, both in the parent language and later. I have by no means convinced myself that *ĕ̄* belonged originally only to forms with *ĕ̄* in the root syllable, and that it was the echo of the root; nor that its use with other roots is due to analogy. See § 473, Remark.

First, forms with *e* short in the reduplication.

Perfect. Skr. *ba-bhū́va* Gr. *πε-φύᾱσι*, √*bheu̯-* 'become, be'. Skr. *ta-sthimá* Gr. *ἕ-σταμεν* Lat. *ste-timus*, √*stā* 'stand'. Gr. *πέ-πāγα πέ-πηγα* Lat. *pe-pigī* Goth. *fai-fāh*, √*pāk̑- pāĝ-* 'make fast'. Gr. *γέ-γευμαι* O.Ir. *do-roigu* for **-ró-gegu* (§ 878), √*ĝeus-* 'taste, try, enjoy'. Gr. *λέ-λοιπα*, √*leiq-* 'leave'. O.Lat. *pe-pugī*. By late re-formation, as has been pointed out (§ 469, Rem. 2), we get Skr. *ri-rḗca cu-krṓdha i-yā́ja u-vā́ca* Lat. *sci-cidī pu-pugī tu-tudī*, O.Ir. *ro chuala*.

Pr. Ar. **sa-zd-* (= Avest. *hazd-*) became Skr. *sēd-*, e. g. 1st pl. *sēdimá* (I § 591 p. 447), and pr. Ar. **i̯a-i̯t-* became Skr. *yēt-*, as mid. *yēt-ē* (Avest. 1st pl. act. *yaēþ-ma*). *ē*, which here and in similar examples is regular, spread by analogy, and thus we get *pētimá* instead of *pa-pt-imá* (the older form, used along with the later), √ *pat-* 'fly, fall', and *nēśimá*, from √ *naś-* 'be destroyed'. Then again *ē* in Irish arose by compensatory lengthening, as perf. *ro gēnar* 'natus sum' for **ge-gn-* (√ *ĝen-*), see I § 523 p. 380, § 620 p. 467. Lat. *sēdimus* might be derived from **se-zdimus* (I § 594 p. 450), and *lēgimus vēnimus* be explained on the same principle as Skr. *pētimá*. But of Germ. forms like Goth. *sētum* (*sat* 'I sat') *mētum* (*mat* 'I measured') *qēmum* (*qam* 'I came'), and of Lith. forms like part. *sė́d-ęs* (*sė́du* 'I sit') *bė́g-ęs* (*bė́gu* 'I run') *kė̃l-ęs* (*kelù* i. e. **kel--i̯ù* 'I lift') *vė́m-ęs* (*vemiù* 'I break wind'), there is none which can be due to compensatory lengthening in these several languages. We must therefore assume that here the unreduplicated root with Idg. *ē*, the 3rd strong grade of the *e*-series, acted as the weak stem for the perfect. This form of the root is quite clearly the perfect stem in Skr. *sāh-vás-* beside pres. *sáh-a-ti* = Idg. **sēĝh-e-ti*, and in O.Ir. *ro mīdar* 'iudicavi' beside Gr. μήδ-ε-ται, and others. See § 480 Rem., and § 494. *mēt-* in Goth. *mētum* must therefore be identified with O.Ir. *mīd-* Gr. μηδ-. Weak reduplicated stems often became hard to pronounce; and hence they were often exchanged for this kind of unreduplicated form in the Germanic and Baltic branches, and perhaps in Latin too. See further in §§ 848 and 893.

The discovery of these doublet stems in the Idg. perfect, *se-zd-* and *sēd-*, makes it anything but certain that **ēd-* was a contraction of reduplicated **e-ed-* in Skr. *ādima* Lat. *ēdimus* Goth. *-ētum* Lith. *ė́dęs* O.C.Sl. *jadŭ* (from √ *ed-* 'eat'). **ēd-* may have been a stem like **sēd-*; and this to me seems more likely to be true. See § 848. 3.

Present and Aorist. Skr. 3rd pl. *sa-śc-ati* 3rd sing. *sá-śc-a-ti* Gr. ἕ-σπ-οιτο, √ *seq-* 'sequi'. Gr. εἶπ-α (Gort. προ-

-ϝειπάτω) stem Idg. **ṷe-ṷq-*, Skr. *á-vōc-a-t* Gr. ἔ-ειπ-ο-ν stem Idg. **ṷe-ṷq-o-*, √‾ *ṷeq-* 'speak' (cp. §§ 557, 561).

§ **472.** *ē* is less frequent than *e* in the reduplicator. Many perfects in the Vedas have *ā* = Idg. *ē*, as *dā-dhāra* (*dhar-* 'hold'), *mā-mr̥jur* (*marj-* 'wipe'), *vā-vaśur* (*vaś-* 'desire'); an example of this kind in Avestic is Gāthic 3rd sing. *vā-ver^ezōi* (*var^ez-* 'work').

The same *ā* is found in Intensives through all periods of Sanskrit; e. g. *dā-dhar-ti* beside *dar-dhar-ti*, *bā-badh-ē* beside *bad-badh-ē* (*bādh-* 'press, oppress'), *pā-pac-ya-tē* (*pac-* 'cook'). A similar agreement between the reduplicators of the perfect and the present intensive is seen in perf. *dī-dhay-a* and pres. intens. *dī-dhē-ti*, from *dhī-* 'think'. It is obvious that the closely allied in meaning of the completed perfect (or present perfect) and the intensive had some part in the spread of reduplicating *ā* in the Vedic perfect.

Analogous Greek forms are the perfect ἐγή-γερ-μαι from √‾ *ger-* 'awake', which agrees with Skr. *jā-gār-a jā-gr̥-vás-* (present *jā-gar-ti jā-gr̥-hí*), and the Homeric present δη-δέχ-αται 'they welcome' (§ 560).

Remark. Some have wished to see this redupl. *ē* in other Greek perfects. But the view is unsafe. See the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 131 p. 164. Nothing much is proved by Cret. ἀπ-ήσταλκε (Cauer, Del.² no. 132. 5) and ἤ-γραττα ἠ-γραμμένος (J. Baunack, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1887, col. 60; Th. Baunack, Philologus XLIX 594), since it is very doubtful whether they come from *ση-στελ- and *γη-γραφ- (cp. § 476, Rem. 2).

§ **473.** III. The Reduplicator ends in *i* or *ī*, the Root having a different vocalism. This is the prevailing mode, and has been since proethnic times, with certain classes of aorist and present stems. I am very far from satisfied with the view that this *ĭ* originally was used only with roots containing *i* (as Skr. *bi-bhē-ti*, type I *b*. § 469), which it merely echoed, and that it only spread to other roots by analogy.

Remark. The *ĭ* of Skr. *á-ji-jana-t bi-bhar-ti* Gr. γί-γνο-μαι, as has been said in § 467 pp. 13 f., I would identify with *ĭ* in the Skr. intensives *bhári-bhar-ti bhári-bhr-ati* etc. These and the like reduplicative syllables may once have had a real independence, and *-ī -ĭ* may have been some inflexion, perhaps a case ending. These were doubtless

sentences of the same kind as Lith. *dektè dẽga* 'it burns up clear' (§ 260. p. 161), Umbr. *subocau suboco* 'invoco invocatione, I appeal appealingly'; for similar phrases from other languages, see Pott, Doppelung, 151 ff.

If this is correct, the *ĭ* of **ĝĭ-ĝen-* and similar forms originally came from roots ending in a vowel, such as **dĭ-dō-* (δίδωμι), **dhĭ-dhē-* (τίθημι). When the cohesion between the parts had become so firm that the *ĭ*-case was regarded as being simply a "reduplication", — this idea was greatly encouraged by the use of real reduplications of the type of I *b*, as **bhĭ-bhai̯-* **bhĭ-bhĭ-* — two results might follow: (1) forms like **ĝĭ-ĝen-* **bhĭ-bher-* came into existence, and (2) with roots beginning in a sonant a simple *ĭ* was used for reduplicating, e. g. **ĭ* + *oq-* becoming **iq-* (Skr. *īk-* Gr. ἰπ-) even in the parent speech, and such forms as Skr. *íy-arti* Gr. ἰ-αύω (see p. 19). Further, (3) in Sanskrit, or perhaps earlier still, the use of (say) *tarĭ-* and *tar-* as variant reduplicators (*tari-tr-at-* and *tar-tarī-ti tár-tur-āṇa-s*) led to the making of *marī-mr̥j-* (instead of **marjĭ-mr̥j-*) beside *mar-mr̥j-*, and the like. Does αι in Gr. μαι-μάω παι-φάσσω παι-πάλλω etc. represent another case ending, and are the words formed on the same principle as we are supposing these with -*ĭ* to be? If so, ο in the οι of ποι-πνύω ποι-φύσσω must be ascribed to the influence of πορ-φύρω μορ-μύρω γογ- -γύλλω etc.; for παι-φάσσω : γαρ-γαίρω = ποι-φύσσω : μορ-μύρω.[1])

If this be really the origin of redupl. *ĭ*, the question arises whether *e* and *ē* in words like Gr. πε-φύᾱσι and ἐγρή-γερμαι Skr. *jā-gā́ra* (type II, see §§ 471—2) may not be the case-ending of a root noun. As before, we should have to start from roots ending in a vowel, from groups such as *dē* + *dō-* (Gr. δέ-δωκα Skr. *da-dāú*).

Skr. *ti-ṣṭh-a-ti* Gr. ἵ-στη-μι Lat. *si-stō* O.Ir. *do-airissid* (I § 109 e p. 103, § 516 p. 377) O.H.G *se-stōm* (pr. Germ. **si-stō-mi*, I § 35 p. 35), √*stā-* 'stand'. Skr. *bí-bhar-ti* Gr. [illegible] (§§ 539, 542), √*bher-* 'ferre'. Skr. *jī́-jan-a-t á-ji-jan-a-t* Gr. γί-γν-ο-μαι Lat. *gi-gn-ō* O.Ir. *gi-gnid*, √*ĝen-* 'beget'. In Sanskrit thematic aorists the quantity fluctuated; *i* before more than one consonant, and before a single consonant when a long syllable followed; *ī* before a single consonant followed by a short syllable (cp. Wackernagel, Dehnungsg. p. 18); e. g. *á-pi-spr̥ś-a-t* (*sparś-* 'touch') and *á-di-dīkṣ-a-t* (*dīkṣ-* 'be consecrated'), but *á-jī-jan-a-t*. Greek has ῑ only in πῑ́-πτ-ω 'I fall' (cp. Skr. *á-pī-pat-a-t*); but here ῑ may have been borrowed from ῥῑ́-πτω, which was connected

1) Another explanation of this *ĭ* is given by Per Persson, Stud. zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung, p. 216 footnote 1. Per Persson's is really not very different from mine.

with it in meaning; if so, it is no example of the principle we are discussing.

Presents with *-s-* (§§ 666 ff.). Skr. *ji-jñā-sa-tē* from *jñā-* 'learn, know', *dí-dā-sa-ti dí-tsa-ti* from *dā-* 'give', *mī-mą̄-sa-tē* from *man-* 'think'. O.Ir. *no-gigius* 'I will pray' for **-gigetsō*, beside *no guidiu* 'I pray'.

Presents with *-sk-* (§ 678). Gr. *δι-δάσκω* 'I teach' (perf. *δε-δίδαχα*), Lat. *discō* for **di-tc-scō* (perf. *di-dicī*).

The *i*-vowel alone is used for the reduplication with roots beginning in a sonant. Skr. *ī́psati* (cp. *apsanta* § 659) beside *āp-nṓ-ti* 'acquires', *ī́rtsati* beside *r̥dh-nṓ-ti* 'thrives' fut. *ardhiṣ-yatē*; with *ī́kṣatē* 'sees' (cp. O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* § 559) is connected Gr. *ἰπ-* in Hom. *ὀπ-ῑπ-εύω* 'I ogle' (*παρθεν-οπῑ́πης*),[1] which is an analogical re-formate like *ὄπ-ωπα* instead of **ὦπα*, *ἐδ-ηδώς* instead of **ἠδώς*. Skr. *íy-ar-ti* beside *ár-ti* from *ar-* 'set in motion', Avest. 3rd sing. conj. *uz-yarāþ* i. e. *-iyar-āþ*; Skr. *iy-ē-ti* beside *ḗ-ti* 'goes', the only evidence for which is its 2nd sing. pret. *āíy-ē-ṣ* (*R.V.*, v. 2. 8), Avest. 3rd pl. conj. *yęyąn* = Ar. **iy-ay-ān* (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 71 f.); Gr. *ἰ-αύω* 'I spend the night', *ἰάσκειν· ἄγειν* (Hesych.) for **ἰ-αγ* + *σκω*; O.Ir. *i-orr* fut. of *orgim* 'I destroy, kill' (beside O.H.G. *arg* 'that which is bad'). The former group, with the reduplication vowel and root vowel contracted together, was certainly proethnic: **īp-* and **īq-* for **ĭ-əp- *ĭ-əq-*, or something of the kind. But it is possible that Skr. *íy-arti* and others of that type are a re-formation of later date, like Goth. perf. *ai-áuk* from *áuka* 'I increase', *-ai-áik* from *-áika* (*af-áika* 'I deny, refuse').

On the difference between Gr. *τί-θημι*, with orig. *i* in the reduplicator, and Skr. *dá-dhāti* Lith. 2nd pl. *dė̃-ste* with orig. *e*, see § 538.

It has been pointed out (§ 469 Rem. 1, p. 14) that *i* is found in the reduplicator even where the root contains *u*-vocalism. But, as I said in that place, I regard Skr.

1) I cannot agree with Kretschmer in deriving *ὀπῑπ-* from **oqi-oq-* (Kuhn's Zeitschr., XXXI 385).

ju-hō-ti, *a-cu-krudh-a-t*, *bu-bhut-sa-ti* and similar formsas being genuine proethnic types, and not as having changed *i* to *u*.

§ **474.** IV. A fourth type, of unknown origin, is represented by a considerable number of forms in Sanskrit, and by two in Greek. (Cp. Bezzenberger, Bezz. Beitr. III 310).

Skr. desid. *aśiśiṣa-ti* from *aś-* 'eat', the grammarians also cite *aniniṣa-ti* from *an-* 'breathe', *arjihiṣa-ti* for **arjhijhiṣa-ti* (I p. 480 p. 354) from *arh-* 'deserve, be worth' and others; aor. *arpipa-t* (unaugmented) beside *arpáyati* 'sets in motion, shakes' (§ 797), in grammars also *ānina-t*, *ārjiha-t*, *āubjija-t* (*ubj-* 'keep down, squeeze together') and others.

Gr. *ἐρύκακο-ν* from *ἐρύκω* 'I hold back' and *ἠνίπαπο-ν* from *ἐνίπτω* 'I address'; beside *ἐνένιπο-ν*, type I *c* (§ 470).

§ **475.** A few remarks are now needed on the way in which Consonant Initials are treated in Reduplication.

1. There was originally no difference between the beginning of root and reduplicator, when the root began with one consonant, as *dō-* 'give' Skr. *dá-dāti*, Gr. *δί-δωμι*, Lat. *de-dit* Osc. de-ded, O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. *da-dętŭ*. But a great many differences were brought about by phonetic change. For instance, in Greek and Sanskrit the *initial of the Reduplicator* was affected by the principle of dissimilation of aspirates which held in those languages, e. g. Sanskrit *dádhāti* for **dha-dhāti*, *babhū́va* for **bha-bhū́va* (I § 480 p. 354),[1] Gr. *τίθημι* for **θι-θημι*, *πεφύᾱσι* for **φε-φυαντι* (I § 496 pp. 364 f.). We were introduced in vol. I p. 483 footnote 1 to a dissimilation peculiar to Irish, *-roinasc* for **-ró-nenasc*, *-roichan* for **-ró-cechan*; compare § 878, below. The *Root-initial* is changed e. g. in pr. Idg. **si-zd-ō* (√ *sed-* 'sit') = Gr. *ἵζω* (I § 590 p. 447, § 593 p. 449). It often happened, however, that a difference brought about by phonetic change was obliterated afterwards; as in Ved. perf. mid. *si-sic-ē* instead of *si-ṣic-ē*

1) The perfect *ja-bhā́ra* is a mixture of *ba-bhā́ra* and *ja-hā́ra*. See von Bradke, Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges. XL 665 f.

from *sic-* 'pour',[1]) Gr. Gort. *θί-θεθθαι* instead of **τί-θεθθαι* Att. *τί-θεσθαι* (I § 496 p. 365, the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] pp. 73 f.), Ion. perf. *βέβα-μεν* instead of **δε-βα-μεν* = Idg. **ge-gm̥-* from √*gem-* 'go' (I § 428 *b*, p. 316), Umbr. ře-ře 'dedit' instead of *te-ře cp. teřust *dirsust* 'dederit' (I § 369 Rem. 3 p. 281).

Remark. We may not assume that in Idg. **pi-b-e-ti* (Skr. *píbati* Lat. *bibit* O.Ir. *ibid*) *b* is simply for *p* by dissimilation. It is quite possible that *b* came from the imperative **pi-b-dhi* (for **pi-p-dhi*), cp. § 539.

476. 2. Where a root begins in more than one consonant, only the first of them is reduplicated. This rule held in the proethnic language and holds in its branches too. Examples:

Skr. *śu-śráva* Gr. *κέ-κλυτε* O.Ir. *ro chuala* for **cu-clova* from √*kleu̯-* 'hear'. Skr. *á-su-srōt* from *sru-* 'flow'. Gr. *κέ-κριμαι* from *κρίνω* 'I sentence', *ἵληθι* 'be gracious' for **σι-σλη-θι* (I § 565 p. 423). O.Ir. *ad-ge-grannatar* 'persecuti sunt', *ro selach* 'I struck down' i. e. *se-ślach* (I § 576 pp. 431 f.). Goth. *gaí-grōt* from *grēta* 'I cry', *faí-flōk* from *flōka* 'I lament', *saí-slēp saí-zlēp* from *slēpa* 'I sleep'.

Skr. *sa-smára* from *smar-* 'remember', *a-śi-śnat* from *śnath-* 'pierce'. Gr. *εἵμαρται* 'it is fated' for **σε-σμαρται* (I § 565 p. 422), *πέ-πνῑγμαι* from *πνίγω* 'I choke', *ποιπνύω* 'I pant'. Mid.Ir. *ro senaich* 'stillavit' i. e. *se-śnaich* (I § 576 p. 431).

Skr. *di-dvḗṣa* from *dviṣ-* 'hate', *sa-svā́na* from *svan-* 'sound', partic. *śá-śvasat-* from *śvas-* 'puff, pant, blow'; *ta-tyajḗ* from *tyaj-* 'forsake', *sa-syandḗ* from *syand-* 'move on'. Hom. *δείδιμεν* i. e. *δέ-δϝιμεν* from √*du̯ei̯-* 'frighten' (I § 166 p. 147). O.Ir. *do-sefainn -sephainn* from *do-sennim* 'I hunt, drive' for **su̯end-* or **su̯emn-* (I p. 175 p. 154, II § 613).

Skr. *ci-kṣā́ya* from *kṣi-* 'possess', *ca-kṣā́ṇa* from *kṣan-* 'hurt, wound', Gr. *κέ-κτημαι* from *κτάομαι* 'I get, win' (cp. I § 554 pp. 407 f., Kretschmer Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 433).

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1) We are not at liberty to explain *si-sic-ē* by saying that *sa-* = Idg. *se-* was the reduplicator in pr. Aryan (§ 851).

Avest. *hi-štaiti* O.Pers. *a-ī-štatā* (I § 558 Rem. 1 p. 410), Gr. *ἵ-στημι ἕ-στηκα*, Lat. *si-stō* Umbr. se-stu 'sisto', O.Ir. *do-airissid sessam* for **si-st-* (I § 109 *e* p. 103, § 516 p. 377), from √ *stā-* 'stand'. Avest. partic. *hi-spōsemna-* from √ *spek̑-* 'conspicere'. O.Ir. *se-scaind* 'he leapt'.

There are several variations from this type, of which the chief here follow.

The first is the commonest of them all (it is found in Sanskrit, Greek, Italic, Germanic), and perhaps began in the proethnic period. When a root began with *s* + an Explosive, both were often taken on into the Reduplicator, instead of simply the *s*. Thus Goth. *stai-stald* from *stalda* 'I possess', *skai-skáiþ* from *skáida* 'I divide'. In Sanskrit, Greek, and Italic dissimilation came in and destroyed the likeness of root and reduplicator; *s* was dropped either in the reduplicator (so Sanskrit, Greek, Latin) or in the root (Italic). Skr. *ta-sthāú ti-ṣṭha-ti* from *sthā-* 'stand', *ca-skánda*, 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. *káni-ṣkan*, *cani-ṣkada-t* from *skand-* 'leap', *pa-spṛdhē* from *spardh-* 'vie, strive for', *pani-ṣpadá-s* 'quivering' from *spand-* 'quiver'. This example of the principle of dissimilation Greek and Latin show only in a few nouns: *κο-σκυλ-μάτια* 'shreds of leather' *qui-squiliae*, *κα-σκάνδιξ* 'leek' are examples (Fritsche, Curt. Stud. vi 319 f.). With *s* dropt in the root-syllable Lat. *ste-tī sti-tī* Umbr. stiti-steteies Lat. *spo-pondī sci-cidī*. Compare Osthoff, Paul Braune's Beitr. viii 540 ff.; I do not think that his hypothesis is overthrown by Meringer in Zeitschr. öst. Gymn., 1887, pp. 371 f.

Remark 1. The reason why the present Lat. *si-stō* kept the old method, while *stetī stitī* did not, was that this was the only reduplicated present with a root beginning in *s* + explosive. Observe too that all its perfect forms were once distinguished by the vowel *e* in the reduplicator instead of *i* (§ 471).

Secondly, when a verb stem beginning in two consonants simplified these to one in its unreduplicated forms, the reduplicated forms were treated as though the verb began originally in one consonant (§ 475). Gr. Dor. *πέ-πᾱμαι* 'I possess, have authority over' instead of **κε-ππᾱμαι* i. e. **k̑e-k̑u̯ā-* (cp.

Skr. *-śi-śvi-ṣ*), because in the present and other tenses **ku̯ā-* became *πᾱ-* (I § 166 p. 147, § 654. 4 pp. 500 f., II § 117 pp. 370, 371). *σε-σόβημαι* for **τε-σσοβ-* (cp. Skr. *ta-tyāja*) following *σοβέω* 'I scare away' ground-form **tjoǵéi̯ō* (I § 459 p. 337). *τε-θήρᾱκα* Thess. *πε-φειράκον[τες* beside *θήρ* Thess. *φείρ* 'wild beast' for Idg. **ǵhu̯ēr-* O.C.Sl. *zvěrĭ* Lith. *žvėrì-s* (see Buck, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI 211 ff.), so that the reduplication would properly have been *κι-*. Locr. partic. *ϝε-ϝαδηκότα* following *ϝανδάνω* (*ἁνδάνω*) 'I please' from √ *su̯ād-* (cp. Skr. *sa-svadē*). *ῥέ-ριπται* (Pindar) following *ῥίπτω* 'I throw' for **ϝρίπτω*; and Att. *ἔρριπται* instead of the regular **(ϝ)ευρίπται* (the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 31). *νε-νῆχθαι* from *νήχω* 'I swim' for **σνᾱχω* (Skr. 3rd pl. *sa-sn-ur*). Lat. *me-mor memoria* formed from a perfect **me-morī*, which probably arose on the analogy of unreduplicated forms with *mer-* for *smer-* (cp. *merda* for **smerdā* etc., I § 570 p. 427), cp. Skr. *sa-smāra*. O.Ir. perf. 3rd sing. *rir* 'gave away, sold' from √ *per-* instead of **i-r* for **pi-pr-e* on the principles laid down in I § 339 p. 268, cp. § 878 below.

An exceptional type of reduplication is sometimes seen in Greek where verbs beginning in more than one consonant often have *ἐ-* for their reduplication, instead of one consonant + *ε*, even where the known phonetic laws did not demand that the consonant should drop. Examples are: *ἐ-βλάστηκα* beside *βε-βλάστηκα*, *ἔ-γραμμαι* (Cret. and elsewhere) beside *γέ-γραμμαι*, *ἔ-γνωκα*, *ἔ-κτημαι* beside *κέ-κτημαι*, *ἔ-σσυμαι* (√ *qi̯eu̯-*). Probably *ἔ-ρρωγα* (*ϝρηγ-*) and *ἔ-ρρῑφα* (*ϝρῑπ-*) are of this sort, since there is no trace of *ϝ* having been used and dropped in these forms. See Curtius' Verb II² 144 ff. Lastly we must mention *ἔ-σταλκα*, *ἔ-σπαρμαι*, *ἐ-ρρύηκα* (orig. *σε-σρυ-*) and the like, beside *ἀφέσταλκα* *ἐφέσταλκα* (inscr.), and *ἕ-στηκα* *ἕ-σταμεν*. The last perfect kept its *spiritus asper* because *ἵ-στημι* *ἵ-σταμεν* had it.¹)

1) In Boeotian or Laconian we must add to the perfect the aorist form *ἔττᾱκα* for **ἔστᾱκα*. Hesychius' gloss *ἔττακαν· ἔστησαν* should probably be assigned to one or other of these dialects (cp. I § 566 p. 423).

Remark 2. It is an obvious suggestion that in *ἐβλάστηκα* etc. we have the augment in place of the reduplication, since in verbs with a vowel initial the augmented preterite and the perfect came to have the same beginning: e. g. *ἠρέθιζον*: *ἠρέθισμαι* (*ἐρεθίζω*), *ἤσκησα*: *ἤσκημαι* (*ἀσκέω*), *ἀφ-ικόμην* : *ἀφ-ῖγμαι*. But if so we should expect similar forms in verbs which began with one consonant, and such forms as **ἔ-βηκα* instead of *βέ-βηκα* (see § 475).[1])

We cannot suppose that the form *ἔ-ρρωγα* stands for **ϝε-ρρωγα*, and that it gave the type for *ἐ-βλάστηκα* etc., because the dialect of Gortyn a has *ἔ-γραμμαι*, and this dialect kept initial *ϝ* before an *e*-sound.

The Cretan perfects *ἀπ-ήατελκε ἤ-γραττα* mentioned in § 472 Rem., page 17 above, with *ἠ*-, only give a fresh problem to solve.

THE AUGMENT.[2])

§ 477. The Augment *(αὔξησις)*, as it is called, is a syllable, Idg. **e*- = Skr. *a*- Armen. *e*- Gr. *ἐ*-, which prefixed to verbal forms serves to mark past time.

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1) *ἔλογχα* instead of *λέλογχα* in two late sepulchral inscriptions is probably not a mistake in the graving, but a misformation, due to contamination of the perfect *λέλογχα* or *εἴληχα* at a time when this kind of perfect had become unfamiliar. (Thumb, Mitteil. des deutsch. arch. Inst. in Athen, XVI 176).

2) R. Garnett, On the Origin and Import of the Augment in Sanskrit and Greek, Proceedings of the Philol. Society I (1844) p. 265 ff. Fr. Müller, Einiges über das Augment, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr., III 250 ff. J. Davies, On the Temporal Augment in Sanskrit and Greek, Hertford 1865. Faust, Zur idg. Augmentbildung, Strassb. 1877. A. H. Sayce, The Origin of the Augment, Transactions of the Philol. Society, 1885—1887, pp. 652 ff. Bréal, De l'augment, Mém. de la Soc. de lingu. VI 333 ff.

J. Avery, The Unaugmented Verb-Forms of the Rig- and Atharva-Vedas, Proceedings of the Amer. Orient. Soc., May 1884, pp. XI f., und Journal of the Amer. Orient. Soc. XI 326 ff.

Ebel, Die scheinbaren Unregelmässigkeiten des griech. Augments, Kuhn's Zeitschr. IV 161 ff. La Roche, Das Augment des griech. Verbums, Linz 1882. Pöhlmann, Quomodo poetae epici augmento temporali usi sint, Tilsit 1858. Grashof, Zur Kritik des homer. Textes in Bezug auf die Abwerfung des Augments, Düsseldorf 1852. K. Koch, De augmento apud Homerum omisso, Brunswick 1868. Skerlo, Über den Gebrauch (die Bedeutung) des Augments bei Homer, Graudenz 1874. Molhem, De augmenti apud Homerum Herodotumque usu, Lund 1876. Bumke, De augmento verbi Herodotei, Braunsberg 1835. H. Lhardy, Quaestionum de dialecto Herodoti caput primum: De augmento, Berl. 1844.

It was originally an independent word, an adverb, followed by the verb, which then became enclitic; e. g. **é liqet* 'he left' (Armen. *e-likʿ* Gr. ἔ-λιπε), and it may be compared with the Irish particle *ro* (= Gr. πρό) which is used before verbs of the historic tenses. But in all the languages which have kept the Augment, it has become an inflexional prefix (cp. II § 4 page 6). A trace of its original adverbial character remains in the accentuation of Greek forms like παρ-έ-σχον ('I offered'), which involves the same principle as that of παρ-έν-θες ('put in between') and of Skr. *sam-á-cinutē* ('he heaps together, collects').

As to the origin of this adverb **e*, and of **ē*, which as we shall see later was used in the same way in the parent language, only uncertain conjectures are possible.

Remark. Older explanations are cited by Curtius, Verb I² 109 ff. Sayce's new suggestions do not commend themselves to me (see page 24 footnote). It would be best to regard **e* as a locative of the pron. stem *e-*, with temporal meaning (see III § 409 p. 329); compare **te* (Lith. *tè* O.C.Sl. *te*) from **to-* and the like (III § 424 p. 349). The relation of **e* : **ē* has plenty of parallels, as **te* : **tē*, **ne* : **nē* (III p. 349 footnote, § 415 Rem. p. 337). Compare also Per Persson, Studia etymologica, p. 78.

If the verb had other prefixes besides the Augment, this stood immediately in front of the verb. But sometimes a verb compounded with a preposition became to all intents and purposes a simple form, and then the augment came right in front. Skr. *a-pīḍaya-t* 'pressed' for **pi-zd-* ('sit upon'), Gr. ἐ-πίεζον for πι(σ)εδ-, see § 795. Skr. epic *a-sambhramat* 'he trembled'. Gr. Att. ἐ-κάθευδον beside καθ-ηῦδον 'I slept'. When the structure of verbs was thus forgotten, there could even be a double augment: Skr. epic *aprāiṣīt* beside *prāiṣīt* = *pra-āiṣīt* 'he drove out', Gr. ἠν-ειχόμην 'I endured'. The same thing occurs in reduplicated forms; see § 850.

§ 478. The augment with verbs beginning in a Consonant. Examples: Pr. Idg. **é bherom* 'I bore': Skr. *á-bharam*

Kloppe, Dissert. de augmento Herodoteo, cp. I. II., Schleusingen 1848. Sorof, De augmento in trimetris tragicis abiecto, praemissa de crasi, elisione, aphaeresi quaestione, Breslau 1851.

Avest. *a-berem* O.Pers. *a-baram*, Gr. ἔ-φερον. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-da-dhāt á-dhāt* Armen. *e-d* Gr. ἐ-τίθει 1st pl. ἔ-θεμεν, √*dhē-* 'place'. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-bōdhat a-buddha a-būbudhat* Gr. ἐ-πεύθετο ἐ-πύθετο ἐπέπυστο, √*bheu̯dh-* 'awake, notice'. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-diṣṭa a-dikṣat* Gr. ἐ-δείκνῡ ἔ-δειξε, √*dei̯k̑-* 'show, point'. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-gan* Armen. *e-kn*, √*gem-* 'go, come'. 3rd sing. Armen. *e-tes* Gr. ἐ-δέρκετο, √*derk̑-* 'see'.

All that is left of the augment outside of these three groups are a few obscure Germanic forms: Goth. *iddja* 'he went' = Skr. *á-yāt* (I § 142 p. 127), A.S. 3rd pl. *eódun* = Goth. *iddjēdun*, cp. §§ 587, 592, 886 Rem. But these are not free from doubt, because we find in Sanskrit epics the unaugmented form *iyā-t* as well as *a-yā-t* (with *iy-* instead of *y-* like *iy-ē*, § 493). So *iddja* too may represent the unaugmented Idg. **i̯ē-t*.

In Greek, ἐ- was often obscured by being contracted with the following vowel, after σ or ϝ which once began the root had dropped (cp. I § 165 p. 146, § 564 p. 421, § 603 pp. 455 f.); e. g. εἱπόμην for *ἐ-(σ)επομᾱν from ἕπομαι 'sequor', εἷρπον for *ἐ-(σ)ερπον from ἕρπω 'serpo', εἶδον 'I saw' for *ἐ-(ϝ)ιδον (Hom. ἔειδον, Lesb. εὔιδον), εἰργαζόμην for *ἐ-(ϝ)εργαζομην (an inscr. of Hermione has ἐϝεργάσατο) from ἐργάζομαι 'I work'. On εἴθιζον 'I was accustomed', orig. *ἐ-σϝεθιζον, εἷλκον 'I dragged', orig. *ἐ-σϝελκον, compare I § 563. 7 p. 420, and the Author Gr. Gr.² § 13 p. 33. The aspirate of εἱπόμην εἷλκον εἷρπον, like that of ἕηκα ἧκα pl. εἷμεν (for ἐ-(σ)η- ἐ-(σ)ε-, from ἵημι 'I send forth' for *σι-σημι) is doubtless due to the transference of the internal *h* (*ἐ-hεπομᾱν etc.) to the beginning; so it was in ἱερό-ς for *ἰhερό-ς (Skr. *iṣirá-s*) and other words, see Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 421.

In Greek, again, the augmented preterites of verbs which have lost their initial consonant are often treated like those of verbs that never had any (§ 480). This is commonest in later times. An example is Att. ᾤκησα instead of *ἐ-(ϝ)οι-κησα, from (ϝ)οικέω 'I live, dwell', following such forms as ᾤδησα (οἰδέω 'I swell': Armen. *aitnum* 'I swell' O.H.G. *eiʒ* 'sore, abscess').

§ **479.** In Vedic, some verbs beginning with *v*, *y*, or *r* have *ā-* for their augment; as *á-vṛṇak* from *vṛṇákti* 'turns round' (see Delbrück, Ai. Verb., 79). *ā-* is also found as augment with verbs beginning in *ŭ*, *ĭ*, *ṛ*; as *āúnat* from *unátti* 'wets' (see § 481). That this *ā-* was original, at least in some of these forms, is made probable by the use of *ἠ-* instead of *ἐ-* not infrequently before Greek verbs with initial *u̯*. Examples: Hom. *ἠείδη* 'he knew' for **ἠ-ϝείδη*;[1]) Att. *ἑώρων* 'I saw' *ἑάλων* 'I was captured' for **ἠ-(h)ορασν* **ἠ-(h)αλων* (I § 611 p. 462); the aspirate in the last two is to be explained like that of *εἱπόμην* *ἕηκα* (§ 478). Words like *ἠργαζόμην* (beside *εἰργαζόμην*) are less certain. It is true this form may be derived from **ἠ-(ϝ)εργ-*; but so may it be an ad-formate of verbs which began with *e-* in the pre-Greek period (cp. *ᾤκησα* § 478, above).

On the relation of *ē- and *e- see § 477 with the Remark, page 25.

Remark. On Greek forms with ἠ- compare G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.[2] pp. 421 ff.; the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 150, and the works there cited.

Another view, which I think not probable, is that certain verbs with initial ϝ have a prothetic ἐ-, and that from these were made preterites with the temporal augment (ἠείδη being to ἐειδόμενος what ἤρευθον is to ἐρεύθω √ reu̯dh-, cp. I § 626 pp. 470); afterwards, according to this view, other verbs with initial ϝ but without prothetic ἐ- took ἠ- for augment.

On the other hand, I agree with those who refuse to see the Idg. augment *ē- in ἠ-βουλόμην 'I wished', ἠ-δυνάμην 'I could', and ἤ-μελλον 'I intended, I was to' do so and so. These forms occur in Attic from 300 B.C. onwards, and ἤμελλον as early as Hesiod (Thesg. 478, 888, 898). It is a fair conjecture that these were modelled on ἤ-θελον 'I wished', from θέλω. In this Verb ἠ- was no augment but a preposition, another ablaut-from of ὠ- in ὠ-φελέω etc., and identical with Skr. *ā́* 'to towards'. The ἐ- of ἐ-θέλω is a third ablaut-form of the same prefix, to be compared with *a* in Avest. *a-sās-* etc.; but the use of ἠ- with θέλω was confined to its preterite in prehistoric times, because ἐθέλω : ἤθελον seemed to be related as were ἐρίζω : ἤριζον. Cp. Osthoff, Perf. 129, 604; Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 169; above, vol. III § 246 p. 145.

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1) Some scholars would write εὐείδη in the Aeolic fashion, for which there is no authority at all. Attie ᾔδει cannot be contracted from ἐειδ- but only from ἠειδ-.

§ 480. In verbs with initial Sonant the augment has everywhere ceased to be a separate syllable. It was contracted with the root-initial in the original language (cp. I § 114 p. 107).

Examples. Pr. Idg. **ēsm̥* for **e esm̥* or **ē esm̥*, cp. pres. **es-mi* = Skr. *ásmi* etc.: Skr. *ā́sam* Avest. 3rd sing. *ās* O.Pers. *aham* i. e. *āham*, Gr. Hom. ἦα Att. ἦ 3rd sing. Dor. ἦς; [1]) cp. O.C.Sl. *-jachŭ* for **ēsom* in imperfects like *neséachŭ* (§§ 493, 510, 903). Pr. Idg.: **ēi̯m̥* from **ei̯-mi* 'I go': Skr. *ā́yam* 3rd sing. *āit* Avest. 3rd sing. *āiþ* O.Pers. *ayam* i. e. *āyam*, Gr. ᾔα instead of *ἦα for *ἠι̯α (§ 502); compare Lith. *ėjaũ* 'I went' from the stem **ei̯-ā-* (§ 586). Gr. ἤρι̣ζον from ἐρίζω 'I strive'. O.C.Sl. *s*-aorist *jasŭ* = **ēt-so-m*, √*ed-* 'eat'.

It is extremely probable that the same augment is seen in Lithuanian present forms of the substantive verb beginning with *ē-*, as pl. *ẽsame ẽsate* dual *ẽsava ẽsata* beside *ẽsame* etc. and *èsme (ẽsme)* etc. Like O.C.Sl. *-(j)achŭ -(j)aše* etc. (see above), these were originally imperfect. But after all the other preterites of present stems with thematic vowel had fallen into disuse, this imperfect of *es-* was quite isolated; step by step it gave way to *buvaũ*, while at the same time the forms which ended like those of the present system came to be used as equivalent to them; and later the participle *ẽsąs* was formed and used side by side with *ẽsąs*, and in some dialects *ė́sù ė́sì* beside *esù esì*. Perhaps Lat. *ēs* 'thou art' (also *ĕs*) is also an augmented form, and represents Idg. **ēs-s*. [2])

Remark. Osthoff (Perf., 184 ff.) assumes that Lat. *ēs ēst ēstis* from *edō*, and Lith. *ĕdmi ĕdu* etc. O.C.Sl. *jamĭ* (*ėmĭ*) are forms of the augmented imperfect used as present. I think that their *ē-* may very well have this origin. But another supposition is quite as good, nay

1) We are certainly tempted to follow Bopp, Lagarde, and Bugge, and add Arm. *ēi* 'eram' 3rd sing. *ēr*; but Idg. *ē* seems always to become Arm. *i*. Compare Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 12.

2) So too the augment has crept into the present and future in Modern Greek, as σᾶς ἐβλέπω, θὰ σᾶς ἐδώσω (Hatzidakis, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 375); and so the augment of Armen. *e-kn* 'he came' and *e-d* 'he placed' has found its way into allied forms, as fut. *ekiç* and *ediç* (Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. I 28; Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 38).

better — that they represent the ablaut-grade Idg. **ēd-*. Then **ēdmi* : **edmi* (Skr. *ádmi*) as Skr. imper. mid. *sā́k-ṣva* : *sák-ṣva* (√ *seĝh-*), and as Skr. *sā́hati* : *sáhatē* (Gr. ἔχεται), *dhā́vati* : *dhavatē* (Gr. θέω), Gr. μήδομαι : μέδομαι, Lith. *bĕgu*: Gr. φέβομαι, and so forth (§ 471 p. 16); and, if so, the *ēd-* of **ēdmi* must be identified with that of the *s*-aorist Lat. *ēssem* O.C.Sl. *jasŭ* (*ěsŭ*), and probably with that of the perfect forms Lat. *ēdī*, Lith. *ĕdęs* O.C.Sl. *jadŭ* (*ědŭ*); see *loc. cit.* above. One view only I must distinctly oppose; the view of those who regard this root as not belonging to the recognised *e*-series, but to an *ē*-series, and who regard Skr. *ádmi* as not original, while the **ēdmi* of Latin and Balto-Slavonic is. Compare § 494.

How came this *ē*-grade (*mēd-* etc.) to exist in *e*-roots? It is impossible to say. It is found, in the proethnic stage and later, not only in the present and aorist, but in the perfect too (§ 848. 3), and also in nouns (e. g. Gr. μῆδος μήστωρ Armen. *mid*); and we have no right to limit this *ē* to any single tense. It is certainly remarkable that the perfect forms with *ē* never had the reduplication (Skr. *sāh-vás-* etc.). But there are other original unreduplicated perfects, as for example **u̯oi̯de* 'knows') see *loc. cit.*).

What was originally the quality of the resultant vowel, when an augment was contracted with the initial *a-* or *o-* of a root, it is hard to say. The Aryan languages of course always have *ā-*, whether the root began in *e*, *o*, or *a*; as Skr. *ā́jat* from *ájati* 'he drives' Gr. ἄγει, *ā́pasyat* from *apasyáti* 'is active' Lat. *operātur*. In Armenian, verbs beginning with *a-* have apparently no augment in the preterite, as *ac* 'he led', *aṙ* 'he took' *auc* 'he anointed' *anç* 'παρῆλθε'; we also find a re-formation with augment *ē-anç* (with later *ē* instead of *e*). Greek forms like ᾶγον Ion. ἦγον (from ἄγω 'I lead'), ὦζον (from ὄζω 'I smell'), ᾤδησα (from οἰδέω 'I swell') are suspicious, because their long vowel might come from analogy, once such forms as **esti* (ἔστι) : **ēst* (ἦς) had produced a belief that the lengthening of an initial vowel marked the past tense. Beyond all doubt this is the cause of the long vowel in such words as ῑ̔κέτευσα (from ἱκετεύω 'I beseech') and ῡ̔μεναίουν (ὑμεναιῶ 'I sing the bridal song'); compare what is said is § 643 on ὄρ-νῡ-μι : ὄρ-νῠ-μεν.

§ **481.** In the plural and dual of the pret. of **es-mi* 'I am' and **ei̯-mi* 'I go', if Idg. **e-* is allowed to be their augment, we should expect forms like Skr. **á-sma* **á-san*, Gr. *ἦμεν Lesb. *ἔμμεν and Skr. **ēma* **á-yan*, Gr. *εἶμεν,

cp. pres. 1st pl. Skr. *s-más*, *i-más* and the unaugmented imperf. Skr. Ved. *s-an* Avest. *h-en* and Avest. *i-tā* Gr. ἴ-την. One such form is Avest. *ahma* Gathic *ēhmā* = pr. Ar. **a-sma*. Otherwise we find only *ásma ásan āima áyan*, Avest. 3rd dual *āitem*, O.Pers. 3rd pl. *aha aya* i. e. doubtless *āha āya*, Gr. ἦμεν ἦστε, O.C.Sl. 2nd pl. *-(j)as-te*. If we suppose that the augment here was *ē* (cp. § 477 and Rem. p. 25, § 479 pp. 26 f.), the sing. and dual-pl. agree in their initial syllable right back as far as the parent speech. However, it is possible, and probably better, to assume that the long vowel came from the singular, the initial of *ásam* ἦα as compared with *ásmi* εἰμί being classed in the popular imagination with that of the preterites *ájam ánam* ἦρων etc., which had a long initial vowel in all persons.

Remark 1. η in ἦμεν ἦτε must be a re-formation (cp. I § 611 p. 461). But there is no need to bring in the influence of the sing. ἦα, since **ē* + *i̯-ent* may conceivably have been the 3rd plural (cp. § 1020. 1. *a*).

Remark 2. Osthoff's view (Perf., 151 f.) that Skr. *ásta* Gr. ἦστε came from **é esté*, and that **esté* was the weak-grade form of √*es-* with secondary or bye-accent, is no longer tenable. See Bartholome, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 105.

In Sanskrit, verbs beginning with *ŭ-*, *ĭ-*, or *r̥-* have *āu-*, *āi-*, and *ār-* in their augmented preterite. *āúnat* from *unátti* 'wets' (*ud-*). *āúhat* from *úhati* 'removes, pushes'. *āíchat* from *icháti* 'wishes'. *āíśata* from *īśatē* 'owns'. *árchat* from *r̥cháti* 'reaches, gets'. The augment here was probably *ē*; see § 479 above, on *á-vr̥ṇak* etc. Other attempts to explain these are given by Schleicher Comp.[4] p. 738 (cp. J. Schmidt, Vocalismus, I 44) and Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 74 f.

§ **482.** In Herodotus are a series of apparently unaugmented forms, of which αἴτεε (αἰτέω 'I ask'), εὔχετο (εὔχομαι 'I pray'), αὔξετο (αὔξω 'I increase') are examples. These may be quite regular, and come from older forms with initial *āi̯-*, *ēu̯-*, *āu̯-*, as laid down in vol. I § 611 p. 461.

The vowels in the first syllable of such forms as Att. ᾔτουν (αἰτέω), ηὐξάμην (εὔχομαι), ηὖξον (αὔξω), and ἤντησα (ἀντάω 'I meet'), ἦρχον (ἄρχω 'I lead'), ὤρνυον (ὄρνῡμι ὀρνύω

'I arouse, set a-going') is due to the analogy of ἦγον : ἄγω, ἥριζον : ἐρίζω etc. ἦμεν ἦτε are discussed in § 481 with the Remark, just above.

§ 483. The Augment Omitted. In the parent language the augment could be dispensed with. The forms with which it was used were not confined to the expression of any particular tense or time, and they could be used for the past without any augment. This was easy enough if past time were unmistakeably indicated by the context, or by some other expression in the sentence, such as Skr. *purā́* Gr. πάρος. Compare § 909.

The use of both augmented and unaugmented forms (as **é-bherom* and **bhérom* in the sense of 'I carried') continued in the separate languages, and survivals of it occur right down into the historic period. The facts are as follows.

In Sanskrit of the Vedic period both modes of expression are used together; in the Rig-Veda they are about equally balanced. But even in Vedic we can see a growing preference for forms with the augment. In the Brahmanas and in Epic poetry the augment is rarely omitted. And in later or classical Sanskrit, which was ruled by the native grammarians, augmented forms alone are used. In Avestic the double usage is also found, though the augment occurs rarely in comparison with the number of times it is omitted. But Old Persian seems to know no preterites save those which have an augment (a few forms in this language are doubtful).

In Armenian the augment was kept only before monosyllabic verbal forms which kept their root vowel, or before those which without it would not have been a complete syllable. Thus the 3rd sing. aor. *e-likʿ* = Gr. ἔ-λιπε has it, but 1st sing. *likʿi* has it not.[1]) It is found in other persons besides the 3rd sing. with the aorists of the roots *dhē-* 'place', *dō-* 'give', and *gem-* 'come'; thus 1st sing. *e-di e-tu e-ki* 3rd

1) It is a fair assumption that, in the 1st sing., **elikʿi* beside **likʿi* dropt out of use before **likʿi* became monosyllabic.

sing. *e-d e-t e-kn*. That the augment was kept or dropt according to the number of syllables in the word is clear from 1st pl. *tuak̂* beside sing. 1st pers. *e-tu* 2nd *e-tur* 3rd *e-t* pl. 2nd *e-tuk̂* 3rd *e-tun*, and by comparison with 1st pl. *e-dak̂ e-kak̂* (beside *e-di e-ki*). The augment of *edi* and *eki* passed into other parts of the verb, for which see page 28, footnote 2.

In the Greek of Homer and the later epic poets, the use of the augment is artificial. In the later epic it is less and less omitted as the language approaches more nearly to ordinary prose. In prose, augmented forms predominated from the very first. The only exceptions are the pluperfect, which shows the old variation, e. g. *πεπόνθη πεπόνθειν* with *ἐ-πεπόνθη ἐ-πεπόνθειν*, and the iterative preterite in *-σκον* in Herodotus, as *φεύγεσκον*, which never has the augment. Perhaps the reason for these exceptions was that the forms of the 2nd plural and dual pluperfect (§ 836) and *φευγέσκετε φευγέσκετον* could have only one meaning, while *τρέπετε τρέπετον, τράπετε τράπετον, τρέψατε τρέψατον* could be either indicative or imperative. This made the augment useful to make the sense clear. In Sanskrit and Old-Persian there was the same ambiguity (e. g. Skr. *bhárata* = *ábharata*, and also imperative); and there too a desire for clearness may have caused the augmented forms to become by degrees the only mode of expressing past action.

In all other branches of our group unaugmented forms gained the day. The scanty and obscure remnants of the augmented class have already been given. Examples of unaugmented forms are:

Latin. *-bam* in *plantā-bam* for **fu̯-ā-m* 'I was' (§ 583). *dīxit*: Gr. *δεῖξε ἔ-δειξε* (§§ 823, 867. 3). *scidit*: Skr. *chidá-t á-chida-t* (§§ 523, 528, 867. 5).

Old-Irish. *s*-aorist *ro-char* 'he loved' for **-caras-t* (§ 840).

Old High German. *teta* O.Sax. *deda* 'I did', if it is an imperfect like Greek *τίθην ἐ-τίθην* (§§ 545. 886), and O.H.G. O.Sax. *wissun* 'they krew', if it be for **u̯its-n̥t* (§ 837). Compare Kluge in Paul's Grundr. I 375.

Lithuanian. *bùvo* 'he was' for **bhuu̯ā-t*: cp. Lat. *-bat*; *mìnė* 'he thought, devised' for **mn̥nē-t*: cp. Gr. *μάνη ἐ-μάνη* (§ 587). Old Church Slavonic. *bě* 'he was' for **bhu̯ē-t*: cp. Gr. *φύη ἐ-φύη* (§ 587); aor. *vezŭ* 'I carried, vexi': Skr. *váha-m á-vaha-m* (§ 514); *s*-aorist *děchŭ* 'I laid': Skr. *dhā́sam á-dhāsam* (§ 812).

FORMATION OF THE TENSE STEM.[1]

GENERAL REMARKS.

§ 484. In classifying forms of a verbal system the grammars regard meaning rather than form. The result is that forms which are closely connected in structure and in derivation have often to be kept apart, and at the same time

1) Many works on the Present Stem (Imperfect-Present and Aorist-Present) include a more or less general discussion of tense formation, and it is not always easy to choose where to name them. For this reason, works on the Present Stem will here be included along with those on Tense-Formation in general. For works on the *si̯o*-Future, see § 747; for the *s*-Aorist § 810; for the Perfect, § 843 (the Germanic weak preterite § 907).

Indo-Germanic. L. Tobler, Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus, ein Capitel vergleichender Syntax im Zusammenhang mit Formenlehre und Völkerpsychologie, Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. II 29 ff. S. H. A. Herling, Vergleich. Darstellung der Lehre vom Tempus und Modus, Hanover 1840. L. Meyer, Über Tempusbildung und Perfecta mit Präsensbedeutung, Benfey's Orient und Occident I 201 ff. F. H. Trithen, On the Formation of the Past Tense in certain of the Indo-European languages, Proceed. of the Philol. Soc. I (1844) pp. 273 ff. G. Gerland, Intensiva und Iterativa und ihr Verhältnis zu einander, Leipz. 1869. H. Osthoff, Über Aoristpräsens und Imperfectpräsens, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 287 ff. F. Hartmann, De aoristo secundo, Berl. 1881. O. Hoffmann, Das Präsens der idg. Grundsprache in seiner Flexion und Stammbildung, Gött. 1889. The Author, Zur Geschichte der präsensstammbildenden Suffixe, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. 1874 pp. 153 ff. Bartholomae, Altindisch *āsiṣ* > lateinisch *erās*. Stud. zur idg. Sprachgesch. II 61 ff. J. Schmidt, Die ursprüngl. Flexion des Optativs und der auf *ā* auslautenden Präsensstämme, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 303 ff. G. Curtius, Die Verstärkungen im Präsensstamme, *ibid.* I 259 ff. A. Kuhn, Über die durch Nasale erweiterten

others which are in structure and derivation quite distinct must be brought together. Questions of use belong to Syntax. Here we have to examine the structure of the Indo-Germanic verb, and to identify what is morphologically the

Verbalstämme, *ibid.* II 392 ff., 455 ff. H. Osthoff, Über eine bisher nicht erkannte Präsensstammbildung des Idg., Vortrag auf der Münchener Philologenvers. 1891 (Zeitschr. für deutsche Philol. XXIV 215 ff., Anzeiger für idg. Sprach- und Altertumsk. I 82 ff.). The Author, Die achte Conjugationsclasse des Altindischen und ihre Entsprechung im Griechischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 255 ff. J. H. Moulton, The *-nā*-Class of Unthematic Verbs, Amer. Journ. Phil. X 283 ff. A. Ludwig, Die Verba auf [lat.] *-erare* [germ.] *-izon*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVIII 52 ff. Th. Benfey, Einige ursprüngliche Causalia aus Bildungen durch sanskritisch *paya*, *ibid.* VII 50 ff.

Aryan. The Author, Die siebente Präsensclasse des Arischen, Morph. Unters. III 148 ff. Bartholomae, Zur dritten, achten, neunten Präsensclasse, zur Desiderativbildung [im Arischen], Ar. Forsch. II 69 ff., 86 ff., 89 f., 90 ff. Whitney, Numerical Results from Indexes of Sanskrit Tense- and Conjugation-Stems, Proceed. Amer. Or. Soc., May 1885, pp. XXXII ff. Lanman, On Multiform Presents and on Transfers of Conjugation in the Sanskrit Verb System, *ibid.* pp. xxxvi ff. Whitney, On the Classification of the Forms of the Sanskrit Aorists, *ibid.* 1875—76 pp. xviii f. The Author, Über einige ai. Verba der fünften und neunten Conjugationsklasse, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 286 ff. A. H. Edgren, On the Verbs of the so-called *tan*-class in Sanskrit, Proceed. Amer. Or. Soc., May 1885, pp. XXXIX f. Van den Gheyn, Note sur la 8e classe des verbes sanscrits, Brüssel 1880. *Idem*, Remarques sur quelques racines sanscrites de la 8e classe, Brussels 1884. *Idem*, Nouvelles recherches sur la 8e classe des verbes sanscrits, Brussels 1886. A. H. Edgren, On the propriety of Retaining the Eighth Verb-Class in Sanskrit, University Studies Published by the Univ. of Nebraska I 1 (1888). S. Goldschmidt, Bildungen aus Passiv-Stämmen im Prākrit, Zeitschr. der deutsch. morg. Gesellsch. XXIX 491 ff., XXX 779. Jacobi, Über unregelmässige Passiva im Prākrit, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 249 ff. E. Wilhelm, Zum Übergang von der unthematischen in die thematische Conjugation [im Avest.], Bezzenberger's Beitr. X 314 ff. *Idem*, De verbis denominativis linguae Bactricae, Jena 1878. Bartholomae, Zur fünften und neunten Präsensclasse [im Iran.], Bezzenberger's Beitr. XIII 60 ff.

Greek and Latin. Herm. Schmidt, Doctrinae temporum verbi Graeci et Latini expositio historica, Halle 1836. *Idem*, De verbi Graeci et Latini doctrina temporum, Wittenb. 1842. A. Kerber, Significationes temporum verbi Graeci et Latini in uno conspectu collocantur, Halle 1864. Düntzer, Über die dem Griech. und Latein. eigentümlichen Tempus- und Modusbildungen, Höfer's Zeitschr. f. die Wiss. d. Sprache II 76 ff.

same; and we must not be led into classifying forms according to their uses, or describing them by the terms which belong to syntax, except where this is possible without neglect of the forms as such, and without interfering with the terminology and general arrangement of the subject in this book.

Greek. G. B. Bonino, Il tema del presente nel verbo greco, Turin 1879. H. Malden, On connecting vowels in Greek, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1862—63 pp. 283 ff. G. Mahlow, Über den Futurgebrauch griech. Präsentia, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 570 ff. W. Kühne, Das Causativum in der griech. Sprache, Leipz. 1882. H. Rumpf, Quaestionum Homericarum specimen: De formis quibusdam verborum in μι in aliam declinationem traductis, Giessen 1850. H. Ebel, Verkannte Präsensformen [ϝεῖμαι ἔρχαται etc.], Kuhn's Zeitschr. IV 201 ff. L. Meyer, Die homer. Formen des Zeitworts εἶναι, *ibid.* IX 373 ff., 423 ff. G. Meyer, Die mit Nasalen gebildeten Präsensstämme des Griechischen mit vergleichender Berücksichtigung der andern idg. Sprachen, Jena 1873. *Idem*, Die Präsentia auf -ώννυμι, Bezzenberger's Beitr. I 222 ff. Max Müller, Die siebente [skr.] Conjugation im Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. IV 270 ff. The Author, Das νν in ἕννυμι, ζώννυμι, κορέννυμι und ähnl. Präsentien, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 589 ff. R. Fritsche, Über die Ausdehnung der Nasalclasse im Griech., Curtius' Stud. VII 381 ff. A. Stolpe, Iterativorum Graecorum vis ac natura ex usu Homeri atque Herodoti demonstrata, Bresl. 1849. G. Curtius, Die iterativen Präterita auf σκον, Kuhn's Zeitschr. I 27 ff. Max Müller, Die griech. Verba auf πτ, *ibid.* IV 362 ff. I. Herrmann, De verbis Graecorum in αθειν εθειν exeuntibus, Erfurt 1832. Wentzel, Qua vi posuit Homerus verba quae in θω cadunt? Oppeln 1836. G. Mekler, Griech. verba contracta mit langem Themavocal, in Beiträge zur Bildung des griech. Verbums (Dorpat 1887) pp. 1 ff. H. von der Pfordten, Zur Geschichte der griech. Denominativa, Leipz. 1886. L. Sütterlin, Zur Geschichte der verba denominativa im Altgriech. I, Strassb. 1891. Lobeck, De mutatione terminationum coniugationis circumflexae, Königsb. 1845. G. Curtius, Zur Geschichte der griech. zusammengezogenen Verbalformen, Curtius' Stud. III 377 ff. B. Mangold, De diectasi Homerica, imprimis verborum in -αω, *ibid.* VI 139 ff. F. D. Allen, The Epic Forms of Verbs in άω, Transact. of the Americ. Philol. Associat. IV (1873) pp. 1 ff. J. Wackernagel, Die epische Zerdehnung, Bezzenberger's Beitr. IV 259 ff. Inama, Degli aoristi greci, Rivista di filol. II 249 ff. L. Meyer, Griech. Aoriste, Berl. 1879. A. Zickler, De causis duplicis formae aoristi Graeci, 1865. Th. Nölting, Über den genetischen Zusammenhang des Aoristus II mit dem Perfectum II der griech. Sprache, Wismar 1843. The Author, Über einige griech. Präteritalformen mit α vor der Personalendung, Bezzenberger's Beitr. II 245 ff. L. Doederlein, De aoristis quibusdam secundis, Erl. 1857.

§ 485. The first point to realise is that there never was any real difference between the Present stem and the Strong Aorist. There is no difference, for example, between the imperfect Skr. *á-bhā-t* Gr. ἔ-φη (√*bhā-* 'to

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W. Schulze, Zwei verkannte Aoriste (ἴαχον und ἄιον), Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 230 ff. Ebel, Reduplicierte Aoriste im Griech., *ibid.* II 46 ff. G. Curtius, Der erste Aorist des Passivs, *ibid.* I 25 ff. J. Wackernagel, Der Passivaorist auf -θην, *ibid.* XXX 302 ff. W. Kühne, De aoristi passivi formis atque usu Homerico, Marburg 1877 and Güstrow 1878. Walker, Greek Aorists and Perfects in -κα, Class. Review, V 446 ff. Hatzidakis, Zur Präsensbildung des Neugriechischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 69 ff.

Albanian. G. Meyer, Das Verbum substantivum im Albanesischen, in M. Hertz zum 70. Geburtst., 1888, pp. 81 ff.

Italic. Corssen, Zur Bildung der Präsensstämme, in Beitr. zur ital. Sprachkunde pp. 475 ff. Cludius, Über die Bildung des Verbi *sum*, Günther und Wachsmuth's Athenäum II (Halle 1817) 136 ff. J. Darmesteter, De coniugatione Latini verbi *dare*, Paris 1877. Ph. Thielmann, Das Verbum *dare* im Lateinischen, Leipz. 1882. F. Fröhde, Die lat. Präsentia auf *-llo*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. III 285 ff. K. F. Johansson, Några ord om de latinska verbalbildningarne med *n* i presensstammen, Akadem. afhandlinger til prof. S. Bugge, Christiania 1889, pp. 21 ff. Ch. Ploix, Des verbes latins en *sco*, Mém. d. l. Soc. d. lingu., VI 399 ff. K. Sittl, De linguae Latinae verbis incohativis, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. I 465 ff. C. Pascal, I suffissi formatori delle conjugazione latine, Revista di filol. XIX 449 ff. R. Thurneysen, Über Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf *-io* der 3. und 4. Conj. und ihr gegenseitiges Verhältniss, Leipz. 1879. C. Peter, Über die schwachen Verba der lat. Sprache, Rhein. Mus. III 95 ff., 360 ff. M. Bréal, Verbes dérivés latins, Mém. d. l. Soc. d. lingu. VI 342 ff. F. de Saussure, Sur une classe de verbes latins en *-eo*, *ibid.* III 279 ff. C. Pauli, Geschichte der lat. Verba auf *uo*, Stettin 1865. O. I. Fehrnborg, De verbis Latinis in *uo* divisas desinentibus, Stockholm 1889. C. Paucker, Die verba denominativa auf *-are*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 261 ff., 415 ff. R. Jonas, De verbis frequentativis et intensivis apud comoediae Latinae scriptores, (I) Posen 1871, (II) Meseritz 1872. *Idem*, Gebrauch der Verba frequentativa und intensiva in der älteren lat. Prosa (Cato, Varro, Sallust), Posen 1879 und 1884. C. Paucker, Die verba frequentativa, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 243 ff., 409 ff. Wölfflin, Die Verba frequentativa und intensiva, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. IV 197 ff. *Idem*, Die verba desuperlativa, *ibid.* II 355 ff. G. Curtius, Über die Spuren einer lat. *o*-Conjugation, Symbola philol. Bonn. 1864 pp. 271 ff. = Kleine Schriften II 133 ff. Wölfflin, Die verba desiderativa, Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. I 408 ff. G. Curtius, De aoristi Latini reliquiis, Kieler Lectionsverzeichn. 1857—58 = Curtius'

show, disclose, inform') and the aorist Skr. *á-sthā-t* Gr. ἔ-στη (√ *stā-* 'stand'); between the imperfect Skr. *á-druha-t* (√ *dreugh-* 'deceive') Gr. ἔ-γλυφε (√ *gleubh-* 'split, incise') and the aorist Skr. *budhá-nta* Gr. ἐ-πύθε-το (√ *bheudh-* 'wake,

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Stud. v 429 ff. Corssen, Kein Aoristus II im Lateinischen, in Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. pp. 538 ff. F. G. Fumi, Sulla formazione latina del preterito e futuro imperfetti, Progr. del R. Liceo Chiabrera in Savona 1875—76.

Keltic. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Etude sur le présent du verbe irlandais, Mém. d. l. Soc. d. lingu. v 237 ff. Wh. Stokes, The Neo-Celtic Verb Substantive, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1885—87, pp. 202 ff. *Idem*, The Old-Irish Verb Substantive, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxviii 55 ff. Windisch, Das ir. praesens secundarium, *ibid.* xxvii 156 ff. *Idem*, Das ir. *t*-Präteritum, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. viii 442 ff. Thurneysen, Das sogen. Präsens der Gewohnheit im Irischen, Idg. Forsch. I 329 ff. Lottner, Traces of the Italic imperfect in the Keltic languages, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1859, pp. 31 ff. Thurneysen, Zu den ir. Verbalformen sigmatischer Bildung, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 62 ff. — Further on page 4, footnote.

Germanic. Amelung, Die Bildung der Tempusstämme durch Vokalsteigerung im Deutschen, Berl. 1871. Peterson, Vom Ablaut mit bes. Rücksicht auf den Ablaut des starken Zeitworts im German., Lund 1877. A. Moller, Die reduplicierenden Verba im Deutschen als abgeleitete Verba, eine etymol. Untersuchung, Potsd. 1866. H. Lichtenberger, De verbis quae in vetustissima Germanorum lingua reduplicatum praeteritum exhibeant, Nancy 1891. G. Burghauser, Idg. Präsensbildung im German., Wien 1887. J. von Fierlinger, Zur deutschen Conjugation (Präsentia der Wurzelclasse, Zur westgerm. Flexion des verb. subst.), Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 432 ff. H. Kern, Over eeinige vormen van 't werkwoord *zijn* in 't Germaansch, Taal- en Letterbode v 89 ff. J. Schmidt, Die german. Flexion des verbum substant. und das hiatusfüllende *r* im Hochd., Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 592 ff. W. Wilmanns, Die Flexion der Verba *tuon*, *gān*, *stān* im Ahd., Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Alterth. xxxiii 424 ff. Skladny, Über das gotische Passiv, Neisse 1873. Egge, Inchoative or *n*-Verbs in Gothic, Amer. Journ. Phil. vii 38 ff. Sievers, Zur Flexion der schwachen Verba, Paul-Braune's Beitr. viii 90 ff. Kögel, Die schwachen Verba zweiter und dritter Classe, *ibid.* ix 504 ff. The Author, Die got. Imperativform *hiri* und die Denominativa von consonantischen Stämmen, Morph. Unters. iv 414 ff.

Balto-Slavonic. G. Uljanov, Značenija glagolnych osnov v litovsko-slavjanskom jazykě (meaning of verbal stems in Lithu-Slavonic), Russkij filol. věstnik xxiv 105 ff., xxv 41 ff. O. Wiedemann, Das litau. Präteritum, ein Beitrag zur Verbalflexion der idg. Sprachen, Strassb. 1891. Leskien, Die Präsensbildungen des Slavischen und ihr Verhältniss zum Infinitivstamm, Arch. f. slav. Philol. v 497 ff. Miklosich,

notice, learn'). Often the same form is imperfect in one language and aorist in another; the forms *é-ĝene-t* ($\surd$ *ĝen-* 'gignere') and **é-dn̥ke-t* ($\surd$ *denk-* 'bite') are imperfect in Sanskrit (*ájanat ádaśat*), and aorist in Greek (*ἐγένετο ἔδακε*). Or the same form is both, in one and the same language; Skr. *á-pā-t* 'drank' is imperfect of the pres. *pā́-ti*, and aorist of the pres. *píba-ti*. What the meaning of a given form was, whether imperfect or aorist, depended on its relation to others. See Delbrück, Ai. Verb. p. 16, Ai. Tempuslehre p. 5. For our purpose, then, the stems of the present and the strong aorist go together; and where it is advisable to refer to the difference in the kind of action implied, we shall use the terms imperfect-present and aorist-present.

Some of the forms which in grammars of this or that language are called Future Indicative were originally Conjunctive; for example, Lat. *eri-s agē-s*. These will be found under Conjunctive (§§ 910 ff.). In form they belong to the Present. In the same place will be found the Idg. series of forms built up with the suffix *-sio-*, as Skr. *dā-syā́mi* Lith. *dů-siu* 'dabo'. The *-sio-* stands on the same level as *-so-* *-sko-* and other formative suffixes used in the present tense; it is probably made up of *-s(o)-* + *-io-*, as *-nio-* is of *-n(o)-* + *-io-* (§ [illegible]). Thus these futures are treated under the Present Tense.

With the Present also should strictly speaking be classed the s-Aorist. Its characteristic s cannot be separated from the s which is so common in present and regular in future stems; and its whole inflexion follows the same principle as the present. The s-aorist would properly go with Class XIX of Present Stems (cp. §§ 633, 638). A separate chapter is given all the same to this

Import. in den slav. Sprachen, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXXVII 5 ff. Tiedemann, Zur Stammbildung der Verben auf *-nąti*, Arch. f. slav. Phil. X 632 ff. W. Burda, Ein Beispiel der Präsensstammbildung mittels *to* im Slavischen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VI 392. Miklosich, Verba intensiva im Altslowenischen, *ibid.* I 67 ff. *Idem*, Einfacher Aorist [in Old-Slovenian], Sitzungsber. der Wien. Akad. LXXXI 100 ff.

Aorist (§§ 810 ff.), but merely to assist in getting a general view of this large group of forms.

As to the proethnic Perfect, as **dedorḱe* = Skr. *dadárśa* Gr. δέδορκε (√‿*derḱ-* 'see'), it is distinguished from present forms by its grade of ablaut in the singular indicative active, by some special personal endings in the indicative, and (if we include the verb infinite) by a peculiar formation in the participle active. The remaining forms of the perfect system, with which we must include the pluperfect, have exact counterparts in the system of the present, and nothing but its use can tell us whether a given one of these forms is perfect, present, or aorist; even the reduplication with *e* is not confined to the perfect (§ 471 pp. 15 f.). Often the kind of action denoted is so little obvious, that grammarians doubt whether to class certain forms under Perfect or Present Stem (cp. Delbrück, Altind. Verb. 122 f., Whitney's Sanskrit Gram. § 868, Curtius Verb II[2] 24 f.). It is clear that notwithstanding these points of contact between the two classes, a special chapter must be given to the perfect, on account of the peculiarities which it has.

We therefore divide Verb Forms, from the point of view of the Formation of these Tenses, into three groups:

I. Present (including Imperfect- and Aorist-Present).
II. *s*-Aorist.
III. Perfect.

§ **486**. Before we proceed to our subject in detail, two distinctions must be explained which are usually made, and to which some attention must be given in discussing Tense Morphology. These are (1) the distinction between *Primitive* or *Primary* verbs, and *Derivative* or *Secondary* verbs (*Denominative* or *Deverbative*): (2) that between *Root-Determinatives,* and *Tense-Suffixes,* or the elements used in forming a tense stem.

§ **487**. First — *Primitive* and *Derivative* Verbs. Primitives, such as **es-ti* 'est' and **aǵe-ti* 'agit', are contrasted with two classes of derived verbs: (1) a class which in the formation of

the stem is wholly verbal, as much as are the primitives; as Sanskrit Desideratives and Intensives (*ní-nī-ṣa-ti nē-nī-yá-tē* from *náya-ti* 'leads'), and Inchoatives in Latin (*gemīscō* from *gemō*): (2) those which clearly contain a Noun Stem, called Denominatives; as Skr. *gātu-yá-ti* 'procures access' from *gātú-ṣ* 'access', Gr. *ποιμαίνω* 'I tend' from *ποιμήν* 'herdsman', Lat. *planta-t* from *planta*.

(1) The formation of Desideratives, Inchoatives, Intensives, Iteratives, Frequentatives, Causatives and the rest is in principle absolutely the same as that of the so-called Primitive verbs connected with them. There is a distinction, however, in the *meaning* of the present tense; in these verbs the present had a second special meaning in addition to that of time. This distinguished them from the primitives, which had a simpler meaning in the present, and the formation with some special meaning became a more or less fertile type. But they were not originally *derived* from their primitives for the express purpose of conveying this new meaning; the new meaning, indeed, does not always date from the proethnic stage at all, but belongs to a later period, and it often has nothing to do with the form, but depends on other circumstances. This is the case with Lat. inchoatives in *-scō* (§ 674). Thus it is clear that we cannot use this different meaning as a principle of classification; our aim is historical, and we base our classification on the conditions which prevailed in the proethnic stage, and as far as possible on etymology. We must then be content to point out the special meaning where it is of any importance, and, wherever it is possible, to explain how the meaning came in.

(2) It is less easy to classify the second group of forms, and to find out how far indicative stems, which we see combined with personal endings into a word, are purely verbal, and how far they are wholly or partly nominal. If we could only see which were based on noun stems and which derived from verbs, this would of course be the main principle of distinction.

There is no manner of doubt that the Idg. languages had

not only denominative verbs with an additional suffix between stem and personal ending — such as Skr. *gātu-yá-ti apas-yá-ti* ('is active', from *ápas-* 'work') Lith. *pāsako-ju* ('I recount' from *pāsaka* 'account'), which have *-i̯o-* between stem and ending — but also others where the personal suffix was added immediately to the noun stem. Such forms are Lat. *plantā-s planta-t* etc. from *planta*, O.H.G. *salbō-s* 'thou anointest' *salbō-t* etc. from *salba* 'ointment', Lith. *jů̃sto* 'he girds' *jů̃sto-me* from *jů̃sta* 'girdle', Aeol. *τῑμᾱ-μεν* 'we honour' from *τῑμᾱ́* 'honour'. Also Skr. *mārga-ti* 'tracks, traces' from *mārga-s* 'path, track', *phala-ti* 'bears fruit' from *phála-m* 'fruit', Gr. *θέρμε-το* 'grew warm' from *θερμό-ς*, *ἐ-χραισμε* 'was useful' beside *χραισμέω*, Skr. *jī́va-ti* Lat. *vīvi-t* O.C.Sl. *žive-tŭ* 'lives' from *jī-vá-s vī-vo-s ži-vŭ* 'alive'. With very good reason, all forms with a thematic vowel, and therefore all presents formed by *-o- -no- -to- -i̯o-* etc., have been explained as noun-stems with added personal endings (so, for example, Curtius Verb I² 14 f., 161, 239, 296): as specimens take Skr. *ája-ti* 'drives' Gr. *ἄγει* Lat. *agi-t* with Skr. *ajá-s* 'driver' Gr. *ἀγό-ς* Lat. *prōd-igu-s*; Skr. *paṇa-tē* 'buys' with *paṇa-s* 'wager, stipulation' Lith. *pel̃na-s* 'profit' (I § 259 p. 212), Skr. *vḗna-ti* 'yearns' with *vēná-s* 'yearning', Goth. *fraíhni-þ* 'asks' with Skr. *praśná-s* 'question'; containing *-n̥no- -eno- -ono-* (Class XIV): compare Skr. *kṛpáṇa-te* 'he acts pitifully, begs' with *kṛpaṇá-s* 'pitiful, poor', Gr. *θηγάνει* 'sharpens' with *θήγανο-ν* 'something to sharpen with, whetstone', Goth. *us-lūkni-þ* 'opens itself' with *us-lūkn-s* 'open', Lith. *kùpinu* 'I heap up' with *kùpina-s* 'heaped'; Skr. *vēṣṭa-tē* 'turns round' with *vēṣṭá-s* 'bond, noose', Gr. *ἔ-βλαστε* 'grew, sprouted' with *βλαστό-ς* 'bud, sprout'; Skr. *pū́ya-ti* 'stinks' with *pū́ya-m* 'ill smelling discharge, matter'. Even some non-thematic and primitive stems have the same kind of relation to noun stems. For example take Skr. *dhṛṣṇu-más* 'we are brave' and *dhṛṣṇú-ṣ* 'brave'. The root-extending suffix *-ā-*, in **bhuu̯-ā- *bhu̯-ā-* (Lith. *bùvo* Lat. *-bat*), **tr-ā-* (Skr. *trā́-sva* imper. 'preserve, save', Lat. *in-trā-mus trā-ns*) it seems necessary to identify with the feminine suffix *-ā-*, compare Skr. *ji-jyāú* 'he has overcome' (fut. *jyā-*

-sya-ti etc.) Gr. Ion. *βε-βίη-ται* (aor. *βιή-σατο* etc.) with fem. Skr. *jyā- jiyā-* 'power, superiority' Gr. *βίᾱ* from √*gei̯-* (Skr. *jáy-a-ti ji-nā́-ti* and others). So also *-es-*, which extends the root in **u̯-es-* 'clothe' (Skr. *vás-tē* Gr. *ἐπί-εσται* and other words) must be the same as the neuter suffix *-es-*, and the tense-formative *-əs-* in Skr. *á-jāriṣ-ur* 'they have grown old' the same as *-əs-* the neuter suffix (Gr. *γῆρας*). Many other proofs will meet us in the course of our enquiry.

It need hardly be said that these denominatives or noun-verbs did not all appear at the same time. The different types of formation belong to very different periods; and in the earliest strata, e. g. in verbs of Class II such as Skr. *ája-ti* Lat. *agi-t*, their noun origin was forgotten even in the proethnic language.

But of what verbs, then, can we be certain that when their stem was fused with a personal pronoun it was a verb and not a noun? Of none at all. Even where the stem is the bare root, reduplicated or not, as in **es-ti ἔσ-τι*, **stā-t στῆ*, **bhibhai̯-ti* Skr. *bibhē-ti*, the stem may be regarded as a ***nomen actionis*** or *agentis* (cp. the Root Nouns, II §§ 159 ff., pp. 478 ff.).

In the formation of those verbs which are traditionally called Denominative there is nothing to distinguish them from what are classed as primary verbs. Lat. *plantā-s* is just like *intrā-s hiā-s*, Aeol. *ἐτί̄μᾱ-μεν* like *ἔδρᾱ-μεν ἔτλη-μεν*, Lith. *jů'sto* like *bìjōs lìndo*. Even the present formation with *-i̯o-* is nothing peculiar to the denominative class. We see in Skr. *apas-yá-ti pr̥tanā-yá-ti* Gr. *ὀνομαίνω* etc. the same present secondary suffix *-i̯o-* as we see in reduplicated forms such as Skr. *dēdiš-yá-tē* Gr. *γαργαίρω* (Class XXVII), in forms such as Skr. *gr̥bhā-yá-ti*, pass. *trā-yá-tē*, Gr. *δρῶ* for **δρᾱ-i̯ω*, *ἰῶμαι* for **ἰσᾱ-i̯ο-* (Class XXVIII), and in futures such as Skr. *ta̧-s-yá-tē vēd-iṣ-yá-ti* (Class XXX). Lat. *plantō* (for **plantā-i̯ō*) Skr. *pr̥tanā-yá-ti* are related to Lat. *plantā-s* Lith. *jů'sto* just as Lat. *intrō* (for **intrā-i̯ō*) Skr. *trā-yá-tē* to Lat. *in-trā-s* Skr. *trā-ti trā́-sva*, as Skr. *dēdiš-yá-tē* to *dēdiṣ-ṭē*, and as Skr. fut. *vēdiṣ-yá-ti* to aor. *á-vēdiṣ-ma*.

That the term Denominative Verbs cannot be restricted to one special mode of inflexion is clear from many other instances where verbs have been derived from nouns by simply imitating the inflexion of any Primary Verb. Primary verbs in *-éi̯ō* (Causatives, and Intensives or Iteratives) were the model for Skr. *mantráya-tē* 'he takes counsel, advises' from *mántra-s*, and Goth. *fulljan* O.C.Sl. *plŭni-ti* 'to fill' from *full-s plŭnŭ*. In Gothic, primary verbs like *af-lifnan* were the model for *fullnan* 'to become full' from *full-s*; in Lithuanian, *kùpin-ti* etc. were the model for such derivatives as *lìnksmin-ti* 'to make cheerful' from *liñksma-s*, and *virstù vir̃sti* etc. for *gelstù gel̃sti* 'to become yellow' from *gel̃ta-s*. These and similar re-formations will be discussed in § 793. They were due to the fact that there were nouns from the same root as some of the primary verbs, and from these they were believed to be derived. Then real denominatives were formed and used along with these apparent ones.

Thus in our classification of verbs, which depends first and foremost upon differences of inflexion, no use can be made of the traditional distinction between Primary and Denominative.

Even if the term Denominative were to be restricted to its common application it would be misleading. The feeling of a speaker for his language can give no help here. Often it cannot be made out whether the speaker regarded a given form as Denominative or not; his feeling often changed according to suggested associations; and if feeling of this sort were made the standard, we should often enough be led to class with Denominatives verbs which were only so by false analogy, and to class as Primary some which were undoubtedly derived from a noun. If again we took as our standard not the feeling of the speaker, but the actual formation of the words, we should be no nearer to getting a settled boundary line. It is easy to say, let those verbs be called denominative which contain noun formative suffixes, thus showing their noun origin, words that is like Gr. τῑμάω from τῑ-μή, ποιμαίνω from ποι-μήν, or Goth. *fullnan* from *full-s* (ground-form **pl̥-no-s*). But not

to mention that this criterion excludes verbs derived from root nouns, little is gained by this mode of classification; for the task of historical grammar is not so much to analyse the forms and to describe their etymological structure, as to discover their origin and growth. In numberless instances doubts arise as to the correctness of our terminology. The commonest example is that of two classes of verbs running together, a primary and a denominative; e. g. in Greek, verbs in *-éįō* and verbs in *-e-įṓ* both become *-έω*; in Germanic, verbs in *-įō -éįō* and those in *-e-įṓ -i-įṓ* both became (Goth.) *-ja*; in Lithuanian, verbs in *-éįō* and verbs in *-ā-mi* (*-ā-įō*) both became *-au* (inf. *-y-ti*). Here the question whether a given verb is primary or denominative is absurd, because it may quite well have been both. For instance, Lith. *bradaũ bradýti* 'to wade about' may be derived both from *bradà* subst. 'wading' on the analogy of *jű'stau jű'styti* 'to gird', a denominative from *jű's-ta* 'girdle', and from *bredù* 'I wade' on the analogy of *-manaũ -manýti*, the old "primary" *éįō*-byeform of *menù* 'I remember'; and Greek *τροπέω* may come from *τρόπο-ς* on the analogy of *νοστέω* : *νόσ-το-ς*, and from *τρέπω* on the analogy of *φορέω* (= Skr. *bhāráya-ti*): *φέρω*.

But however faulty our grammatical terminology may be, we cannot afford to dispense with it altogether in a book like this. I shall keep the term Denominative for verbs derived from nouns in the later periods, when the verb stem was still more or less felt to be originally a noun; for instance, Skr. *gātu-yá-ti*, Gr. *τῑμάω*, and Lat. *planta-t*.

§ 488. Turn we now to the distinction drawn between Root-Determinatives and Suffixes or other elements used in forming the Tense Stem.

What is usually understood, or may be understood, by the term Root-determinative has been set forth in II § 8 Rem. 2 pp. 20 f. A reference should be added to Curtius, Greek Etymology[2] pp. 59 ff., and Fick, Wörterb. IV[3] 44 ff.[1]

1) Another work, systematic, and valuable in spite of much bold conjecture, is Per Persson's *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung*

These elements may appear in any part of the verb. For instance, from Idg. **rē-dh-* 'take counsel' come Skr. *á-rādha-t rādhnṓ-ti rā́dhya-tē rātsyá-ti*, *rarā́dh-a*, *á-rātsī-t*, *rāddhá-s rāddhvā́* etc.; from Idg. **sr-eu̯- sr-u-* 'flow' come Skr. *sráva-ti*, *sraviṣyá-ti*, *susrā́v-a*, *srutá-s* etc. But they are sometimes found only in present or aorist forms, and disappear in the rest; as Lat. *per-cellō* for **-cel-dō* beside perf. *-culī*, Lith. *vér-du* 'I boil' beside pret. *viriaū* inf. *vir̃-ti*, O.C.Sl. *ži-vą* 'I live' beside aor. *ži-chŭ* inf. *ži-ti.*[1]) Again, present formative-suffixes, to use the stock phrase, spread beyond their own proper area both in the original language and later. These two reasons make it impossible always to keep Root-Determinatives distinct from Present Formative-Suffixes; the origin of both, by the way, is equally obscure. The tense which we call Present was almost always the foundation for the whole structure of the Verb and its associated noun forms; and the spread of root determinatives over all the verbal system is due to the same principle which from Skr. *pí-nva-ti* 'fattens' makes the perfect *pininva* and the participle *pinvi-tá-s*, and makes Skr. *á-yuᵊk-ṣ-mahi* Lat. *jūnx-ī* Lith. *jùnk-siu* from *yuᵊktḗ jungō jùngiu* ($\sqrt{}$ *jeu̯g-* 'iungere').

There is something else which shows the impossibility of carrying out the usual distiction between Determinatives and ordinary Inflexions. In discussing the inflexion of the present in primary classes of verbs, it is too common to find the *first syllable* of a form taken for the uninflected kernel of it. Because in **bhereti* 'fert', the syllable *bher-* is this kernel, that is, the root, therefore in **treseti* (Skr. *trásati* Gr. τρέει) the syllable *tres-* is called the root; then, because there is not the same syllable in Skr. *tar-alá-s* 'moving to and fro,

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und Wurzelvariation, Upsala 1891. This has reached me too late for anything more than occasional use. With his treatment of the main questions of principle as set forth on pages 202 and following, I agree.

1) In Lat. *vī-vō* too the *u̯o*-suffix was once confined to the present. *vīxī victum* are re-formates, for **vī-sī *vī-tum*. See Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 274; Stolz, Lat. Gr.[2] p. 383.

trembling' Gr. *τρ-έμω* Lat. *tr-emō* Lith. *tr-imù* 'I tremble', *-es-* is called a "determinative", whilst in Skr. *vás-tē* 'clothes himself' Gr. *ἐπί-εσται* (√*eu̯-*, in Lith. *au-nù* Lat. *ex-uō*) *-es-* is not so called because these verbs are looked upon as parallel to forms like **es-ti*. But inasmuch as **tres-* and **u̯es-* run right through the whole system of their verbs, they have become "roots". And there is no more reason for separating Skr. 1st sing. *tr-ásē v-ásē* from 1st sing. *yaj-asē r̥ñj-asē* than for separating (say) **bhu̯-ō* (Lat. *-bō* O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. *bą*) Skr. *á-hv-a-t* Gr. *ἔ-πλ-ε* from **bher-ō* (Gr. *φέρ-ω*) Skr. *á-vid-a-t*. We always hear of an "s-suffix" in such words as Skr. *yaj-asē*; but why? Simply because the ending *-asē* is not the first syllable of the word. The *ē* of **pl-ē-* 'fill' (Skr. *prá-si* Gr. *πλῆ-το* Lat. *-plē-s*) is called part of the *Root*; but it is the same *ē* which we have in **mn̥n-ē-* Gr. *ἐ-μάνη* Lith. *mìn-ė*), **tak-ē-* (Lat. *tac-ē-s* O.H.G. *dag-ē-s*), where it is called *Inflexion*. And the "determinative" *-dh-* is called inflexional in Gr. *φλεγέθω νεμέθομαι πελάθω*, but not in *ἔ-δρα-θο-ν ἔ-δαρ-θο-ν*, or *ἄχ-θο-μαι*. The question whether a verbal element, which can be analysed no further, is or is not a separate syllable has, it is true, some importance; for it influenced the grouping of the forms in the speaker's memory, and this affected the developement of a language in many ways: e. g. the root in Lith. *v-ejù* O.C.Sl. *v-ĭją* 'I wind, turn' (= Skr. *v-áya-ti* 'weaves'), since it formed in itself no syllable, did not follow the course taken by the other verbs in *-éi̯ō* (Class XXXII) in Balto-Slavonic. But this cannot justify the making a distinction, as is so often done, between things which are clearly connected. Dealing as we do with the parent language, and from this point investigating the growth of the Verbal System, we must discuss together Skr. *v-ásē* and *yaj-asē*, Greek *πλ-ῆ-το ἔ-βλ-η* and *ἐ-μάν-η ἐ-βάλ-η*.

If, as it seems right to do, a special Present Class is given to **és-ti* 'is' (Skr. *ás-ti*, √*es-*), another to **u̯emə-ti* 'vomits' (Skr. *vámi-ti*, √*u̯em-*), and a third to **bhsē-ti* 'chews up, devours' (Skr. *psá-ti*, √*bhaˣs-* seen in *bá-bhas-ti*), it is only consistent to distinguish each of the following as another class of Present

Stems: — a *u-* : *eu̯*-class for Skr. *sr-áva-ti* Gr. *ῥ-έ(ϝ)ει* 'flows' Skr. *á-su-srō-t* from √*ser-* seen in Skr. *sí-sar-ti*, for Skr. *dr-áva-ti* 'runs' *á-du-dr-uva-t* from √*der-*, seen in Skr. *dr-á-ti* *dr-ama-ti* 'runs', and others; an *m*-class for Skr. *dr-ama-ti* Gr. *ἔ-δρ-αμο-ν* from the above mentioned *der-*, for Gr. *τρ-έμω* Lat. *tr-emō* Lith. *tr-imù* 'I tremble' from √*ter-*, seen in Skr. *tar-alá-s* 'moving to and fro, trembling' *tr-ása-ti* 'trembles', and others; a *u̯*-class (probably connected closely with the *u-* : *eu̯*-class) for Skr. *jī́-va-ti* Lat. *vī-vi-t* O.C.Sl. *ži-ve-tŭ* 'lives' from √*gei̯-*, seen in Avest. *gay-a* 'life' *jy-āiti-* 'life' Gr. *ζῆ* (for **gi̯-ē-*), O.C.Sl. *ži-ti* 'to live', for Avest. *ni-šaurvaiti* 'defends' Skr. *dhū́rva-ti* 'harms' *bhárvati* 'chews, destroys' etc. In the same way we come to a *p*-class, a *bh*-class, a *k̑*-class, and so forth. But this principle will not be consistently carried out, for two reasons. First, in these and many similar classes which might be made only a few examples occur, and thus for our period such formative elements as these can hardly be said to have any real productive power. Secondly, any attempt to make such a classification complete would lead us into labyrinths of root-analysis which would properly be without the scope of a compendium like the present. Roots with this kind of Determinatives, then, which we do not place in any separate class, we shall generally assume to be incapable of further analysis; and thus we place (say) Gr. *τρ-έμω* in the same division as *νέμω* and *γέμω*.

§ **489.** The formation of the Moods, the stems of the Injunctive, Conjunctive, Optative, and Imperative, will follow that of the Tense Stem (§§ 909 ff.). It must however, be here pointed out that the elements which are generally regarded as mood-formative are sometimes etymologically the same as in the indicative. Injunctive and Indicative forms, of course, cannot be separated. And it is beyond all doubt that the short Conjunctive vowel (Gr. *-ε-* *-ο-*), as in **es-e-ti* Skr. *ásati* Lat. *erit* (indic. **es-ti* 'est'), Hom. *ἅ-λε-ται* (indic. *ἆλ-το* 'sprang'), is the same as what is called the thematic vowel in the Indicative (as **aĝ-e-ti* Skr. *ájati* Lat. *agit*).

Further, I hold that the conjunctive vowel -*ā*- in Lat. *ferā-s* etc. is the same as -*ā*- found after weak root-forms in the indicative (Classes X and XI), and also the same as the *ā* which forms feminine nouns (§ 487 pp. 41 f.); thus Lat. *fu-ā-mus* belongs to the same class of words as the Indic. Lat. -*bā-mus* (for **fu-ā-mos*) and Lith. *bùv-o-me* (§ 578), and that Lat. *poscat* for **porscā-t*, the indic. O.H.G. *forscōt* 'demands', and the Skr. fem. *pṛcchā* 'question' (common ground-form **pṛk̑-skā-*) in point of etymology must all go together. So also the Italic conjunctive -*ē*- is to be identified with the Indicative -*ē*- (Classes X and XI), and so forth.

In all these cases it were proper to keep together whatever forms are etymologically akin. But if we did so, a student who is used to the practice observed hitherto, of arranging forms according to their function, would hardly be able to find his way. So I prefer to give this up, and simply call attention to etymology and structure where it is convenient to do so.

THE PRESENT STEM.

IMPERFECT PRESENT AND AORIST PRESENT.[1])

§ **490.** The classes of the Present Stem are very commonly divided into two groups:

(1) *Thematic*, or verbs in -*ō* (Bopp's First Main Conjugation); and

(2) *Non-thematic*, or verbs in -*mi* (Bopp's Second Main Conjugation.

The first group has in the Indicative -*o*- or -*e*- just before the personal ending; but -*ō* is the ending of the 1st person singular. These vowels were distributed amongst the persons of the singular and plural (we may leave the dual out for the present) in very much the same way as they are in Greek; -*e*- in the 2nd person of both, and the 3rd singular, -*o*- in the 1st persons (but 1st sing. pres. act. -*ō*) and in the 3rd plural:

1) For works bearing on this subject, see footnote to page 33.

compare 2nd sing. ἔφερε-ς φέρε-αι ἐφέρε-ο (for the indic. pres. act. cp. Goth. *bairi-s*), 2nd pl. φέρε-τε ἐφέρε-τε φέρε-σθε ἐφέρε-σθε, 3rd sing. ἔφερε φέρε-ται ἐφέρε-το (for the indic. pres. act. cp. Goth. *bairi-þ*); 1st sing. (φέρω) ἔφερο-ν (φέρο-μαι ἐφερό-μην), 1st pl. φέρο-μεν ἐφέρο-μεν φερό-μεθα ἐφερό-μεθα, 3rd pl. φέρο-ντι (φέρουσι) ἔφερο-ν φέρο-νται ἐφέρο-ντο. The variation *-e-* : *-o-* is the rule in all the present *o*-suffixes except *-i̯o-*, where instead of it there is sometimes *-i-* *-ī-*; see § 702. The Conjunctive shows a long vowel before the personal endings, as 1st and 2nd pl. Gr. φέρω-μεν φερώ-μεθα φέρη-τε φέρη-σθε Lat. *ferā-mas ferā-tis* Skr. *bhárā-ma bhárā-mahāi bhárā-tha bhárā-dhvāi.* The Optative has the thematic vowel *-o-*, and between it and the personal ending *i̯*, which, when the personal ending began in a consonant, combined with the thematic vowel into a diphthong and a single syllable, as 2nd sing. Gr. φέροι-ς Goth. *bairái-s* Skr. *bhárē-ṣ.*

To the second group belong all present stems which have no thematic vowel before the personal ending in the Indicative. The personal endings were mostly the same as in the first group. There is a strange difference in the first person singular pres. indic., which had in the parent language, as it has in Greek, the the ending *-mi*; Gr. εἶ-μι τίθη-μι δάμνη-μι στόρνῡ-μι etc., not like φέρω βόσκω τύπτω φορέω. In most non-thematic conjugations, the indicative had, and retains, a vowel grading; the syllable just before the personal ending, whether root or suffix, had the strong grade (and accent) in the singular of the active, and the weak grade (no accent) in the active dual and plural: compare Skr. act. sing. 1st pers. *dvḗṣ-mi* ('I hate') *á-dvēṣ-am* 2nd *dvḗk-ṣi á-dvēṭ* 3rd *dvḗṣ-ṭi á-dvēṭ*, but pl. 1st pers. *dviṣ-más á-dviṣ-ma* etc., dual 1st pers. *dviṣ-vás á-dviṣ-va* etc., mid. sing. 1st pers. *dviṣ-ḗ á-dviṣ-i* etc.; act. sing. 1st pers. *kṛ-ṇṓ-mi* ('I make') *á-kṛ-ṇav-am* 2nd *kṛ-ṇṓ-ṣi á-kṛ-ṇō-ṣ* 3rd *kṛ-ṇṓ-ti á-kṛ-ṇō-t*, but pl. 1st pers. *kṛ-ṇu-más á-kṛ-ṇu-ma* etc., dual 1st pers. *kṛ-ṇu-vás á-kṛ-ṇu-va* etc.; mid. sing. 1st pers. *kṛ-ṇv-ḗ á-kṛ-ṇv-i* etc. On the whole it may be said that the Conjunctive formed with *-e-* and *-o-* had the strong

stem in active and middle; as 3rd sing. act. *dvḗṣ-a-t(i) kr̥-ṇáv-a-t(i)* mid. *dvḗṣ-a-tē kr̥-ṇáv-a-tē*. The optative had in the singular active *-i̯ē- -ii̯ē-*; in the other active forms and in the middle it had *-ī-* before personal endings beginning in a consonant and *-ii̯-* or *-i̯-* before a sonant; always with the weak form of the present stem: e. g. act. 1st sing. *dviṣ-yā́-m kr̥-ṇu-yā́-m* 1st pl. **dviṣ-ī-má *kr̥-ṇv-ī-má* (what we actually find are *dviṣ-yā́-ma kr̥-ṇu-yā́-ma*, contrast Lat. *s-ī-mus* beside *s-ie-m*), mid. 3rd sing. *dviṣ-ī-tá kr̥-ṇv-ī-tá* 1st sing. Avest. *tanuya* i. e. *ta-nv-iy-a*.

§ **491.** Great as is the importance of the difference between thematic and non-thematic stems, it seems best not to make it the chief principle of distinction in what follows.

Every class of non-thematic presents with vowel gradation had parallel to it another class, which may be regarded as formed by adding the thematic vowel to the weak stem. Very often the same verb has both. Examples: Skr. *vḗt-ti (vid-más)*: *vid-á-ti*, √ *u̯ei̯d-* 'know, learn'; Gr. *ἵ-στη-σι*: Skr. *tí-ṣṭh-a-ti*, √ *stā-* 'stand'; Skr. 3rd pl. *sá-śc-ati* : 2rd sing. *sá-śc-a-si* Gr. *ἕ-σπο-ι-το*, √ *seq-* 'sequi'; Skr. *r̥-ṇṓ-ti* : *r̥-ṇv-á-ti*, √ *er-* 'move'; Skr. *mr̥-ṇā́-ti* : *mr̥-ṇ-á-ti* 'crushes'; Skr. *yunák-ti* : *yuñj-a-ti* Lat. *jung-i-t*, √ *jeu̯g* 'iungere'. These two kinds hang closely together, and cannot be treated apart.[1] I therefore choose a mode of

1) The closest contact between them is in the 3rd pl. active and the partic. pres. active. I now depart from my previous view set forth in I § 226 p. 193, II § 125 p. 395 (and elsewhere); I now hold with Streitberg (Idg. Forsch. I 82 ff.) that the strong suffix-forms of these parts of non-thematic verbs (3rd pl. act., and pres. act. partic.) were *-enti -ent* and *-ent-*, e. g. **s-énti* 'sunt' partic. nom. pl. **s-ént-es*. It is *possible* that there were variants, also of the strong grade, *-onti -ont* and *-ont-*. Then *-ent-* : *-ont-* : *-n̥t-* as in the gen. abl. sing. *-es* : *-os* : *-s* (III § 228 pp. 111 f.). If so, it is very possible that we should class together with the non-thematic conjugation e. g. Lat. *sont sunt*, *sōns*, O.C.Sl. *sątĭ* (*sątŭ*) *sy*, and analyse them **s-onti *s-ont-s*; that is to say, regard them as parallel to forms like *es-t jes-tĭ* (*jes-tŭ*). They would belong to both conjugations. This is, however, only a possibility; and I have accordingly treated forms with *-o-*, like Lat. *sunt*, in each case as thematic) and thematic only (below, §§ 492 ff.).

classification which takes as its principle some common points of structure or etymology other than the presence or absence of a thematic vowel. Thus one group will comprise presents which have a nasal-formative (as Skr. *mr̥ṇā́-ti mr̥ṇá-ti r̥ṇṓ-ti r̥ṇvá-ti yunák-ti yuñja-ti*); it is clear that this element was the same in all of them.

A. CLASSES I TO VIII:

SIMPLE ROOT, OR ROOT WITH *-o-*, FOR THE PRESENT STEM; SOMETIMES REDUPLICATED.

Class I: Simple Root used for the Present Stem.

§ **492**. This class disappeared in most languages, leaving only a few traces. It is commonest in Aryan, as are all the non-thematic forms.

§ **493**. Idg. **u̯él-mi* 'I choose, wish, will' 1st pl. **u̯l̥-més*: Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *á-vr̥-ta* opt. *vr-iyā-t* (3rd sing. mid. *vur-ī-ta*[1])), Lat. 2nd sing. *vel* for **vel-s* (now a particle), 2nd pl. *vol-tis*, Lith. *pa-velmi* 'I will' 3rd sing. *pa-velt*. — With thematic vowel, Lat. *volō* (**u̯l̥l-ō*) 3rd pl. *vol-u-nt*.

**gém-ti* 'goes, comes' 2nd pl. **gm̥-té*: Avest. 3rd sing. *jan-tū* Skr. 2nd pl. *ga-thá* 3rd sing. mid. *á-ga-ta* 3rd pl. *á-gm-an*, Armen. 3rd sing. *e-kn* = Skr. *á-gan*, Gr. 3rd dual *βά-την*. Conjunctive: Avest. *jim-a-þ* (I § 94 p. 89), cp. indic. Goth. *qim-i-þ*. Optative: Skr. *gam-yā́-m* A.S. *cyme* (= Goth. **kumjau*). — With thematic vowel. Avest. *gᵉm-a-þ γm-a-þ* O.Pers. mid. *a-gm-a-tā* Skr. opt. *gamḗ-t* i. e. **gm̥m-ó-i̯-t* O.H.G. 1st sing. indic. *cumu* i. e. **gm̥m-ṓ*.

**éi̯-mi* 'I go' 1st pl. **i-més*: Skr. *ḗ-mi i-más* 3rd pl. *y-ánti*, Gr. *εἶ-μι ἴ-μεν*, Lat. 2nd sing. *ei-s ī-s*, Lith. *ei-mì*; pret. **ē̆i̯-m̥*: Skr. *ā́y-am* 3rd sing. *āí-t* 1st pl. *āí-ma*, Gr. *ᾖ-α* 1st pl. *ᾖ-μεν* (cp. § 480 p. 28, § 481 p. 30). Conjunctive: Skr. 3rd sing. *áy-*

1) Instead of **ur-ī-ta* (cp. partic. *ur-āṇá-s*), see I § 157 p. 141. On the other hand, the regular form with *v-* is seen in Avest. Gath. *vairī-maidī* for pr. Ar. **vr̥r-ī-*.

-a-ti áy-a-t (cp. indic. 3rd sing. mid. *áy-a-tē*, Lat. *eō* for **ei̯-ō*, *eunt* for **ei̯-o-nti*)). Optative: Skr. *i-yā́-t*. Weak forms also found with *ī-*, *ii̯-*: Skr. 1st pl. mid. *ī-mahē* opt. *ī-yā-t*, 3rd sing. mid. *ī-ya-tē* (Class XXVI).[1]) Gr. conj. 1st pl. *ἴ-ο-μεν* (but cp. § 914); Skr. 1st sing. mid. *i-yḗ* (cp. Avest. *y-ōi*), Lat. *i-ēns*, Gr. perhaps 3rd pl. *ἴ-ᾱσι* (cp. § 502). — With thematic vowel Gr. opt. *ἴ-ο-ι* partic. *ἰ-ό-ντ-* pret. Hom. *ἤϊ-ε ἤϊ-ο-μεν* (cp. conj. *ἴ-ο-μεν*), Pelignian *afded* 'abiit' for **af-i̯e-d* (§ 867. 5).

**ḱéns-mi* 'I soothsay, praise, say' 1st pl. **ḱn̥s-més*: Skr. 2nd pl. *śas-ta* (Avest. 2nd pl. *sąs-tā* with the nasal of the sing.), O.C.Sl. 3rd sing. *sętŭ* i. e. **sę* = **ḱens-t* + an additional *-tŭ*, like *pri-jętŭ* instead of *pri-ję* etc. (§§ 512, 830). Albanian gives us *ϑom* 'I say', for **ḱēns-mi* according to G. Meyer (M. Herz z. 70. Geburtst. 1888, p. 86; Etym. Wtb. der alb. Spr., 91; Alb. Stud. III 13, 63).

**u̯éi̯d-mi* 'I see, know' 1st pl. **u̯id-més*: Skr. *vḗd-mi* 1st pl. *vid-más*, Lith. *veizdmi* instead of regular **vei(d)-mi* (I § 547 Rem. 1 p. 401). Conjunctive: Skr. 3rd sing. *vḗd-a-ti* Gr. Hom. 1st pl. *εἴδ-ο-μεν* (cp. indic. Skr. *vēd-a-tē* Gr. *εἴδ-ε-ται*). Optative: Skr. *vid-yā́-m*, Goth. 1st pl. *vit-ei-ma*. Imperative: Skr. *viddhí* Gr. *ἴσϑι*, cp. Lith. *veizdi veizd* (I *loc. cit.*, IV § 962). Also perf. 3rd sing. **u̯ói̯d-e* 'knows', with which the above named mood-forms were associated (cp. II § 136 Rem. 1 p. 438, IV §§ 846, 912, 939, 959). — With thematic vowel: indic. **u̯id-ó-*, Skr. *vid-á-ti* Armen. *e-git* Gr. *ἴδ-ε ἐϝιδ-ε εἶδ-ε*.

**és-mi* 'I am' 1st pl. **s-més*: Skr. *ás-mi s-más*, Armen. *em* (I § 561 p. 417), Gr. *εἰμί* Lesb. *ἔμμι* (G. Meyer, in the work just cited, pp. 81 ff., Etym. Wtb. der alb. Spr. 160, Alb. Stud. III 63, 85), Lat. *es-t* Umbr. 3rd pl. *s-ent*, O.Ir. 3rd sing. *is* (I § 66 p. 55), Goth. *im* (I § 582 Rem. 2 p. 437) 3rd sing. *is-t*, Lith. *es-mì* 3rd sing. *ẽs-ti ẽs-t* O.C.Sl. *jes-mĭ* 3rd sing. *jes-tŭ*; on the 2nd sing. Skr. *ási* Gr. *εἶ* see § 984. 1. Pret. Skr. *ā́s-am* 3rd sing. *ā́s* 1st pl. *ā́s-ma* Gr. *ἦ-α ἦ* 3rd sing. *ἦς* 1st pl. *ἦμεν* O.C.Sl. 2nd pl. *-jas-te* see § 480 p. 28, § 481

1) A different explanation of these Sanskrit forms may be found in Bartholomae's Ar. Forsch. II 73 f.

pp. 29 f.; Alban. 3rd sing. *iš* for **es-t* (G. Meyer, in the first work cited above, p. 91). Conjunctive: 3rd sing. Skr. *ás-a-ti ás-a-t* Lat. (fut.) *er-i-t* (cp. indic. Hom. *ἔ-ο-ν* opt. *ἔ-ο-ι*, also *ἐόντω ἐών*, Lith. *es-ù* = *esmì* 1st pl. *ẽs-a-me* partic. *ẽs-ąs*, O.C.Sl. pret. *-jach-ŭ -jaš-e* § 480 p. 28). Optative: Skr. *s-yā́-m s-iyā́-m*, Lat. 2nd sing. *s-iē-s* 1st pl. *s-ī-mus*, O.H.G. 1st pl. *s-ī-m*. — With thematic vowel: partic. Gr. *ὄντ-* instead of **ὀντ-* **s-o-nt-* (on the analogy of *εἰμί* etc. which begin with a smooth breathing) Lat. *s-o-n-t-* 'he who is the doer, guilty' O.Icel. *sannr* 'true, really guilty' (pr. Germ. **s-a-nþ-a-*) Lith. *sąs sanczio* O.C.Sl. *sy sąšta*, indic. Lat. *s-u-m s-u-mus s-u-nt* O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. *s-ątŭ*.

**dhégh-mi* 'I burn': Skr. 2nd sing. *dhák-ṣi* Lith. *deg-mì*. The conjunctive implied by these forms is hidden in the indic. Skr. *dáh-a-ti* Lith. *deg-ù*. The weak form **d(h)gh-* cannot be found; we have evidence for it in Avest. 3rd pl. imper. *sc-antū* beside 1st sing. indic. *hax-mī* (pr. Ar. **sak-mi*) from √ *seq-* 'sequi', Skr. 3rd pl. *á-kṣ-an* 3rd sing. mid. *gdha* i. e. **ghs* + *ta* (I § 591 p. 449) beside 3rd sing. *á-ghas* from *ghas-* 'eat'.

**dhḗ-t* **é-dhē-t* 'he placed' 2nd pl. **dhə-té*: Skr. *dhā́-t á-dhā-t* 3rd sing. mid. *á-dhi-ta* 2nd sing. imper. *dhi-ṣvá*, Armen. 1st sing. *e-di* 3rd sing. *e-d*, Gr. 2nd pl. *ἔ-θε-τε* 3rd sing. mid. *ἔ-θε-το* (*θε-* instead of **θα-*, I § 109 *c* pp. 101 f., the Author Gr. Gr.² pp. 27 f.), Lat. *con-di-mus* (I § 370 p. 282). Optative: Avest. *d-yā-þ*. Imperative: Lith. *dė́-k*. — With thematic vowel Skr. *práti dh-a-t*, *a-dh-a-t*,[1]) Lat. 1st sing. *con-d-ō* 3rd pl. *-d-u-nt*, Avest. opt. 2nd sing. *d-ōi-š*.

**dṓ-t* **é-dō-t* 'he gave' 2nd pl. **də-té*: Skr. *á-dā-t* 3rd sing. mid. *á-di-ta*, Armen. 1st sing. *e-tu* 3rd sing. *e-t*, 1st pl. pres. *ta-mḱ*, Gr. 2nd pl. *ἔ-δο-τε* 3rd sing. mid. *ἔ-δο-το* (*δο-* instead of *δα-*, cp. on *θε-*, above),[2]) Lat. *da-mus red-dimus*. Optative:

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1) Less probably, some scholars take *(a-)dhat* to be **dhatt* = **dha- -dh* + *t*, i. e. formed from the weak present stem **dha-dh-* (cp. *a-dha-t-tam*).

2) Pauli (Altital. Forsch. III 258) compares Venetian *zoto* 'dedit' with Gr. *δότο*. Admitting that the explanation is in the main correct

Avest. *d-yā-þ*. Imperative: Lat. *ce-do*, Lith. *dū́-k*. — With thematic vowel: Skr. *áda-t* i. e. *ā* + *a-d-a-t*, Lat. *red-d-u-nt*, Avest. opt. 2nd sing. *d-ōi-š*.[1])

**stā́-t *é-stā-t* 'he placed himself', 2nd pl. **stə-té*: Skr. *á-sthā-t*, 3rd sing. mid. *á-sthi-ta*, Gr. ἔ-στη, mid. 3rd sing. ἐπί-στα-ται[2]), 2nd sing. ἐ-στά-θης = Skr. *á-sthi-thās* (§ 503). Imperative: Lith. *stó-k*. — With thematic vowel: Skr. *ásth-a-t*, Avest. *a-xšt-a-þ* mid. *xšt-a-ta* (*xšt-* instead of *št-*, see Bartholomae Handb. § 100 Anm. 3 p. 43, and *št-* instead of *st-* following compounds like *paiti-štā-*).

§ **494.** As the examples in § 493 shew, roots of the *e*-series took regularly the *e*-grade (1st strong grade) in strong forms. But probably in the parent language there were forms with the 3rd strong grade, or *ē*-grade, also in use.

First we notice Lat. *ēs-t* Lith. *ės-t* O.C.Sl. *jas-tŭ* from √*ed-* 'eat', on which see § 480 Rem. p. 27; the normal form was Skr. *ád-mi át-ti* (§ 498). Skr. *ā́s-tē* Gr. ἧσ-ται 'sits' 3rd pl. *ā́s-atē* ἥ-αται are usually connected with **es-ti* 'is'. The rough breathing in Greek must then be explained as due to the analogy of the root ἑδ- = **sed-* 'sedere' (I § 564 Rem. 3 p. 421[3])). But some forms of the Greek word may be derived at once from the root *sēd-*, which occurs not only in the perfect Goth. *sēt-um* Lith. *sė́d-ęs*, but in the Lith. pres. *sė́dmi* 'I sit' 3rd sing. *sė́st*, side by side with which in the usual fashion we have Skr. 2nd sing. *sát-si*. Skr. imper. mid. *sā́k-ṣva* beside indic. 2nd sing. *sák-ṣi* from *sah-* 'overpower'. Skr. *tā́ṣ-ṭi* Avest. injunctive *tāš-t* beside Skr. *tákṣa-ti* 'shapes, forms'. Skr. *dā́ṣ-ṭi* 'pays homage to' from √*deḱ-*, see § 639. Further, the Skr.

(cp. G. Meyer, Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift 1892 col. 312 f., Thurneysen Wochenschr. class. Phil. 1892 col. 290 f.), it is a question whether *zoto* should not be regarded as **dō-to* (cp. the *s*-aorist *zonasto* 'donavit').

1) Probably to the same class belongs Avest., being *daduyę̄* 2nd pl. indic. pres. mid. See Bartholomae, Idg. Forsch. I 495.

2) Fick's connexion of this verb with Skr. partic. *cit-tá-s* is worthless (Fick, Gött. gel. Anz. 1881 p. 1426, Wtb.[4] I 20 f.).

3) In the English translation of this note, 'Spiritus Asper' is a clerical error for 'Spiritus Lenis'.

present forms with *āu* instead of *ō*, as *stāú-ti* 'praises' (3rd pl. *stuv-ánti* mid. *stu-tē*, beside which are found 2nd sing. *stō-ṣi* conj. *stáv-a-t*) and *snāu-ti* 'drips' (cp. Gr. *νέω νεύσομαι*), also *márṣ-ṭi* 'wipes' (3rd pl. *mṛj-ánti*).[1])

Along with these non-thematic *ē*-forms stand usually others with the thematic vowel; thus, Lith. *ěd-u* beside *ěd-mi*, *sěd-u* beside *sěd-mi*, Skr. *ās-a-tē* beside *ás-tē*, *dā́ś-a-ti* beside *dā́ṣ-ṭi*, *sáh-a-ti* beside *sák-ṣva*, *mārj-a-ti* beside *márṣ-ṭi*. Compare Gr. *μήδομαι* etc., § 514.

§ **495.** In all languages, as we shall see, it is common for the strong stem to spread into what should be weak-stem forms, but the reverse is rare.

We should especially mention here that the strong-grade *ā*, *ē*, and *ō* spread from roots ending in them to the weak persons which properly had *ə*. This re-formation brought about some confusion with Class X, where there is no gradation.

Skr. 1st pl. *á-sthā-ma* Gr. *ἔ-στη-μεν* instead of **a-sthi-ma* **ἔ-στă-μεν* (cp. § 493 pp. 53 f.). The difference between *ἔ-στη-μεν* and *ἔ-θε-μεν ἔ-δο-μεν* was due to the intransitive meaning of *ἔστην*, and to the powerful attraction of a word closely connected in meaning — *ἔβην ἔβημεν* (Skr. *ágām ágāma*); cp. the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 220, Osthoff's Perfect 373 f., and below, § 497 Rem. As regards Lat. *stā-mus* beside *dă-mus*, see §§ 505, 584 Rem.

In Sanskrit we find also *á-dhā-ma á-dā-ma* instead of **a-dhi-ma* **a-di-ma* (cp. § 493 p. 53), and similarly *ā* instead of *i* in the plural and dual active of all roots ending in (Aryan) *-ā*. Compare opt. 1st pl. *s-yā́-ma*, instead of **s-ī-ma*, following *s-yā-m*, § 940.

Unlike Gr. *φη-μὶ* 'I say': *φα-μέν*, which undoubtedly has original gradation (cp. O.H.G. *bannu* = **bhə-nu̯ō*, Gr. *φαίνω* **bhə-ni̯ō*, see §§ 611, 654), all recorded forms of Skr. *bhā́-ti* 'shines' follow Class X, as pl. *bhā́-nti* imper. *bhā-hi* partic.

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1) The ablaut of *stāú-ti* and *márṣ-ṭi* is exactly parallel to that of the *s*-Aorist. See § 811.

bhā-ta-s etc. We must therefore assume for this Skr. verb a stem *bh-ā-*, i. e. an extension of the root by the ungraduated suffix *-ā-* (*bhā́-ti* : *bhā́* f. = *psā́-ti* : *psā́* f.), which is also possible for Lat. *fā-tur for* and O.C.Sl. *ba-ją* 'fabulor' (§ 706).[1])

§ **496.** The strong stem is remarkable in Skr. *śḗ-tē* Avest. *saę-tę̄* Gr. κεῖ-ται 'lies' (cp. Skr. perf. *śi-śy-ē*, *-śī-ṣ* 'lying) beside Skr. *śáy-a-tē* Gr. Hom. κέ-ο-νται opt. κέ-ο-ι-το. Very uncertain explanations are suggested in vol. I § 598 p. 453, and by Meringer in the Zeitschr. öst. Gymn. 1888, p. 134. Perhaps the irregularity was due to a very early change from thematic to non-thematic conjugation, which was suggested by *ás-tē* ἧσ-ται 'sits'. I believe that this same change must be assumed for γέν-το ἔ-γεν-το (Hesiod and other poets) beside γένε-το ἐ-γένε-το (cp. 3rd dual γεγά-την), and for σεῦται (only in Soph. Tr. 645) beside σεύ-ε-ται (cp. σύ-το).[2]) It is beyond all doubt seen in ἄμειπ-το = ἀμείβετο in Nonnus, and other such forms in late Greek poetry (Rzach, Gram. Stud. zu Apoll. Rhod., 164), and in some Lithuanian presents in *-mi* (§ 511).

Remark. **u̯es-tai̯* 'clothes himself' (Skr. *vás-tē* Gr. ἐπί-εσται ἕσ-το) is not of this class, as it must be analysed **u̯-es-tai̯* (§ 656).

§ **497.** Like *ī-mahē* (Gr. ἴ-ο-μεν § 493 pp. 51 f., § 914), many other forms show the weak-grade with bye-accent. Thus Skr. *á-bhū-ma* Gr. ἔ-φῡ-μεν Umbr. *fū-tu* 'esto' Lith. *bú-k* 'be it' from √*bheu̯-* 'become, be'; compare the sing. with the same grade of root Skr. *á-bhū-t* Gr. ἔ-φῡ (cp. perf. Skr. 2nd sing. *ba-bhū́-tha*), without question somewhat influenced by preterites of Class X (§§ 597 ff.) such as Skr. *á-dr-ā-t á-dr-ā-ma á-gl-ā-t á-gl-ā-ma* Gr. ἔ-δρ-ᾱ ἔ-δρ-ᾱ-μεν ἔ-βλ-η ἔ-βλ-η-μεν.

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1) √*bhā-* means 'to show, send forth, make known'. If we connect with it Skr. *bhánati* 'sounds, calls out' (Osthoff, Perf. 353, Whitney, Skr. Roots 109 f.), this must be taken as an extension **bh-eno-* or **bh-n̥no-* (§ 619). With the same extension Moulton connects Lat. *fenestra* (Proceed. Camb. Phil. Soc. 1890, May 22, p. 9).

2) The 3rd pl. mid. Ved. *á-jan-ata* beside *á-jan-a-nta* may be similarly taken. It is true that the word may quite well be derived from **e-ĝn̥n-n̥to* (cp. *á-jñ-ata*).

Also from √‾*er*- 'set in motion' (*ἔρετο · ὡρμήθη, ἔρσῃ · ὁρμήσῃ* Hesych., Skr. *ár-ti* aor. mid. *ā́r-ta*) we have an Idg. mid. **r̥̄-tai̯*: Skr. *ī́r-tē* imper. *īr-ṣva* Avest. *arᵉ-šva* partic. Skr. *īr-ṇá-s*, Gr. *ὄρ-σο* partic. *ὄρ-μενο-ς* inf. *ὄρ-θαι* (I § 306 pp. 241 f.). The Skr. *īr*- Gr. *ὀρ*- were used before sonants too, instead of **ir*- *ἀρ*- (for **r̥r*-), which gives us such forms as Skr. 3rd pl. *ī́r-atē* (cp. Skr. *á-bhūv-am* instead of *á-bhuv-am* following *á-bhū-ṣ* etc.) 3rd sing. *ī́r-a-tē*, Gr. *ὄρ-ο-ι-το ὄρ-η-ται*; another re-formation is the augment in *ὦρτο* (**ὄρτο* orig. without augment = **r̥̄-tó*). A Germanic form of this kind is A.S. *ear-đ* 'thou art', see § 509. In the same relation as *ὄρ-ο-ι-το* bears to *ὄρ-σο*, *ἔ-μολ-ο-ν* stands to *ἔ-βλω · ἐφάνη, ᾤχετο, ἔστη* Hesych., since *βλω*- represents an Idg. **ml̥̄*- (cp. I § 306 p. 243).

On de Saussure's hypothesis, *bhū*- was the weak grade of *bheu̯ə*- (Skr. fut. *bhavi-ṣyá-ti* etc.), and *r̥̄*- the weak grade of *erə*- (Skr. fut. *ari-ṣyá-ti* etc.), and so on.

Remark. To this list of forms I have hithertho added Skr. *á-gā-ma* Gr. *ἔ-βη-μεν*, 3rd sing. *á-gā-t ἔ-βη* (cp. *á-bhū-t ἔ-φῡ*), equating *gā*- *βη*- = **g̑m̥̄*- (I § 253 p. 206). But another hypothesis appears to be preferable from Skr. *jí-gā-ti* Gr. Hom. *βι-βάς*, Skr. *vi-gā-man*- n. 'step' Gr. *βῆ-μα*, Skr. perf. mid. *ja-gē*, and others of the like nature. This is, that there were original variants **gā*- and **gem*-, like **drā*- and **drem*- 'run' (§ 488 p. 47, § 579). It would be easy to decide this point, if only **gā*- could be found outside of Aryan and Greek. The derivation of Lett. *gāju* 'I went' is doubtful (see Wiedemann, Das lit. Praet., 141 f.), and it is worse than unsafe to adduce O.H.G. *pfad* 'path' (Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 33).

§ **498.** Aryan. √‾*qer*- 'make': Skr. 2nd sing. *kár-ṣi* 2nd 3rd sing. *á-kar* 2nd pl. *kr̥-thá* 3rd pl. *á-kr-an* 3rd sing. mid. *á-kr̥-ta*, Avest. 3rd sing. *corᵉþ* = pr. Ar. **car-t* (I § 94 p. 89, § 647. 7 pp. 493 f.); on O.Pers. 1st pl. *a-kū-mā* 3rd sing. *a-kū-tā* see Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 67 f. Imperative: Skr. *kr̥-dhí*, mid. *kr̥-ṣvá* Avest. *kerᵉ-švā*. Conjunctive: Skr. *kár-a-ti* Avest. 1st sing. *carānī* (cp. indic. Skr. *kar-a-ti á-kar-a-t*, imper. 2nd sing. O.Pers. *pari-karā*). Optative: Skr. 1st pl. *kr-iyā-ma*. Skr. *kar*- always instead of regular *car*- (kept in Avestic) from the weak stem, but *á-kar-ma kár-ta* have *-ar*- on the analogy of the strong. On the difficult forms Skr. *kur-más kur-vás* (whence sing. *kur-mi*) opt. *kur-yā́-m* etc., see I § 289 p. 231,

§ 290 Rem. p. 232, Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 112, von Fierlinger *ibid.* 438, Bartholomae Ar. Forsch. II 67 f., 86 ff., J. Wackernagel in E. Kuhn's Litteraturbl. III 55 f., and below in this volume, § 641.

√*der-* 'split, burst': Skr. 2nd sing. *dár-ṣi* 3rd sing. *á-dar*; opt. *dīr-yā-t* = **dṝ-i̯ē-t* (cp. pass. *dīr-yá-tē* partic. *dīr-ṇá-s*).

√*ghen-* 'strike, slay': 3rd sing. Skr. *hán-ti* Avest. *jainti*, Skr. 2nd pl. *ha-thá* 3rd pl. *ghn-ánti*, mid. 1st sing. Avest. *γn-ę* 3rd sing. Skr. *ha-tē* 3rd pl. Skr. *ghn-atē*; pret. 1st sing. Skr. *á-han-am* O.Pers. *a-jan-am* 2nd sing. Skr. *á-han* Avest. *a-jēn* (Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 64 f.) 3rd sing. Skr. *á-han* O.Pers. *a-ja* i. e. *a-jan* 2nd pl. Skr. *á-ha-ta* O.Pers. *ja-tā*; imperative Skr. *ja-hí* for **jha-dhi* (I § 480 p. 355) Avest. *jaiđi*. The weak form Ar. **jha-* (Skr. *ha- ja-* Iran. *ja-*) instead of regular **gha-* = **ghn̥-* on the analogy of **jhan-* = **ghen-*, I §§ 453 f. pp. 335 f. Skr. 1st dual *hanvas* instead of **ghan--vas* = **ghn̥-u̯es* (I § 225 p. 193, § 229 p. 195). *-n-* passes by analogy into other weak persons: Skr. 1st pl. *han-mas* imper. *han-dhí* (contrast *jahí*). Conjunctive: Skr. *hán-a-ti* Avest. *janaiti* (cp. indic. Skr. *han-a-ti a-han-a-t* Avest. *janaiti* Gr. *ἔ-θενο-ν*). Optative: Skr. *han-yā-t* Avest. *janyāþ* O.Pers. *janiyā*, pr. Ar. **jhan-i̯ā-t* instead of regular **ghani̯āt* for **ghn̥-i̯ē-t* (I § 454 Rem. pp. 335 f.); also found, with regular form, mid. Skr. *ghn-īya ghn-ī-ta*, and, on the analogy of the active, *han-ī-ta*. — With thematic vowel: Skr. 2nd pl. *ghn-a-ta a-ghn-a-n a-ghn-a-nta* partic. *ghn-a-māna-s* (Avest. conj. 3rd pl. *γn-ā-þ*).

Pr. Ar. **jan-ti* Idg. **gem-ti*, see § 493 p. 51. Imperative: Skr. *ga-dhí ga-hí* Avest. *gaidī*. 3rd pl. Skr. *á-gm-an gm-án* Avest. *gᵉm-en*. Skr. 1st dual *gánvahi* regular for **gm̥-u̯-* (I § 225 p. 193, § 229 p. 195), only with changed accent. *-n-* (for *-m-*) passing by analogy into other weak persons: Skr. 1st pl. *á-gan-ma* 2nd pl. *gan-tá gán-ta* beside *ga-tá*, *g-* instead of *j-* in Skr. *á-gan gán-tu* (Avest. *jantū*), *j-* instead of *g-* in opt. 3rd sing. Avest. *jam-yā-þ* O.Pers. *jam-īyā* (Skr. *gam-yā-t*), see I § 451 p. 334.

Pr. Ar. **ai̯-ti*, Idg. **ei̯-ti*, see § 493 p. 51. 3rd sing. Skr. *ḗ-ti* Avest. *aę-iti* O.Pers. *ai-tiy*, 3rd pl. Skr. *y-ánti* Avest. *y-ęinti*, imper. Skr. *i-hí* Avest. *i-dī i-đi* O.Pers. *i-dīy*. By re-formation: Skr. 1st sing. *i-mi* instead of *ḗ-mi*. Preterite 1st sing. Skr. *ā́y-am* O.Pers. *ayam* i. e. *āy-am*, 3rd sing. Skr. *ā́i-t* Avest. *āi-þ* 3rd dual. Skr. *ā́i-tām* Avest. *āi-tem*. Conjunctive: Skr. *áy-a-ti á-ya-t* Avest. *ay-a-þ* (cp. indic. Skr. *áy-a-tē*, Avest. imper. *ay-a* conj. *ay-ā-þ* opt. *ay-ōi-þ*).

Skr. *kṣ̌ḗ-ti* Avest. *šaę-itī* 'lingers, dwells', 3rd dual Skr. *kṣ̌i-tás* 3rd pl. Skr. *kṣ̌iy-ánti*, conj. Skr. *kṣ̌áy-a-t*: Gr. Hom. *ἐυ-κτί-μενο-ς* 'well built'. — With thematic vowel Skr. *kṣ̌iy-á-ti*.

√*k̑leu̯-* 'hear': Skr. 2nd sing. *śrṓ-ṣi*, 1st sing. *á-śrav-am* 3rd sing. *á-śrō-t*, 2nd pl. *śru-ta* and following the singular *śrō-ta* Avest. *srao-ta*, Avest. 2nd pl. mid. *a-srū-dūm*, Skr. imper. *śru-dhí*; conj. Skr. 3rd dual *śráv-a-tas*, opt. Avest. 1st pl. *srvīmā* i. e. *sruv-ī-mā*: Gr. imper. *κλῦ-θι κλῦ-τε* (cp. § 497 pp. 56 f.) *Περι-κλύ-μενο-ς*. — With thematic vowel Skr. *śruv-a-m* Gr. *κλύω* (cp. § 527).

√*derk̑-* 'see': Skr. *á-darś-am* Avest. *dars-em*, 1st pl. Skr. *á-dr̥ś-ma*, and also *á-darś-ma* following the singular; conj. Skr. *dárś-a-t* Avest. 1st pl. *darᵉs-ā-ma* (cp. indic. Skr. *á-darś-a-t*). — With thematic vowel Skr. 3rd pl. *á-dr̥ś-a-n* opt. *dr̥ṣ̌-ḗ-t*.

Skr. *á-grabh-am* Avest. *grab-em* 'I grasped', 3rd pl. Skr. *á-gr̥bh-ran*.

Skr. *chand-* 'appear': 3rd sing. *chánt-ti*.

√*bhei̯d-* 'findere': Skr. 1st sing. *á-bhēd-am* 3rd sing. *á-bhēt*; — with thematic vowel opt. *bhid-ē-t*. Avest. *miþ-* (Skr. *mith-*) 'destroy': 3rd sing. *mōist*, conj. *mōiþ-a-þ* (cp. indic. Skr. *mḗth-a-ti*), opt. *miþ-yā-þ*.

√*dheu̯gh-* 'milk, give milk' (cp. Fick Wtb. I4 73): Skr. 3rd sing. *dṓgdhi* 3rd pl. *duh-ánti*, mid. 3rd sing. *dugdhḗ* 3rd pl. *duh-atḗ -átē* conj. *dṓh-a-tē*, opt. *duh-ī-ta*; — with thematic vowel *á-duh-a-t* opt. *duh-ē-t*. √*jeu̯g-* 'iungere': Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *á-yuk-ta* 1st pl. *á-yuj-mahi*, Avest. 3rd pl. *yūj-ēn* 1st pl. mid. *yaoγ-maidę* with non-original strong stem; — with thematic vowel, Skr. *á-yuj-a-t*.

√*u̯eḱ-* 'wish, desire': Skr. 1[st] sing. *váś-mi* 3[rd] sing. *váṣ-ṭi* 1[st] pl. *uś-mási*, Avest. *vasmī vašti usmahī*, conj. Skr. *váś-a-t* Avest. *vasaþ* (cp. indic. Skr. *váś-a-ti* imper. *váś-a*). — With thematic vowel Skr. *uś-á-māna-s*.

Pr. Ar. **as-ti*, Idg. **es-ti*, see § 493 p. 52. Skr. sing. *ás-mi ási ás-ti* pl. *s-más s-thá s-ánti*, Avest. sing. *ahmi ahi asti* pl. *mahi* (I § 558. 3 p. 414) *stā henti*, O.Pers. sing. *amīy* (I § 558. 3 p. 415) *ahy astiy* 3[rd] pl. *hatiy* i. e. *hantiy*; O.Pers. 1[st] pl. *amahy* with *a-* from the singular. Pret. Skr. 1[st] sing. *ás-am* 3[rd] sing. *ás* O.Pers. 1[st] sing. *aham* i. e. *āham* Avest. 3[rd] sing. *ās* (I § 647. 7 pp. 493 f., § 649. 6 p. 496), pl. Skr. *ás-ma ás-ta ás-an* O.Pers. 3[rd] pl. *aha* i. e. *āha*, cp. § 481 pp. 29 f., also unaugmented Avest. 3[rd] sing. *as* 3[rd] pl. *h-en* Skr. *s-án*; on the 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. Skr. *ás-ī-ṣ ás-ī-t*, see § 574. Imperative: Avest. *z-dī*; Skr. *ēdhí* for **az-dhi* (I § 591 p. 447) instead of regular **dhi* following the analogy of forms with strong root. Conjunctive: Skr. *ás-a-ti ás-a-t* Avest. *aŋh-a-itī aŋh-a-þ* O.Pers. *ah-a-tiy*. Optative: Skr. *s-yá-t s-iyá-t* Avest. *h-yā-þ*.

√*ed-* 'eat': Skr. *ád-mi át-ti*. So in all the weak persons *ad-*, as 3[rd] pl. *ad-anti* 2[nd] pl. *at-tá* imper. *ad-dhí*, obviously because such forms as **ta* **dhi* were not clear enough (cp. above, Skr. *ēdhí*). Conjunctive: **ad-a-ti* **ad-a-t* (cp. 2[nd] sing. mid. *ad-a-sva* Gr. *ἔδ-ω* Lat. *ed-ō* Goth. *it-a*). On the relation between *ád-mi* and Lat. *ēst* Lith. *ė́st*, see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f.

Skr. *dhákṣi* and others of the same sort, see § 493 p. 53. Skr. *bhi-ṣak-ti* 'heals' (*bhi-* is a bye-form of *abhi*) was no longer recognised for a compound, hence 3[rd] sing. *a-bhiṣṇak* R.-V. x, 131. 5, following Class XV, and *bhēṣajá-s* 'healing'.

√*dhē- dō-*, Skr. *dhā- dā-* Iran. *dā-* (in Iranian the two stems ran into one, and it is no longer possible to distinguish their meaning exactly), see § 493 p. 53. Skr. *á-dhā-t dhā́-t á-dā-t* pl. *á-dhā-ma á-dā-ma*, Avest. *dā-þ dā-mā* O.Pers. *a-dā*; on *ā* in the plural, see § 495 p. 55; mid. Skr. *á-dhi-ta á-di-ta*,

imper. *dhi-ṣvá*. Conjunctive: Skr. *dhá-ti* pl. mid. *dhā-mahē* Avest. *dā-itī* mid *dā-itę* (§ 933). Optative: Avest. *d-yā-þ*.

√*stā-*, see § 493 p. 55. Skr. *á-sthā-t á-sthā-ma* (like *á-dhā-ma*, see above), Avest. *paiti-štā-þ*; mid. Skr. *á-sthi-ta*. Conjunctive: Skr. *sthá-ti* 2nd dual *sthá-thas*, Avest. mid. *xštā-itę* (§ 933).

√*dā-* 'separate, divide up' (Gr. δᾶ-μο-ς δῆ-μο-ς): Skr. *dá-ti* 3rd pl. *dá-nti* (like *á-dhā-ma*, above), mid. 1st pl. *á-di-mahi* (cp. partic. *di-ná-s di-ta-s* Gr. δα-τέο-μαι).

Sometimes in place of *-i* = Idg. *-ə* in roots of the latter kind, Sanskrit has *-ī*: *á-dhī-mahi* from √*dhē-*, *mī-mahē* from √*mē-* 'measure' (3rd sing. *má-ti*), *dī-ṣva* from √*dō-*, *á-dī-mahi* from √*dā-*. This *ī* was connected with a very widespread Sanskrit re-formation.

There was a certain element used in root-extension, found in the parent language, and appearing in Sanskrit under the forms of *-ī-* and *-i-*. Whether it be dubbed *Root-Determinative* or *Suffix*, matters nothing (see § 488 pp. 44 ff.). Examples of its use are *pī̆-* 'swell, give to drink' from √*pō-* (*pi-pī-tē pī-yá-tē pī-tá-s pī-pi-hí pi-nva-ti*), *r-ī̆-* 'run, flow' from √*er* (*rī-ya-tē rī-tí-ṣ ri-ṇá-ti rí-t-*), *śr-ī-ṇá-ti* 'boils' beside *śṛ-tá-s*. Another form of this determinative in Sanskrit, as Bartholomae has pointed out (Stud. zur idg. Spr., II 63 ff.), is *āi*, seen in the Vedic preterites *á-śar-āi-t* 'he broke up' beside *a-śar-ī-t śár-ī-tōṣ*, and *áj-āi-ṣ* 'thou dravest' (unaugmented); and this word is closely connected with Gr. ἀγ-ῑνω ἀγ-ῑνέω (cp. § 801).[1] We shall meet the grade *-ī-* in several other categories of Sanskrit forms.

Now this *-ī-*, originally only a variant of Ar. *-i-* = Idg. *-i-*, encroached upon Ar. *-i-* = Idg. *-ə-*, so that in Aryan

1) It is probable that another strong grade of the same determinative is contained in the Idg. present in *-éi̯ō* (as Skr. *śv-áya-ti vart-áya-ti* Lat. *qu-eō mon-eō*), to which belonged a participle in *-i-to-s* and *-ī-to-s* (Class XXXII). And I would now (with Bezzenberger, Zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 195) recognise a form exactly answering to Skr. *ájāi-ṣ* in Gr. ἄγει-ς ἄγει (for **-ēi̯-s *-ēi̯-t*); see § 987. 1, and § 995. 2.

ī as well as *i* was found in the same ablaut series with *ā*.[1]) Hence arose the above named forms *ádhīmahi* instead of *ádhimahi* beside *ádhām* etc., and hence *śi-śī-hi* **śí-śī-tē* instead of **śi-śi-hi* **śi-śi-tē* (cp. *śi-tá-s*) beside *śi-śā-ti* (§ 538), *mr̥-ṇī-más* instead of **mr̥-ṇi-más* (cp. Gr. -*να-μεν*) beside *mr̥-ṇá-mi* (§ 597), *á-starī-ṣ* instead of **a-stariṣ* (§ 839). Last of all, -*ī*- even pushed out *a* = *ə* in the root of forms like pass. **dha-ya-tē* = Avest. *da-yę-tę̄* (I § 109. *a.* p. 101), and so we have *dhī-yá-tē* (§§ 707, 709).

It is true that there are other instances besides these of variation between Idg. *i* and *ī*; for instance, in the syllable of reduplication, §§ 467, 469, 473. Whether these had anything to do with associating *ī* with *i* = *ə*, and if so, how far, I leave an open question.

§ **499.** A few more examples may here be added to those already given of the confusion between weak and strong stem.

Strong Stem instead of Weak. Skr. 2nd dual *spar-tam* beside *spr̥-tam* from *spar-* 'save, win'.[2]) Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *man-tā* beside Skr. *á-ma-ta* from *man-* 'think'. Skr. 1st pl. *á-hē-ma* (cp. 3rd pl. *á-hy-an*) from *hi-* 'impel'. Skr. 2nd pl. *stō-ta* (cp. 2nd dual *stu-tam*) Avest. 1st pl. mid. *stao-maidē̜* from *stu-* 'praise' (cp. Skr. *stāú-ti* § 494 p. 54). Skr. 2nd pl. *vart-ta* (cp. 3rd pl. *á-vr̥t-ran*) from *vart-* 'vertere'. Avest. 2nd pl. *sąs-tā* beside Skr. *śas-ta* from √*k̑ens-* 'foretel' (§ 493 p. 52). Skr. 1st pl. *chēd-ma* from *chid-* 'cut'. Skr. 2nd pl. mid. *vōḍhvam* beside *ūḍhvam* 2nd dual act. *vōḍham* (I § 404. 2 pp. 298 f., § 482 p. 356) compared with 2nd sing. *vákṣi*, √*u̯eg̑h-* 'vehere'. Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *á-tak-ta* beside *ták-ti* 'runs, pushes, shoots', √*teq-*, cp. the weak grade *tq-* in Avest. partic. perf. *ta-þk-uš-* (I § 473. 2 p. 349).

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1) Bartholomae (*loc. cit.*) assumes *ā* : *ī* to be an orig. ablaut; he believes *ā* came from *āi̯* in Idg., and e. g. Lat. *erās* (contrasted with Skr. *ásī-ṣ*) is derived by him from **esāi̯-s*. I cannot approve this theory.

2) Avestic mid. 3rd sing. *varᵉ-tā* 1st pl. *varᵉ-maidī*, compared with Skr. *á-vr̥-ta*, are not safe examples to cite in proof of this re-formation, because *varᵉ-* may come from **vr̥̄-*.

Weak Stem instead of Strong: much rarer. Skr. *i-mi* beside *é-mi* from *i-* 'go' (already cited, § 498 p. 59). Skr. 3rd sing. *á-vṛk* beside *várk* (mid. *á-vṛk-ta*) from *varj-* 'twist' (but *vice versa* 2nd dual *vark-tam* instead of *vṛk-tam*). Avest. 2nd sing. *a-perᵉš* instead of **a-fraš* ground-form **e-prek̑-s* from √ *prek̑-* 'ask' (*vice versa*, 3rd sing. mid. *fraš-tā* instead of **perᵉš-tā*).

§ **500.** In Aryan, the ever increasing use of thematic forms was helped on by the like endings *-am* in the first person singular, and *-anti -an* in the third plural. Sometimes the desire for clear expression came in too. Thus Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *áda-s áda-t* drove out **āt* (both persons) from √⁀*ed-* 'eat' (1st sing. *ád-am* 3rd pl. *ád-an*),[1]) and in Avestic *-aitẹ -ata* (= Skr. *-atē -ata*), endings of the 3rd pl. middle, were almost entirely dropped in favour of the thematic endings *-antẹ -anta*, by which the plural was more clearly marked; e. g. *åŋh-antẹ* as contrasted with Skr. *ás-atē* 'they sit' (§ 1067. 1).

Much the same may be said of the other non-thematic present classes. Compare particularly the Avest. 3rd pl. of Classes III and V, in *-anti -enti* instead of *-aiti* (= Skr. *-ati*), §§ 540, 556, 1018. 1. *b*.

§ **501.** Armenian. *e-kn* 'he came': Skr. *á-gan*, common ground-form **e-gem-t*, see § 493 p. 51; the 1st sing. *eki* and 3rd pl. *ekin* are said to be adformates of *edi edin* (see below); Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 75.

em 'am': Skr. *ás-mi*, see § 493 p. 52; 2nd sing. *es* for **es-si* (I § 559 p. 416); 3rd sing. *ē* following *berē* 'fert' for **bhere-ti* (*vice versa*, 2nd sing. *beres* follows *es*); 3rd pl. *en* doubtless for Idg. **s-enti* (Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxii 71), cp. § 1019.

e-di 'I placed': Skr. *á-dhā-m*, see § 493 p. 53; 2nd sing. *e-di-r* 3rd sing. *e-d* 2nd pl. *e-di-k̑* 3rd *e-di-n*. *di-* = Idg. **dhē-* (I § 71 p. 62), and thus the strong stem has here passed into

1) Similarly, the forms with an *ī*-determinative, *ás-ī-ṣ ás-ī-t* 'eras erat' establish themselves in place of *ās* (Vedic for both persons); see § 574.

the plural. The same is true of *e-tu* 'I gave': Skr. *á-dā-m*, see § 493 p. 53; 2nd sing. *e-tu-r* 3rd sing. *e-t* 2nd pl. *e-tu-k̄* 3rd pl. *e-tu-n*; *tu-* = Idg. **dō-* (I § 87 p. 84). But *ta-* = Idg. **də-* is the stem of the present 1st pl. *ta-mk̄* 'damus', whence *a* appears instead of *u* in the singular *ta-m* (I § 109. *a.* p. 101).

gom 'I am' is compared by Hübschmann (Arm. Stud. I 25, 61) with Gothic *visa* 'I remain, tarry'; and he conjectures that it is derived from **u̯es-mi*; Bugge (as cited, page 7) offers another explanation, but hardly improves upon this.

§ **502.** Greek. *κτεν-* 'kill' = Skr. *kšan-*: 1st pl. *ἔ-κτα-μεν*, 3rd sing. *ἀπ-έ-κτα-το* = Skr. *á-kša-ta*, 2nd sing. *ἐ-κτά-θης* = Skr. *á-kša-thās* (§ 503). The Homeric 3rd pl. *ἔκτᾰν*, conj. 1st pl. *κτέωμεν*, partic. *-κτάς* follow the analogy of roots in *-ā* (*ἔ-φᾰν* etc.), like *γέγᾱ-κα* (Pindar) from √*γεν-* etc. (the Author, Gr. Gr.2 p. 47). — With thematic vowel *ἔ-κταν-ο-ν*.

Remark. The Homeric 1st sing. *-έκταν* and 3rd sing. *ἔκτα* are peculiar. *α* is certainly short only in *O* 432 (*ναῖ', ἐπεὶ ἄνδρα κατέκτᾰ Κυθήροισι ζαθέοισι*). Is it possible that the original forms were *ἔκτᾱν ἔκτᾱ* with Aeolic *ā*, which would be re-formates of the same nature as 3rd pl. *ἔκτᾰν*? Or is *ἔκτᾰ* a re-formate like Skr. *á-vr̥k* beside *várk* (§ 499 p. 63), and *-έκτᾰν* due simply to the analogy of *ἔκτᾰ*?

√*bher-* 'ferre': 2nd pl. *φέρ-τε* instead of **φρα-τε* **φαρ-τε*: Skr. *bhár-ti* 2nd dual *bhr̥-tám*, Lat. *fer-t* (§ 505).

√*ger-* 'swallow': *ἔ-βρω· ἔφαγεν, ἔδακε, διέσπασεν*; *βρω-* = **gr̄-*, weak grade like *φῡ-* in *ἔ-φῡ*, § 497 p. 56.

εἶ-μι 'I will go', Idg. **éi̯-mi*, see § 493 p. 52, 2nd sing. *εἶ* for **εἰ-(σ)ι*, 3rd sing. *εἶ-σι*; pl. 1st person *ἴ-μεν* 2nd *ἴ-τε*; 3rd pl. *ἴᾱσι* either for **ἰι̯-αντι* (Idg. **ii̯-énti*) or instead of **ἄντι* (Idg. **i̯-enti*) with *ἰ* prefixt following *ἴ-μεν ἴ-τε*. Pret. 1st sing. *ᾖα* instead of **ᾗα* for **ἠι̯-α* (Skr. *áy-am*) following forms with a personal ending beginning in a consonant, such as *ᾖ-μεν* (on the augment see § 480 p. 28, § 481 pp. 29 f.); unaugmented 3rd dual *ἴ-την*. Imperative *ἴ-θι*: Skr. *i-hí*. The old conj. and opt., answering to Skr. *áy-a-ti* and *i-yā́-t*, are not found. Partic. fem. *Ἐπ-ιάσσα*, epithet of Demeter, for **ἰ-ατ-ι̯α*: Skr.

y-at-í. — With thematic vowel: indic. pres. εἰσ-ίουσι pret. Hom. ἴ-ε ἤ-ε ἤ-ομεν Att. imper. ἰ-ό-ντων opt. ἴ-ο-ι partic. ἰ-ό-ντ- (cp. J. Baunack, Curt. Stud. x 96 ff., Rhein. Mus. xxxvii 472), and compare conj. ἴ-ω ἴ-ω-μεν.

φθει̯- 'destroy' = Skr. *kšay-*: 3rd sing. mid. ἔ-φθι-το: Skr. imper. *kši-dhí.* Conjunctive φθί-ε-ται; in Skr. we should expect **kšay-a-tē* on the analogy of *kši-dhí* (cp. indic. *kšay--a-ti*). Partic. φθί-μενο-ς. — Whether φθίω (ἔφθιεν, Σ 446) is φθιι̯-ω or φθι-ι̯ω is not clear; cp. § 527 Rem.

√*leu̯-* 'loose': mid. 3rd sing. λύ-το λῦ-το, 3rd pl. λύ-ντο (cp. § 1068).

1st pl. ἴδ-μεν (Att. ἴσμεν) 2nd pl. ἴσ-τε may be connected with the sing. **u̯eid-mi* or οἶδ-α, it matters not which; see § 493 p. 52.

εἰμὶ 'I am', Idg. **és-mi*, see § 493 p. 52. 2nd sing. εἶ for *ἔ(σ)ι = Skr. *ási*, also εἶς (εἷς) and ἐσ-σί, see § 987. 1. 3rd sing. ἔσ-τι (ἐσ-τί): Skr. *ás-ti.* 1st pl. εἰμὲν (Dor. εἰμὲς) for *ἔσμεν shows the strong stem for the weak (cp. O.Icel. *er-o er-u* § 507), like the 2nd pl. ἐσ-τὲ and the 3rd pl. Ion. ἔασι for *ἔσ-αντι; Att. ἐσμὲν follows ἐστὲ in having σ. The 3rd pl. Dor. ἐντὶ Att. εἰσὶ instead of *ἑντι = Goth. *sind*, Idg. **s-enti* (§ 1020. 1); for the breathing compare ὄντ- instead of *ὁ-ν-τ- § 493 p. 53. With 3rd pl. Dor. ἐντὶ goes the participle Dor. ἐντ-, nom. pl. ἔντ-ες whose fem. ἔσσα is a transformation of *ἄσσα (cp. Skr. *s-at-í*). Pret. 1st sing. Hom. ἦα Att. ἦ for **ēs-m̥*, 3rd sing. Dor. ἦς for **ēs-t*, 1st pl. ἦμεν for *ἦσ-μεν (I § 565 p. 410), 2nd pl. ἦσ-τε, 3rd pl. Dor. etc. ἦν for *ἤ(σ)-εν = Skr. *ás-an* (§ 1020. 1), also Boeot. παρ-εῖαν for *ἦαν (§ 1021. 1); for the augment, see § 480 p. 28, § 481 pp. 29 f. 1st sing. ἦν 2nd pl. ἦτε are re-formates caused by preterites like ἔβλην, Class X, the point of contact being ἦμεν. The 3rd sing. Hom. ἦεν Att. ἦν is probably identical with 3rd pl. Dor. ἦν for *ἤ(σ)-εν; the Indicative had adopted -αν (-σαν) in other forms in place of 3rd pl. -εν (§ 1021), and thus ἦεν ceased to be a clear plural, beginning with sentences like ἃ δὴ τετελεσμένα ἦεν (Σ 4), ἔνθα μάλιστα μάχη

καὶ φύλοπις ἦεν (N 789). In the dialect of Herodotus ἦα became ἔα (I § 611 p. 462), whence by analogy ἔα-ς ἔα-τε, cp. § 504. On ἦσθα and Hom. ἔησθα ἔην ἤην, see §§ 583, and 858. 2. Imper. ἴσθι for Idg. **z-dhi* with prothetic vowel (I § 626 p. 470); and Hecataeus has ἔσθι with the strong stem introduced. The old conjunctive (Skr. *ás-a-ti ás-a-t* Lat. *er-i-t*) was lost in the historic period, and in its place we find ἔω ἔωμεν ὦ ὦμεν like Skr. *as-ā-t*. Opt. εἴην for *ἐσ-ιη-ν or *ἐσ-ιη-ν with the strong tense-stem (cp. § 943). — There is connexion between 1st pl. ἐμὲν in Callimachus, the Thess. 1st sing. ἐμί, and Hom. inf. ἔμεν ἔμεναι: either on the analogy of εἰσὶ : τιθεῖσι (Dor. ἐντὶ : τίθεντι) and of εἴην : τιθείην, infinitives were formed to match with τίθεμεν and τιθέμεν τιθέμεναι (cp. Mess. conj. ἦνται and Hom. conj. μετ-ήω (§ 934); or the parallel forms ἔασι : ἴασι, ἔω : ἴω and so forth gave the impression that the two verbs were distinguished by having one ε and the other ι before the same endings, and thus ἐμὲν and ἔμεν(αι) came into existence on the analogy of ἴμεν (1st pl.) and ἴμεν(αι). In any case, ἐμί was not made until after ἐμέν. — The enclisis of εἰμί, as of φημί, is due to the fact that the finite verb was always enclitic in the original language; see I § 669 p. 534, and Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 457 ff. — On the thematic forms (**s-o-* and **es-o-*), see § 493 p. 53.

ἦ 'said' (with pr. Greek η) for *ἠκ-τ (I § 652. 5 p. 496), cp. Skr. *áh-a* Lat. *ājō*. The ablaut in the root needs explaining (cp. Lat. *ad-āgium* : *prōd-igium*). In the mould of φῆν ἔφην, φημί, φησί beside φῆ ἔφη (pr. Gr. φᾱ-) were cast ἦν, ἠμί, ἠσί.

√*dhē-* 'place': ἔ-θε-μεν etc., see § 493 p. 53. Similarly, from √*sē-* 'send forth, let go, sow': εἶμεν pr. Gr. *ἐ-(σ)ε-μεν (cp. § 478 p. 26), unaugmented κάθ-ε-μεν ἀφ-έ-την, ξύν-ε-το; Fick's comparison (Wtb. I⁴ 13 f.) with Skr. *sā-* in *áva-sā-* 'let go' (3rd sing. *á-sā-t* 2nd dual *si-tam*) is unsafe.

√*dō-* 'give': ἔ-δο-μεν etc., see § 493 p. 53. Similarly from √*kō-* 'to be sharp, have one's wits sharpened by

experience' (Gr. *κῶ-νο-ς*, Lat. *cōs ca-tu-s*, O.Ir. *cath* 'wise'): *ἔ-κο-μεν* · *ἠσθόμεθα* and *κόν* · *εἰδός* Hesych., cp. partic. *δόν*.

√*bhā-* 'show, make open, declare': *φη-μί* Dor. *φᾱ-μί* 1[st] pl. *φα-μέν* 2[nd] pl. mid. *φά-σθε*, cp. § 495 p. 55.

√*stā-* 'stare': *ἔ-στη-ν ἔ-στη-μεν*, 2[nd] sing. mid.-pass. *ἐ-στά-θης* (: Skr. *á-sthi-thās*, § 503) etc., see § 493 p. 54, § 495 p. 55.

§ **503.** A number of forms of the 2[nd] sing. pret. mid. with the personal ending *-θης* = Skr. *-thās* were the foundation for the *θην*-aorist, *ἐ-κτά-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣa-thās* beside *ἀπ-έκτατο* (§ 502 p. 64), *ἐ-τά-θης* = Skr. *á-ta-thās* from √*ten-* 'stretch', *ἐ-φθί-θης* beside *ἔ-φθι-το* (§ 502 p. 65), *ἐ-σύ-θης* beside *ἔ-σσυ-το ἐ-συ-το* (§ 504), *ἐ-τέ-θης* = Skr. *á-dhi-thās* beside *ἔ-θε-το* from √*dhē-* 'place' (§ 493 p. 53), *ἐ-δό-θης* = Skr. *á-di-thās* beside *ἔ-δο-το* from √*dō-* 'give' (§ 493 p. 53), *ἐ-στά-θης* = Skr. *á-sthi-thās* from √*stā-* 'stand' (§ 493 p. 54). See §§ 589 and 1049. 2.

§ **504.** Some preterite tenses of this sort form a subclass apart, in having developed from the *-α* of the 1[st] pers. sing. and *-αν* in the 3[rd] plural, a flexion like the *s*-aorist (*-σα -σας* etc.), in which the strong stem appeared instead of the weak in the active plural and dual and in the middle voice.

√*ĝheu-* 'pour': *ἔ-χε(ϝ)-α*, Aeol. (Hom.) *ἔχευ-α* 3[rd] sing. mid. *ἔ-χυ-το χύ-το*: Skr. 2[nd] sing. *hō-ṣi*. From this beginning we have *ἔχεας ἔχευας ἔχεε ἔχευε ἐχέαμεν ἐχεύαμεν* and so forth, instead of **ἔ-χευς *ἔ-χευ *ἔ-χυ-μεν*, and middle *ἐχεύατο*. √*qi̯eu-* 'set in motion, drive' (Gr. *σσεϝ- σεϝ-*, I § 489 p. 360): Aeol. (Hom.) *ἔ-σσευα σεῦα* imper. *σύ-θι* · *ἐλθέ* (Hesych.) 3[rd] sing. mid. *ἔ-σσυ-το σύ-το*. Hence *ἔ-σσευας* and so on, also middle *σεύατο*. Similarly *δέατο* 'videbatur' doubtless is due to **ἐ-δεα* = **e-dei̯-m̥*: Skr. redupl. *á-dī-dē-t* imper. *dī-di-hí* (*δοάσσατο* with the root-grade *doi̯-* is derived from some noun). Herodotus has *ἔας* and *ἔατε* from *ἔα* 'eram', see § 502 p. 66.

Of the same sort are the reduplicated *ἤν-εγκ-α ἤνεγκας* etc., and *εἶπ-α εἶπας* (*Ϝειπ-* = **ue-uq-*); see §§ 557, 569. Parallel to *ἤνεγκα* is the form *ἤν-εικα*, which is not reduplicated, but is derived from another root and compounded with the preposition *ἐν-* (the Author, Idg. Forsch. I 174); *ἤνεικα* too received the inflexion of the *s*-aorist.

It is easy to understand how this amalgamation with the *s*-aorist came about, if we may assume that the first step was to change the 3[rd] person singular active. This would become **ἐν-ει(κτ)*, and if in its stead was used a form with the thematic vowel, *ἔν-εικε* (beside *συν-ενείκεται* Hesiod), and similarly *ἔχε(Ϝ)ε* (from *ἔχεον*) replaced **ἔ-χευ*, and *ἔσσευε* (beside *ἐσσευόμην*) replaced **ἐ-σσευ*, and so forth, the rest followed naturally: for *-α* in the first and *-ε* in the third person brought the forms into direct relation with the *s*-aorist. *ἦας ἦατε* are late, and copied straight from *ἔχεας ἐχέατε*.

Remark. According to Fick (Gött. gel. Anz. 1881, pp. 1432 f) and others, in all these preterites the 2[nd] sing. (*-α-ς*), 2[nd] pl. (*-α-τε*), etc., contain original dissyllabic roots ending with ə (= Gr. *α*), in which case they will belong to our Class IX. For instance, *χεϜα-* in *ἔχεας* is connected by these scholars with Skr. *havi-* in *haviṣ-*. This view seems to me less probable. Even granting it, however, confusion with the *s*-aorist is not by any means excluded.

§ 505. Italic. A peculiarity of Latin is the combination of thematic and non-thematic forms to make up the persons of the present indicative. A first pers. sing. in Idg. *-mi* cannot be proved for Italic.

√*bher-* 'bear': Lat. *fer-t*: Skr. *bhár-ti*; 2[nd] pl. *fer-tis* imper. *fer-te* have taken the strong stem, like Gr. *φέρ-τε* (§ 502 p. 64), and like Skr. 2[nd] dual *bhar-tám* beside the regular *bhr̥-tám*. The 2[nd] sing. indic. *fer-s* and the 2[nd] sing. imper. *fer* both represent the Idg. injunctive **bher-s*: *fer* is regular (as *par* for **pars* and the like, I § 655 p. 506), but *fer-s* has had *-s* added again.[1]) In the pres. indic., *ferō*

1) That *fer* comes from **fere*, as Pauli asserts (Altit. Stud., IV 29), I do not believe. If *fere* in the Song of the Arval Brethren really means 'bring', this, and no other, would represent Idg. **bhere*; and *fere* would stand to *fer* as Marruc. 3[rd] sing. pres. *fere-t* to Lat. *fer-t*.

ferimus ferunt have a thematic vowel. Umbr. fertu 'ferto' may be identical with Lat. *fer-tō*, or it may be the same as the thematic Gr. *φερέ-τω* (see I § 633 p. 474).

√ *u̯el-* 'wish': Lat. 2nd sing. injunct. *vel* for **u̯el-s* (I § 655 p. 506), now a particle,[1]) 2nd pl. *voltis* for **u̯l̥-tes*: Skr. *á-vr̥-ta* etc., see § 493 p. 51. 3rd sing. *volt* instead of **vel-t*. On 2nd sing. *veis vīs*, see below. Optative: *vel-i-m vel-ī-mus*, like Goth. 1st pl. *vil-ei-ma* (1st sing. *viljau*), with strong stem,[2]) as contrasted with Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *vur-ī-ta* for **u̯l̥l-ī-to* (see p. 51 footnote); in consideration of *nōlī nōlīte nōlītō* (*nōlō* for *ne-volō* as *mālō* for **mag(e)-volō mavolō*, cp. I § 432 *c* p. 322 on the word *avilla*), this irregularity may be easily explained on the supposition that there was an indic. **u̯el-(i)i̯ō *u̯el-ī-s* (Class XXVI), which is represented by O.H.G. 1st sing. *willu* Goth. inf. *viljan* partic. *viljands* O.C.Sl. *velją veli-ši* etc. (§ 727).[3]) — With thematic vowel indic. pres. *volō*, *volumus volimus* (§ 530), *volunt*, for **u̯l̥l-ō* etc. Umbr. veltu 'eligito' is as ambiguous as fertu, see above.

Lat. 2nd sing. *vei-s vī-s* (beside *in-vītu-s*), alien forms absorbed into the conjugation of *volō*: Skr. *vḗ-ti* 'presses on, strives' 3rd pl. *vy-ánti*.

√ *ei̯-* 'go': 2nd 3rd sing. Lat. *ei-s ī-s* and *i-t* ground-forms **ei̯-s* and **ei̯-ti*, see § 493 p. 51. The *ī-* (also written *ei-*) of the present of the Latin finite verb, *ī-mus ī-tis ī-tur ī-te* etc., should strictly be *i-*, cp. Skr. *i-más* etc. This is doubtless not the (weak grade) *ī* of Skr. *ī-mahē* Gr. *ἴ-ο-μεν* (p. 52), but the strong grade *ei̯-*, cp. Pelign. *ei-te* 'ite'. The rare Lat. 3rd

1) Compare Umbr. heris — heris 'vis — vis' = 'vel — vel'. Originally it was no doubt a question: 'will you have this? will you have that?'

2) I do not consider that proof has been shown for deriving *velim* from **volim* by vowel assimilation. *vel* shows that Latin *had* the grade *u̯el-* in this root.

3) A different account of Lat. *nōlī* may be seen in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 313 (Wackernagel's), and Stolz, Lat. Gr.² pp. 378, 379.

pl. *īnt* was coined to complement *īmus* on the strength of *sta-nt* : *stā-mus*, *ple-nt* : *plē-mus* etc.

Partic. *iēns* like *prae-s-ēns* (II § 126 p. 396, and IV p. 50, footnote). With thematic vowel *eō* for **ei̯-ō*, *eunt*, partic. *eunt-is* etc., and the conj. *eam*: cp. Skr. indic. mid. *áy-a-tē*. *ambiō ambiunt* are doubtless not to be compared with Gr. *ἴω* *ἀϊ-ίωσαν* etc. (pp. 52, 65); they must be a re-formation following *fīnio*, the compound being treated like a simple word.

√*es-* 'be': 3rd sing. Lat. *es-t*, Umbr. est *est* Osc. est ist: Skr. *ás-ti*, § 493 p. 52. 2nd sing. *es* for **es-s*, also *ēs*, the latter perhaps augmented (§ 480 p. 28). Weak stem *s-* in the 3rd pl. Umbr. *s-ent* Osc. *s-et*. The 2nd pl. Lat. *es-tis* has taken the strong stem, like Gr. *ἐσ-τέ*. Conjunctive: Lat. *erō er-i-s* etc. with future meaning (§ 910). Optative: 2nd sing. Lat. *s-iē-s s-ī-s* Umbr. *sir si sei*, see § 946. To the the thematic stem *s-o-* belong 1st sing. Lat. *s-u-m* Osc. súm *sum* for **s-o-m*, the injunctive form, 1st pl. Lat. *sumus simus* (so too *possumus possimus*, cp. *volumus volimus* above) for **s-o-mos*,[1]) 3rd pl. Lat. *s-o-nt sunt* Falisc. *sunt*, partic. Lat. *sōns sont-is* (cp. the Author, Bericht der sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, pp. 230 ff.).

Remark 1. Side by side with *potis sum* (*poti-s* 'mighty, powerful, able' = Gr. *πό-σι-ς*), for which a plural *potis sumus* was formed instead of **potēs sumus* after *potis* had crystallised (cp. Skr. *dātā́smas* 'we will be giving' instead of *dātā́raḥ smas*, and like phrases), was a variant *pote sum*. *pote* is an adverb (acc. sing. neut. for **poti*, or loc. in orig. *-ĕ*, see III § 260 p. 160), cp. *bene sum*, *tūtō sum*. *potisset potisse* are for *potis 'sset 'sse*, cp. *situst* for *situs 'st*. But *potes potest potestis* come from *pote es* etc. So also *possum possim* (whence *possem posse* by complementary analogy) come from **potsum* **potsim*, *pote-sum*, *pote-sim*. It is doubtful, however, whether *-e-* disappeared by regular syncope, or whether *potest* : *est* suggested **potsum* : *sum* (I § 501 p. 367).

√*ed-* 'eat': *ēs ēst ēstis ēste*, pass. *ēstur* (on *-st-* instead of *-ss- -s-* see I § 501 Rem. 2 p. 368); with thematic vowel *edō edimus edunt*, also *edis edit* etc. See § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f., § 498 p. 60. Optative: *ed-i-m ed-ī-mus* instead

1) I § 110 page 105 should be corrected by this statement.

of **d-ī-*, perhaps to distinguish this optative from the old optative of *dō-* 'give' (see below).

√ *dhē-* 'place': Lat. *con-di-mus con-di-tis crēdimus* for **-fa-mos *-fa-tes*: Gr. ἔ-θε-μεν, see § 493 p. 53. The forms *-dō -dis -dit -dunt* are thematic.

√ *dō-* 'give': Lat. *da-mus da-tis red-dimus -ditis*: Gr. ἔ-δο-μεν, see § 493 p. 53.[1]) Imperative: *ce-do* (2nd pl. *ce-tte* for **ce-date *ce-dite*, I § 633 p. 474), see § 957. The old optative stem **d-ī-* (cp. Avest. 3rd sing. *d-yā-þ*) is found in Osc. da-did 'dedat'; to this the conj. da-dad Lat. *dē-dat* is related like Lat. *ed-ā-mus* : *ed-ī-mus* (see above). The old singular forms **dō-m *dō-s *dō-t* are gone; we have instead *dō dās dat*. The last two represent the stem used in composition for the conjunctive, *d-ā-* (cp. *-bās* for **bhu̯-ā-s* indic. beside conj. *fu-ā-s*, see § 578); and these created *dō* on the analogy of *stō* : *stās*, *flō* : *flās* etc. In composition, we see the same inflexion as *legō* has: *vēn-dō red-dō -dis -dit -dimus -diti -dunt*. But undoubtedly *-dimus -ditis* are what **-damus *-datis* must regularly become, cp. fut. O.Lat. *reddibō* for **red-dabō*.

Remark 2. The compounds of *dhē-* and *dō-* were confused in Latin, beginning with the 1st and 2nd plural; *-di-* = **-fa- *-dhə-* and = **-da- *-də-*. Compare Darmesteter, De conj. Lat. verbi *dare*, Paris 1877; Postgate, *Dare*, 'to give' and *-dere* 'to put', Trans. Phil. Soc. 1880—81 pp. 99 ff.; Thielmann, Das verbum *dare* im Lat., Leipzig 1882; the Author, Liter. Centr. 1882 col. 1389 ff.

Whether the forms *stā-s sta-t* from √ *stā-* 'stand' are rightly placed here with the rest, as is suggested by Skr. *á-sthā-t* and Gr. ἔ-στη (§ 493 p. 54), is very doubtful because of *stā-mus stā-tis*. One cannot see why an orig. **stă-mus* (cp. *dă-mus*) should have been altered (ἔστημεν as compared with ἔδομεν is quite a different thing, see § 495 p. 55); and so it

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1) Bréal (Mém. Soc. Ling., VII 326) thinks he may regard as an unaugmented preterite *dat* in Vergil's *cratera antiquom quem dat Sidonia Dido* (Aen. IX 266). Many points in Vergil's manner are in favour of Bréal's assumption (see Ladewig on Aen. I 79, II 275, Kühner Ausf. Gr. II 90).

is preferable to refer the whole present of this verb *stō* to **stā-i̯ō*; see § 584 Rem., § 706. This is supported by Umbr. *stahu* 'sto'.

§ 506. Keltic. √*es-* 'to be',[1]) 3rd sing. O. Ir. *is* O.Cymr. *iss is* for **es-ti*. 3rd pl. O.Ir. *it* O.Cymr. *int* for **s-enti* (II p. 196, footnote). The *a-* of the Irish proclitic sing. 1st pers. *am* 2nd *at* (3rd relat. *as*), plur. 1st *ammi* 2nd *adib* (3rd rel. *ata*), is from *-e*. The form *am* then had no *-i* at the end; and since it is usually written *am* with one *m*, it seems to have had *m* spirant, like Mid.Cymr. *wyf*. It must therefore not be derived from **esmi*. The 2nd sing. *at* Mid.Cymr. *wyt* may contain the pronoun of the 2nd person, and may thus be explained as **esi*+*t-*. Mid.Cymr. 1st sing. *wyf* seems to be due to the analogy of the 2nd sing. Is Ir. *am* the same? Others regard these forms as coming from the root *ei̯-* 'go'. The 1st pl. *ammi* Mid. Cymr. *ym* may be **esmesi*. In the 2nd pl. *adib*, *-b* is certainly an affixed personal pronoun, and *-di-* the ending of the 2nd pl. = *-thi -the* (ground-form **-tesi*, the suffix re-formed on the analogy of the 1st pl., see § 1014). This brings us back to an imaginary ground-form **s-e-tesi* + *sv-*, which would be a re-formate following the 3rd pl. **senti*; and so perhaps the 1st pl. should be derived from **s-esmesi*, a later contamination.

Again, the Keltic *t*-preterite, as it is called, is partly of the same kind. In the 3rd sing. of this preterite, the ending *-t* is said to represent the middle ending **-to* (Strachan, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 128 ff., and Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 204 ff.): e. g. O.Ir. *as-bert* 'dixit' Mid.Cymr. *kymerth* 'sumpsit' for **kymberth* from √*bher-*. When *-t* ceased to be understood as a personal ending, the other persons which completed the tense were formed on the model of stems ending in *-t*: O.Ir. sing.

1) Compare Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. II 133; Stokes, The Neo-Celtic Verb Subst., 43 ff., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 93 ff.; d'Arbois de Jubainville, Mém. Soc. Ling., V 239 f.; Strachan, Bezz. Beitr. XV 114 ff. In the text I follow chiefly information received from Thurneysen.

1[st] pers. *-burt* 2[nd] *-birt*, plur. 1[st] *-bartmar* 2[nd] **-bartid* 3[rd] *-bartatur*. Compare Lith. *eitù* 'I go' formed from *eĩ-t* 'he goes' = Skr. *é-ti* § 686 Rem. 2, Gr. ἐδόθην from ἰ-δο'-θης = Skr. *á-di-thās* § 589. In forms like *as-bert* Strachan sees root-aorists of this class, Zimmer *s*-aorists (**ber-s-to*). As a matter of fact, both these aorists may have been the source for some preterites such as these. To our Class I belong O.Ir. *ro-ēt* 'he took' for **-em-to*, Mid.Cymr. *gwan-t* 'percussit, feriit'.

§ 507. Germanic. √ *u̯el-* 'wish': opt. Goth. *viljau* pl. *vilei-ma* O.H.G. 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. *wili* O.Icel. 1[st] sing. *vilja*. The strong stem (cp. Skr. *vr-iyā-t vur-ī-ta*), like that of Lat. *velim*, is due to a confusion with the indic. **u̯el-(i)i̯o-* **u̯el-ī-* (O.H.G. *willu* O.C.Sl. *velją*). See § 493 p. 51, § 505 p. 69, § 928.

√ **gem-* 'go, come': opt. A.S. *cyme* = Goth. **kumjan*: Skr. *gam-yá-m*, see § 493 p. 51.

√ *es-* 'to be', see § 493 p. 52. The indicative forms are Goth. *im*, *is*, *ist*, *sijum sium*, *sijuþ siuþ*, *sind*; O.H.G. *bim*, *(bist bis)*, *ist*, *birum*, *birut*, *sint*; O.Icel. *em*, *est*, *es* (Run. *is*), *erom erum*, *erođ eruđ*, *ero eru*. First it must be mentioned that the O.H.G. 2[nd] sing. *bist bis* belongs to a present to be described below in §§ 707 and 722, formed from √ *bheu̯-*, namely 1[st] sing. **bhu̯-i̯i̯ō* 2[nd] sing. **bhu̯-ī-si* etc. (A.S. 1[st] sing. *béo* 2[nd] sing. *bis* 3[rd] sing. *biđ*, O.Ir. *biu* etc.), and that the similarity of *bis* and **is* (= Goth. *is*) produced *b-im b-irum b-irut*. 1[st] sing. Goth. *im* O.H.G. *(b-)im* for **immi* **ismi* = Skr. *ás-mi* (I § 582 Rem. 2 p. 436); O.Icel. *em* instead of regular **im* following the plural forms which begin with *e*, whence also the *e* in *est* and *es*. Whether the 2[nd] sing. Goth. *is* comes from Idg. **esi* or **es-si* (see § 984. 1), cannot be decided: O.Icel. *est* like O.H.G. *bist* has *-t* on the analogy of the preterite (§ 990. 3); on the very rare O.Icel. 2[nd] sing. *es*, see Noreen in Paul's Grundr. I 515 The 3[rd] sing. Goth. O.H.G. *ist* is for Idg. **es-ti*; O.Icel. *es* (Run. *is*) A.S. O.Sax. *is* are doubtless the old injunctive Idg. **es-t*; the 3[rd] pl. O.Icel. *er-o* is also injunctive (other explanations are suggested by J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 593; von Fierlinger, *ibid.*

XXVII 440 footnote 2; Noreen, *loc. cit.*; Osthoff, Perf. 428 f.). In the plural, the weak stem is seen in Goth. *s-ind* O.H.G. *s-int* = Idg. **s-enti.* O.Icel. *ero eru* is pr. Germ. **iz-unþ* (§ 1025. 1 *b*), an injunctive in which the strong stem has taken the place of the weak (cp. Gr. ἔᾱσι, § 502 p. 66). As the ending of **izunþ* agreed with the so-called preterite-presents, such as Goth. *mun-un* (§ 508), on their analogy the 1st pl. O.Icel. *erom* O.H.G. *(b-)irum* and the 2nd pl. O.Icel. *eroð* O.H.G. *(b-)irut* appeared. These forms then produced O.H.G. Frank. *sind-un* O.Sax. A.S *sind-un.* Goth. *sijum sijuþ* are probably transformed from **iz-um *iz-uþ*, caused partly by *sind*, partly by the feeling that the opt. *sijau sijáis* etc. should contain a stem *sij-*. — The optative has always a weak root: 1st sing. Goth. *s-ijau* O.H.G. *s-ī* O.Icel. *s-jā*; on the inflexion, see § 947. — Partic. **s-und-* = Idg. **s-n̥t-* in Goth. *sunjis* 'true' for **sund-ja-* = Skr. *sat-yá-* 'true'; also thematic **s-o-nt-* in **sanþ-a-* 'true, truthful' A.S. *sōð* O.Icel. *sannr* (cp. § 493 p. 53).

O.H.G. *tuom* 'I do' (O.Sax. A.S. *dō-m*) must be derived from √*dhē-*, along with the pret. *te-ta* and the subst. *tā-t* (Goth. *ga-dē-di-*) and others, but its vowel makes it impossible to derive the word from **dhē-mi.* Perhaps it contains **dh-ā-* (Class X, § 585), found in other parts of the verb as a conjunctive stem (Lat. *con-da-m -dā-mus*); cp. Lat. 2nd sing. *d-ā-s* 'thou givest' = conj. *(red-)dās* (§ 505 p. 71, § 937).

Remark. On O.H.G. *stām stēm* 'I stand' and *gām gēm* 'I go', see § 708. They certainly do not belong to this class of presents.

§ 508. Some Preterite-Presents may also be placed in this class. Goth. *mun-un* 'they think', opt. 1st pl. *mun-ei-ma*: Skr. mid. 3rd sing. *á-ma-ta* partic. *man-āná-s*, √*men-* 'think, mean'. Goth. *ga-daúrs-un* O.H.G. *gi-turrun* 'they dare', opt. Goth. *ga-daúrs-ei-ma* O.H.G. *gi-turr-ī-m*: Skr. partic. *dhr̥ṣ-āṇá-s*, √*dhers-* 'dare'. Goth. *vit-un* O.H.G. *wizz-un* 'they know', opt. Goth. *vit-ei-ma* O.H.G. *wizz-ī-mēs*: Skr. *vḗt-ti* opt. *vid-yā́-t* etc., see § 493 p. 52; the weak forms of this verb were present and perfect at the same time.

If this view be right, Goth. *mun-un ga-daúrs-un vit-un* were originally injunctive, like Icel. *er-o er-u* (§ 507 p. 73). We shall meet again with present forms among the preterite-presents (§§ 646, 887, 893).

§ 509. Connected with Skr. *ī́r-tē* imper. Avest. *arᵉ-šva* Gr. *ὄρ-σο*, which point to an Idg. mid. pres. **r̥̄-tai̯* (mentioned above, § 497, page 57) are A.S. 2nd sing. *ear-đ ar-đ ear-t* 'thou art' pl. *ear-un ar-on* with *ar-* = Idg. **r̥̄-*. For the meaning cp. Gr. *ὄρ-ωρ-α*, which in late Greek had also the meaning 'I am'. On the 2nd sing., see § 990. 3.

Remark. Germ. *ar-* was probably not a perfect stem, which would have been *ōr-*. This is said to correct the note in Idg. Forsch. I 81.

Von Fierlinger (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 436 ff.) deduces some other presents with weak stem and secondary accent, from thematic forms with peculiar vocalism. Thus, for Goth. *fara* 'I fare, go', √*per-* (in Gr. *περάω* 'I pass through' etc.), he assumes an older present stem **pr̥̄-*, 1st pl. **pr̥̄-més* (cp. Skr. 2nd sing. *pár-ṣi*).

§ 510. Balto-Slavonic. To Idg. **u̯ei̯d-mi* 'I see' belong Lith. *veizd-mi*, and imperative Lith. *veizdi veizd* O.C.Sl. *viždĭ*, — the imperative forms have non-original strong stem, and the O.C.Sl. form has *ž* instead of *z*, see § 493 p. 52, §§ 949, 962. An undoubted re-formate is Lith. *pa-výzdmi* instead of *pa-výdžiu* 'invideo', also used (cp. § 511).

Idg. **es-mi* 'I am', see § 493 p. 52. The Lithuanian forms here to be cited are scattered over various dialects. 1st sing. Lith. *es-mì* O.C.Sl. *jes-mĭ*; on the analogy of thematic verbs with *-u* Lith. *esmù* (like Lett. *esmu* Pruss. *asmu*), and then a 2nd person *esmì* was made on the analogy of *sukì* : *sukù*. 2nd sing. Lith. *esì* (Pruss. *assai assei asse essei*) O.C.Sl. *jesi*, see § 991. 3rd sing. Lith. *ẽs-ti ẽs-t* (Pruss. *ast est*) O.C.Sl. *jes-tŭ*. The 1st and 2nd pl. may have taken *es-* instead of *s-* in pr. Balto-Slav.: Lith. *ẽs-me ẽs-te* (Pruss. *asmai*, *astai asti estei*) O.C.Sl. *jes-mŭ jes-te*. Partic. Pruss. *-sins* dat. *-sentismu*: cp. Lat. *-sēns* and Gr. Dor. *ἐντ-ες* (p. 50 footnote). —

**s-o-* in O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. *sątŭ* partic. Lith. *są̄s sanczio* O.C.Sl. *sy sąsta*. **es-o-* in Lith. 1st sing. *esù* 1st pl. *ẽsame* 2nd pl. *ẽsate* partic. *ẽsą̄s*. It is not clear whether Lith. opt. (permissive) 3rd sing. *tesẽ* 'sit' is to be analysed *te-sẽ* (cp. Pruss. 2nd pl. opt. *sei-ti*) or as *t-esẽ*. With augment pr. Balto-Slav. **ēs-o-m* etc.: in O.C.Sl. this occurs in the imperfects *nesě-achŭ -aše -aše* pl. *-achomŭ -ašete -achą*, unthematic 2nd pl. *-as-te* also found (so too the dual has both *-asta -aste* and *-ašeta -ašete*), see § 903; in Lith. the preterite *ē-* passed into the present, *ė́sù ė́sì ė̃sa ė̃same ė̃sate* partic. *ė̃są̄s*, see § 480 p. 28. — On Lith. 3rd sing. *yrà*, which comes from the root of Skr. *ī́r-tē* Avest. *arᵉ-šva* Gr. *ὄρ-ωρ-α* A.S. *ear-đ*, see J. Schmidt in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 595 f.

The present of √ *ed-* 'eat' was in pr. Balto-Slav. **ēd-mi*; for its *ē* see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 p. 54. Lith. sing. 1st pers. *ë́mi* 'I devour' 3rd sing. *ë́sti ë́st* pl. 1st *ë́me* 2nd *ë́ste* dual 1st *ë́dva* 2nd *ë́sta* (on *ë́dmi ë́dme* see I § 547 p. 401); O.C.Sl. sing. 1st pers. *jamĭ* 2nd *jasi* 3rd *jastŭ* pl. 1st *jamŭ* 2nd *jaste* 3rd *jad-ętŭ* (on 1st dual *javě* instead of **jadvě*, see I § 547 Rem. 3, p. 401). — Also thematic Lith. *ë́du ë́di* etc., Pruss. opt. 2nd pl. *idaiti* O.C.Sl. partic. *jady jadąšta*.

Other presents of this class are found in one only of the two branches, Baltic or Slavonic, not in both:

§ **511.** In Lithuanian there is a fine array of present forms of this class, but nearly all are defective and have only one or two persons left, chiefly the first and third. Some of them have come into this class quite late. Compare § 496 p. 56. Lists of *mi*-forms may be found in Schleicher pp. 250 ff., Kurschat pp. 304 ff., Bezzenberger Beitr. lit. Spr. 198 ff. (a few more come from the dialects).

We begin with those which may be regarded as representing Idg. originals.

pa-velmi 'I will' 2rd sing. *pa-velt*, refl. 1st sing. *velmë-s*: Skr. *á-vr̥-ta* etc., see § 493 p. 51.

ei-mì 'I go': Skr. *ḗ-mi* etc., see § 493 p. 51. 2nd sing. *ei-sì* 3rd sing. *eĩ-ti eĩ-t*. The strong stem passes into the

plural: 1st *eĩ-me* 2nd *eĩ-te*; but 2nd pl. High Lithuanian *eĩste* on the analogy of *ẽste* : *ẽme*, *dű'ste* : *dű'me*. Old injunctives are *ei* 'let him go' (*te ne ei* 'let him not go') *ei-mè* 'let us go' (dual *ei-và*). Imper. *eĩ-k* = Lat. *ī* (§ 957). Indic. now usually *ei-nù*, as Class XIII (§ 615). Pruss. 2nd sing. *ēi-sei* 3rd sing. *ēi-t* 1st pl. *ēi-mai*. Partic. Lith. *ent-* 'going' (in old printed books) doubtless stands for **i̯-ent-*, first in compounds with prefix ending in a consonant, such as *isz-ent-* (I § 147 p. 132), cp. p. 50 footnote; but it is possible that it comes from **i̯ē-nt-*, Class X; see § 593. — **i̯-o-* appears to be contained in Pruss. opt. 2nd sing. *jeis* 2nd pl. *jeiti*.

lěk-mì 'I remain' 3rd sing. *lěk-ti lěk-t*: Skr. 2nd dual *rik-tam* 2nd sing. mid. *rik-thās*, √ *lei̯q-* 'linquere'.

ráudmi 'I lament' (regularly **raumi*, I § 547 p. 401): Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *raostā* with irregular strong stem (cp. § 499 p. 62), √ *reu̯d-* 'rudere'; cp. Skr. *rōdi-ti* pl. *rudi-mas* § 574.

deg-mì 'I burn': Skr. 2nd sing. *dhákṣi*, see § 493 p. 53.

sědmi 'I sit' 3rd sing. *sěst* 1st pl. refl. *sědmė-s*: Skr. 2nd sing. *sát-si*, √ *sed* 'sedere', see § 494 pp. 54 f.

jű's-mi 'I gird' (beside *jű'siu*): Avest. 3rd sing. *yās-ti*, stem *jōs-*. Compare § 656.

The imperatives *dě-k* 'lay' (inf. *dě-ti*, √ *dhē-*) and *dű'-k* 'give' (inf. *dű'-ti*, √ *dō-*), of which the latter must be compared with Lat. *ce-do*, show the same formation as *eĩ-k* (= Lat. *ī*). O.Lith. *dů-di dů-d* 'give' doubtless = **dō-dhi*. See I § 547 Rem. 1 p. 401, IV §§ 546, 957, 962.

Some other presents of the same sort, to which there is nothing which answers outside the Baltic group, may here be named: *bar-mi* 'I scold' 3rd sing. *ap-bart*, √ *bher-* (Lat. *feriō*), *bar-* for **bhr̥̄-*; *sněk-ti* 'it snows', √ *snei̯gh-*; *mėg-mì* 'I sleep' 3rd sing. *měkt* 2nd pl. *měkte*; *ráug-mi* 'I belch', √ *reu̯g-* (Gr. *ἐρεύγομαι*);[1] *sérg-mi* 'I protect, watch' 3rd sing. *sérkti*; *kósmi* 'I cough' (Skr. *kās-a-tē*).

1) On account of a form *riáugmi*, Wiedemann (Lit. Praet. 186) derived this word from a groundform **rēu̯g-mi* (cp. § 494 pp. 54 f.); which is very dubious.

All these verbs have in Lithuanian, beside this present formation, another with the same meaning, which in High Lithuanian is almost the only one. It is certainly no mere chance that in so many presents of the *mi*-class, the bye-form is a verb in *-iu* with accentuated root (1st pl. *-i-me* Class XXVI § 727), as *sédžiu*, *sérgiu*, *kósiu*, *žýdžiu* (*žýdmi* 'I bloom'), *cziáudžiu* (*cziáudmi* 'I sneeze'), *stóviu* (*stóvmi* 'I stand'), *mérdžiu* (*mérdmi* 'I lie a-dying') etc. With these verbs in *-iu*, the 2nd and 3rd sing. ran together and became indistinguishable in form (2nd sing. *-i* for **-ii*, 3rd sing. *-i* for **-i-t*), and it is probable that it was a wish to keep these persons distinct which first produced the non-thematic forms in most of these verbs. Perhaps on the analogy of *sė́st(i)* (*sė́dmi*) beside *sė́džiu* was formed *sė́rkt(i)* etc.

Observe also *tenk-mì* instead of *tenkù* 'I last' (pret. *tekaũ* inf. *tèkti*), and the 2nd pl. *gélbste* (*gélpste*), from *gélbmi* 'I help' 3rd sing. *gélbt(i) gélpt(i)*, — for its *s*, compare that of *eĩ-s-te* § 511 p. 77.

§ **512.** Slavonic. The form only without parallel in Lithuanian is *sę-tŭ* 'inquit', explained in § 493 p. 52.

Class II: Root + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ **513.** This class of present stems, invariably the largest in all Indo-Germanic languages, falls into two divisions, according as the accent falls (A) upon the root syllable or (B) upon the thematic vowel. When the root carried the accent, it was of the strong grade (1st strong grade in the *e*-series), but weak grade if the accent fell upon the thematic vowel; e. g. (A) **bhéu̯dh-o-* = Skr. *bṓdh-a-* Gr. *πεῦθ-ο-* (*bṓdh-a-ti* *πεύθ-ο-μαι* *πεύθ-ε-σθαι*); (B) **bhudh-ó-* = Skr. *budh-á-* Gr. *πυθ-ό-* (*budh-á-nta* *ἐ-πύθ-ε-το* *πυθ-έ-σθαι*), from √ *bheu̯dh-* 'wake, notice, learn'. The indicative often gives both forms from the same root, particularly often in Aryan and Greek. This we see in the above [exa]mple; others are Skr. *tár-a-ti* : *tir-á-ti* 'oversteps, passes',

kárṣ-a-ti : *kṛṣ-á-ti* 'draws, ploughs', *sárp-a-ti* 'crawls': *á-sṛp-a-t*; Gr. Att. *τρέπ-ω*: Dor. *τράπ-ω* (instead of **τραπ-ώ*) 'I turn', *λείπ-ω* 'I leave' inf. *λείπ-ειν* : *ἔ-λιπ-ο-ν* inf. *λιπ-εῖν*, *ἔχ-ω* 'I have inf. *ἔχ-ειν* : *ἔ-σχ-ο-ν* inf. *σχ-εῖν*; Lat. *īc-ō* : *ic-ō*, *rūd-ō* (O.H.G. *riuʒu*) : *rud-ō* √ *reud-*.[1]) Goth. *veiha* 'I fight' pr. Germ. **uéiχ-ō*: O.Icel. *veg* 'I compel' pr. Germ. **uiʒ-ṓ*, Goth. *trud-a* 'I tread': O.H.G. *trit-u*; O.C.Sl. *der-ą* 'I tear': Czech *dr-u* Serv. *-dr-em*, O.C.Sl. *žid-ą* 'I wait' (Lith. *geidžiù*): *žĭd-ą*, Lith. *mélž-u* 'I milk': O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-ą*. The two kinds are often found in different languages with the same root; as from √ *dhreugh-* 'hurt, deceive' Aryan has only **drughó-*, Skr. 2nd sing. *druh-a-s* etc., and Germanic only **dhréugho-*, O.H.G. *triugu*.

To decide the historical relation of these two kinds, two facts have to be taken into account. First, that in Aryan and Greek, Type *B* constantly expressed aorist action, and *A* present action.[2]) Secondly, that type *A* is conjunctive to indicative forms of Class I, and *B* often occurs as a variant indicative stem along with stems of Class I, no distinction being drawn between these two present stems in meaning; see §§ 493 ff. How these facts are to be explained is still obscure. Only thus much may be called probable, that Type *A* had originally both indicative and subjunctive meaning (cp. § 489 pp. 47 f., §§ 578, 910).

Remark. Because of the frequency with which these two types (II *A* and *B*) are found in the same verb, many scholars, among them Fick and Paul, have supposed that from different persons of the same stem, we have the two stems *bhéudh-o- bhéudh-e-* and *bhudh-ó bhudh-é-* by levelling; originally, they assume, the varying accent produced **bhéudh-o-* and **bhudh-é-* (e. g. 1st pl. **bhéudh-o-mos* but 2nd pl. **bhudh-é-te*); then, by levelling, we have 2nd pl. **bhéudh-e-te* beside **bhudh-é-te* following **bhéudh-o-mos*, and *vice versa* we have **bhudh-ó-mos* beside

1) I here assume that *īcō* comes from **eicō* and *rūdō* from **roudō* **reudō*. But this is not certain; for *ī* und *ū* may represent Idg. *ī* und *ū*.

2) Type *B* is found distinguishing the aorist sense from other present stems, and not only those of the *A* type; as Skr. *áchida-t* Lat. *scidi-t* (§ 528), but pres. Skr. *chinát-ti* opt. *chindē-ta* Lat. *scindō*.

**bhéudh-o-mos* following **bhudh-é-te*, and so on.[1]) This must have happened, if it did happen, in the proethnic language, because even then the type **bhudhó-* had become associated with aoristic action, and **bhéudho-* with the meaning of the conjunctive.

To explain the relation of II *A* and *B*, others call attention to the change of accent in the Balto-Slavonic present indicative, as Lith. *vedù vedì vẽda.* But the *original* accent of the Balto-Slavonic verb, which is the important point, has not yet been made out for certain; the only certain point is that the 1st sing. accented its final, Lith. *vedù sukù* = Russ. *vedú skú.* And even if the accentuation varied then in the different persons, how can it be proved that this mode was older than the Sanskrit?

The same double forms are seen in Class XIII (as Gr. δήλομαι : βούλομαι, § 607), and Class XXVI (as O.H.G. *wirk(i)u*: Goth. *vaúrkja*, § 705). What may be the cause of the difference is no less dark in these than in the other.

§ **514.** Class II *A*: the Root Syllable accented and in the strong Grade. Some forms are used as both indicative and conjunctive, as. indic. Skr. *áy-a-tē* Lat. *eō eunt*, conj. Skr. *áy-a-ti áy-a-t* (beside indic. *ḗ-ti*); see § 493 ff. Here we confine ourselves to *o*-forms with indicative meaning.

Pr. Idg. *bhér-ō* 'I bear' 3rd sing. **bhér-e-t(i)*: Skr. *bhár-āmi bhár-a-ti*, Armen. *ber-em* (§ 978) *berē* for **ber-e-ti* (I § 483 p. 357), Gr. φέρ-ω, Lat. *fer-ō*, O.Ir. *-biur* for **ber-ō ber-i-d*, Goth. *baír-a baír-i-þ*, O.C.Sl. *ber-e-tŭ*; pret. 3rd sing. **é-bher-e-t*: Skr. *á-bhar-a-t*, Armen. *e-ber*, Gr. ἔ-φερ-ε; imper. 2nd sing. **bhér-e*: Skr. *bhár-a*, Armen. *ber*, Gr. φέρ-ε, O.Ir. *beir*, Goth. *baír*; opt. 2nd sing. **bher-o-i̯-s*; Skr. *bhár-ē-ṣ*, Gr. φέρ-ο-ι-ς, Goth. *baír-á-i-s*, O.C.Sl. *ber-i.* **ĝén-ō* 'I beget': Skr. *ján-āmi*, Gr. 'pret. ἐ-γεν-ό-μην (§ 518), O.Lat. *gen-ō.* **u̯éi̯-ō*: Avest. *vay-ęmi* 'I drive, scare off', Lith. *vej-ù* 'I pursue'. **pléu̯-ō* 'I swim, flow, sail': Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *pláv-a-tē*, Gr. πλέ(F)-ω, Lat. 3rd sing. **plov-i-t* (imperf. *plovēbat* Petron., inf. *per-plovere*

1) Such levelling as this would not be extraordinary. For instance, the present of Lat. *vindicō* becomes in O.Fr., regularly, *venge venches venchet vengons vengiez venchent*; from this we have two series derived, (1) *venge venges venget vengons vengiez vengent*, and (2) *venches venche venchet venchons venchiez venchent* (Neumann, Zeitschr. Rom. Phil., XIV, 562).

Fest.), O.C.Sl. 3[rd] sing. *plov-e-tŭ*. **u̯ért-ō* 'verto': Skr. *várt-āmi*, Lat. *vert-ō*, Goth. *vairþ-a*. **lénǝgh-ō*: Skr. 3[rd] sing. mid. *ráh-a-tē* 'hastens, accelerates', O.Ir. *lingid* 'springs up' (R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. I 48 ff., 76), O.H.G. *gi-lingu* 'I have good progress or result'. **nés-e-tai̯*: Skr. *nás-a-tē* 'approaches lovingly, joins company with some one', Gr. νέ(σ)-ε-ται 'returns home', Goth. *ga-nis-a* 'I am saved, survive, recover'. **ĝéu̯s-ō* 'I taste, try, enjoy': Skr. *jṓṣ-āmi* Gr. γεύ-ω γεύ-ο-μαι (cp. the Author Gr. Gr.² p. 31), Goth. *kius-a*. **u̯éĝh-ō* 'veho': Skr. *váh-āmi*, Gr. Pamphyl. imper. ϝεχ-έ-τω (?), Lat. *veh-ō*, Goth. *ga-viga*, Lith. *vež-ù* O.C.Sl. 3[rd] sing. *vez-e-tŭ*. **séq-e-tai̯* 'is with, follows': Skr. *sác-a-tē*, Gr. ἕπ-ε-ται, Lat. *sequ-i-tur*, O.Ir. *sech-idir* (now a weak verb), Lith. *sek-ù*. **péq-ō* 'I cook'; Skr. *pác-āmi*, Lat. *coqu-ō* for **quequ-ō* **pequ-ō* (I § 336 p. 267), O.C.Sl. 3[rd] sing. *peč-e-tŭ*. **áĝ-ō* 'I drive, lead': Skr. *áj-āmi*, Armen. *ac-em*, Gr. ἄγ-ω, Lat. *ag-ō*, O.Ir. *ag-im*, O.Icel. infin. *aka*.

On present forms with Idg. *ē* in place of *e*, as Gr. μήδ-ο-μαι Lith. *bė́g-u* Skr. *sáh-āmi mā́rj-āmi*, see § 471 p. 16, § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f., § 494 pp. 54 f. To the same list perhaps belongs the West-Germ. 2[nd] sing. pret., as O.H.G. *māʒi* AS. *mǣte* 'measurest' (Gr. mid. ἐ-μήδεο -ου), O.H.G. *āʒi* 'atest' (Lith. *ė́d-u* 'to eat', but cp. the augmented Skr. *ád-a-s* Gr. ἦδ-ε-ς), see § 893.

§ **515.** Aryan. Skr. *bhár-a-ti* 'fert' Avest. *baraiti*, pret. 3[rd] pl. Skr. *á-bha-ra-n* Avest. *bar-e-n* O.Pers. *a-bar-a*: Armen. *ber-em* etc., see § 514 p. 80. Skr. *nám-a-ti* 'bows' Avest. *nemaiti*, √ *nem-*. Skr. *náy-a-ti* 'leads' Avest. *nayeiti* O.Pers. pret. 1[st] sing. *a-nay-a-m*. Skr. *cyáv-a-tē* 'raises itself, stirs' Avest. *šavaitę* O.Pers. pret. 1[st] sing. *a-šiyav-a-m*: Gr. Aeol. σεύω, √ *qi̯eu̯-*. Skr. *párd-a-tē* 'farts': Gr. πέρδ-ε-ται, O.H.G. *firz-u*, Lett. *perd-u*. Skr. *śáṁs-a-ti* 'utters solemnly, praises' Avest. *saṅghaiti* Gathic *sēṅghaitī* 'speaks, teaches', √ *k̑ens-*. Skr. pret. *á-bandh-a-t* 'he bound' Avest. *bandaiti*: Goth. *bind-a*, √ *bhendh-*. Skr. *bhḗd-a-ti* 'splits': Goth. *beit-a* 'I bite', √ *bhei̯d-*. Avest. *snaęž-aiti* 'it snows' (I § 454 p. 335): Gr. νείφ-ει, Lith. dial. *snė́g-a* Lett. *snig*, √ *snei̯gh-*. Skr. *bṓdh-a-ti*

'wakes, awakes, is observant' Avest. mid. *baoδaitę*: Gr. *πεύϑ-ε-ται* 'learns, discovers', Goth. *ana-biuda* 'I bid, command', O.C.Sl. *bljud-e-tŭ* 'observes', with secondary *(l)j*, √‾*bheudh-*. Skr. *pát-a-ti* 'flies' Avest. *pat-e-nti* 'they fall, run' O.Pers. *ud-apatatā* 'he raised himself': Gr. *πέτ-ε-ται* 'flies', Lat. *pet-ō*. Skr. *áj-a-ti* 'leads, drives' Avest. *azaiti*: Armen. *acem* etc., see § 514 p. 80. Skr. *árh-a-ti* 'earns, deserves' Avest. *arᵉjaiti*: Gr. pret. *ἦλφ-ο-ν* 'I earned', √‾*algh-*.

§ 516. Sanskrit had so many presents of Class II *A* with *á* in the root syllable, that other stems which had originally *a* unaccented in the root, accented it on their analogy; e. g. **dn̥k̑-é-ti* 'bites' properly becomes **daśáti*, but what we find is *dáśati*, cp. also *dąś-a-ti* from **deñk̑-e-ti*. See I § 672 p. 537. But this retraction of accent is found with other root vowels as well, not *a* only; as *gírāmi* beside *girā́mi* (§ 525); cp. *hínv-a-ti hí-nv-a-nti* in contrast with *hi-nṓ-ti hi-nv-ánti* § 651.

§ 517. Armenian. *berem* 'I bring, carry': Skr. *bhárāmi* etc., see § 514 p. 80. *çelem* 'I split', beside Lith. *skelù* (*skel-i̯ù*) 'I split'. *e-ker* 'he ate': Skr. 3rd sing. *gar-a-t* (should be **jar-a-t*, but follows *girá-ti* and others), √‾*ger-*. *e-tes* 'he saw' (*tes-* for **ters-*, I § 263 p. 214): Skr. *á-darś-a-t*, Gr. *δέρκ-ε-ται*, O.Ir. *con-dercar* 'conspicitur', √‾*derk̑-*. *liz-em* 'I lick': Gr. *λείχ-ω*.

Remark. Whether the *i* of *gitem* 'I know' was Idg. *ei̯*, which would connect the verb with Skr. *vḗd-a-tē* Gr. *εἴδ-ε-ται*, or Idg. *oi̯*, which would make it a transformation of the perfect (Gr. *οἶδα*), is not to be decided, Bartholomae's efforts notwithstanding (Bezz. Beitr. XVII 94 f.). The meaning does not prove a perfect origin for it.

§ 518. Greek. *δέρ-ω* 'I flay'; Goth. *ga-taíra* O.H.G. *zir-u* 'I tear to pieces, I destroy', O.C.Sl. *der-e-tŭ* 'tears to pieces'. *στέν-ω* 'I groan, bewail': Skr. *stan-a-ti* 'thunders, roars'. *ῥέ(ϝ)-ει ῥεῖ* 'flows': Skr. *sráv-a-ti*. *ϑέ(ϝ)-ω* 'I run': Skr. *dhav-a-tē* 'streams, flows' (on *dhā́v-a-ti* see § 480 Rem. p. 29). *τέρπ-ω* 'I satisfy, please': Skr. *tárp-a-ti*. *ἀμέλγ-ω* 'I milk': O.H.G. *milch-u*, Lith. *mélž-u*. *εἴδ-ο-μαι* 'I appear, am like': Skr. *vḗd-a-tē*. *πείϑ-ω* 'I persuade': Lat. *fīd-ō*, Goth. *beid-a*

'I await'. εὕ-ω 'I burn' Ion. εὕ-ω (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 31): Skr. *óṣ-a-ti*, Lat. *ūr-ō*, √*eus-*; εὕω for *εὐhō as εἱπόμην for *ἐhεπόμην, see § 478 p. . ἐρεύθ-ω 'I redden, make red': O.Icel *rýđ* (inf. *rjōđa*), √*reudh-*. στέγ-ω 'I cover': Skr. *sthag-a-ti* (grammarian's word), Lat. *teg-ō*. ἔχ-ω 'I hold, have': Skr. *sáh-a-tē* 'overcomes' (on *sáh-a-ti* see § 480 Rem. p. 29). ζέ-ω 'I seethe, boil': Skr. *a-yas-a-t*, O.H.G. *jis-u gis-u*, √*jes-*. αἴθ-ω 'I burn', √*aidh-* (I § 93 p. 87, § 318 p. 237). τήκ-ω 'I melt' Dor. τάκ-ω, λήγ-ω 'I cease', √*slēg-* (I § 565 p. 423).

Since the preterites ἐγενόμην 'I became' ἔθενον 'I struck εἷλον 'I seized' were used as aorists, their infinitives and participles were accented like forms of Class II *B*: γενέσθαι, ἑλών, θενών instead of *γένεσθαι, *ἕλων, *θένων. As regards the aorists ἔτεκον 'I bore, begot' and Dor. Lesb. ἔπετον 'I fell' (τεκεῖν, πετών), these may possibly belong by rights to II *B*, and may have exchanged their *ə* for *e* (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 109). Compare § 527.

§ 519. Italic. Lat. *fer-ō*, cp. Umbr. conj. *ferar* 'let him bear' (fertu 'ferto' for **fere-tōd*?): Skr. *bhár-a-ti* etc., see § 514 pp. 80 f.). *col-ō* for **quel-ō* (I § 172. 3 p. 152): Skr. *cár-a-ti* 'moves, goes', Gr. πέλ-ε-ται 'is in motion, versatur' (this should really be τελ-, but follows the analogy of ἔ-πλ-ε-το etc., see I § 427 *b* with Rem. 1, pp. 313 f.), √*qel-*. Lat. *sonō* (inf. *sonere*) for **suen-ō* (cp. *colō*): Skr. *sván-a-ti* 'sounds, echoes'. *trem-ō*: Gr. τρέμ-ω 'I tremble' (cp. § 488 p. 47). *ex-uō* for *-*ouō* *-*euō* (cp. Umbr. *an-ovihimu* 'induimino' § 716). *serp-ō*: Skr. *sárp-a-ti* Gr. ἕρπ-ει 'crawls'. *deic-ō dīc-ō*, Umbr. *deitu* teitu 'dicito' (I § 502 p. 368), cp. Osc. *deicans* 'dicant': Goth. *ga-teiha* 'I announce, inform', √*deik̑-*. Lat. *mējō* probably for **meihō* (I § 389 p. 291, § 510 p. 374): Skr. *méh-a-ti* Avest. *maēzaiti*, Armen. *miz-em*, A.S. *mīȝ-e*, √*meiĝh-*. *doucō dūcō* for **deuk-ō*: Goth. *tiuh-a* 'I draw' √*deuk-*. *ed-ō*: Gr. ἔδ-ω Goth. *it-a* (on Lith. *ĕd-u* see § 480 Rem. pp. 28 f.). *tex-ō*: Skr. *tákṣ-a-ti* 'makes'; Gr. τέκτων prevents our deriving the

present from **tek-se-ti*, and putting it in Class XX; see I § 554 p. 408, Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 433. Lat. *ag-ō*, Umbr. aitu *aitu* Osc. *actud* 'agito' (I § 502 p. 368): Skr. *áj-a-ti* etc., see § 514 p. 81. Lat. *scab-ō*: Goth. *skab-a* 'I scrape, shave' (I § 346 p. 271).

§ 520. Keltic. Irish Presents of the 1st and 3rd conjugations (*o-* and *i̯o-*stems) are so often confused that the distinction between them cannot be made of any practical use. This makes it quite uncertain whether the following specimens belonged to Class II originally or not.

O.Ir. *-biur ber-im* 'I bear, bring': Skr. *bhár-a-ti* etc., see § 514 p. 80. *cel-im* 'I hide': O.H.G. *hil-u* 'I hide' (it is doubtful whether to add Lat. *oc-culō*, as being for **-celō*, or to place it in II *B*). *mel-im* 'molo', √ *mel-* (O.C.Sl. *mel-ją* inf. *mlě-ti*). *con-dercar* 'conspicitur: Skr. *á-darś-a-t* etc., see § 517 p. 82. *reth-im* 'I run': cp. Lith. *rit-ù* 'I roll' (II *B*). *ē-rig* (Mid. Ir.) imper. 'raise yourself, rise': Gr. *ὀρέγ-ω* 'I reach', Lat. *reg-ō*. *lengim* 'I spring' 3rd sing. *lingid*): Skr. *ráh-a-tē* etc., see § 514 p. 81. *scendim* (Mid. Ir.) 'I spring', Mod. Cymr. *cy-chwynnaf* 'I spring up', pr. Kelt. **sku̯end-*: it appears to be connected with Skr. *skánd-a-ti* 'springs' Lat. *scandō*, but the vowels are not clear (cp. Kretschmer in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 379, R. Schmidt Idg. Forsch. I 75 f.). *tiag-im* 'I go': Gr. *στείχ-ω* 'I go', Goth. *steig-a* 'I climb', √ *stei̯gh-*. *fed-im* 'I lead': Lith. *ved-ù* 'I lead' O.C.Sl. *ved-e-tŭ*, √ *u̯edh-*. *tech-im* 'I flee': Skr. *tak-a-ti* 'runs, pushes, shoves' (in the grammarians), Lith. *tek-ù* 'I run, flow' O.C.Sl. *teč-e-tŭ* 'runs, flows'. *can-im* 'I sing': Lat. *can-ō*.

§ 521. Germanic. Goth. *ga-taira* O.H.G. *zir-u* 'I tear, destroy': Gr. *δέρ-ω* etc., see § 518 p. 82. O.H.G. *brim-u* 'I growl, roar': Lat. *frem-ō* (cp. Osthoff, M. U., V 93 ff., Per Persson Stud. zur Lehre der Wurzelerweiterung, 288). Goth. *ga-þairsa* 'I dry up': Gr. *τέρσ-ε-ται* 'dries'. O.H.G. *wirr-u* 'I mix up, confuse' (instead of **wirs-u* by analogy of *gi-worran* and other such, where *-rr-* comes from *-rz-*, cp. I § 582 Rem. 1 p. 435): Lat. *verrō* for **vers-ō* (also *vorrō*). O.H.G.

smilz-u 'I melt': Gr. *μέλδ-ε-ται* 'melts, liquefies'. Goth. *bind-a* O.H.G. *bint-u* 'I bind': Skr. *á-bandh-a-t*, √ *bhendh-*, see § 515 p. 81. Goth. *leihv-a* O.H.G. *līh-u* 'I lend': Gr. *λείπ-ω* Lith. *lëk-ù* 'I leave', √ *leiq-*. O.H.G. *sīhu* 'I strain, filter': Skr. *séc-a-tē* 'pours', √ *seiq-*. Goth. *vis-a* O.H.G. *wis-u* 'I remain, linger': Skr. *vás-a-ti* 'lingers, dwells'. Goth. *qiþ-a* O.H.G. *quid-u* 'I say, speak'. Goth. *skáid-a* O.H.G. *sceid-u* 'I sever', √ *sk̑hait- sk̑haid-* scindere.[1]) Goth. *áuk-a* 'I increase (trans. or intr.)', √ *aug-*. Goth. *lēt-a* O.H.G. *lāȥ-u* 'I leave': cp. Gr. *ληδεῖν· κοπιᾶν, κεκμηκέναι* Hesych. (Sütterlin, Habilitations-Thesen p. 3) and Lat. *lassu-s*; the *d* of *lēd-* is perhaps a root-determinative (§ 699).

§ **522.** Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *gen-ù* 'I drive', O.C.Sl. *žen-e-tŭ* 'drives': Skr. *han-a-ti* Avest. *janaiti* 'strikes, kills' (§ 498 p. 58), Gr. *ἔ-θεν-ο-ν θεν-εῖν* 'strike' (§ 518 p. 83). O.C.Sl. *pĭje-tŭ pije-tŭ* 'drinks' (inf. *pi-ti*) probably for **pei-e-ti* (cp. *poji-ti* 'to give to drink'): Skr. *páy-a-tē* 'swills, strains', cp. § 535. O.C.Sl. *slov-e-tŭ* 'is called' for **slev-e-tŭ*: Gr. *κλέ(ϝ)-ε-ται* 'celebratur', √ *k̑leu-*. Lith. *kert-ù* 'I hew': Skr. *kartati* 'cuts' (instead of **cart-a-ti*, following *kr̥t-a- kr̥nt-a* etc.), √ *qert-*. O.C.Sl. *brěžetŭ* 'cares for, tends' for **berg-e-tŭ* (I § 281 p. 224, § 464 p. 340): Goth. *baírg-a* 'I keep, preserve' O.H.G. *birg-u* 'I save, hide', √ *bhergh-*. Lith. *bred-ù* 'I wade', O.C.Sl. *bred-e-tŭ* 'wades'. Lith. *velk-ù* 'I drag, pull', O.C.Sl. *vlěč-e-tŭ* 'drags, pulls' (like *brěžetŭ* above): Gr. *ἕλκ-ω* 'I drag, pull', √ *suelq- uelq-*. Lith. *les-ù* 'I pick': Goth. *lis-a* 'I pick, gather'. Lett. *strîg-u* 'I sink in' (= Lith. **strëg-ù*), O.C.Sl. *striž-e-tŭ* 'shears, shaves': O.H.G. *strīhh-u* 'I strike, stroke', √ *streig-*. Lith. *lëk-ù* 'I leave': Gr. *λείπ-ω* etc., see § 521 p. 85. O.C.Sl. *žid-e-tŭ* 'waits': cp. Lith. *geidžiù* 'I desire after' (Class XXVI). O.C.Sl. *bljud-e-tŭ* 'observes': Skr. *bṓdh-a-ti* etc., see § 515 pp. 81 f. Lith. *deg-ù* 'I burn', O.C.Sl. *žež-e-tŭ* 'burns' for

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1) Not *sqhait-*, as assumed in I § 553 p. 406. See Hübschmann, Zeitschr. deutsch. morg. Ges., XXXVIII 424 f., Burg, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 367.

**geg-e-tŭ* and this for **deg-e-tŭ* (cp. Russ. *iz-gaga* 'heart-burn'): [1]) Skr. *dáh-a-ti* 'burns', √ *dhegh-*. Lith. *pesz-ù* 'I pluck': Gr. *πέκ-ω* 'I shear'. Lith. *kós-u* 'I cough': Skr. *kā́s-a-tē* 'coughs'.

§ **523.** Class II *B*: the Accent falls upon the thematic Vowel, and the Root is Weak.

This class may have been produced by adding a thematic vowel to forms of Class I with the weak stem; see § 491, page 50.

Pr. Idg. **gr̥r-ṓ* 'I swallow' 3rd sing. **gr̥r-é-t(i)*, √ *ger-*: Skr. *gir-ā́mi gil-ā́mi*, O.C.Sl. *žĭr-e-tŭ*. **ml̥l-ó-* from √ *mel-* 'grind' (O.Ir. *melim*, II *A*, § 520 p. 84): Armen. *mal-em* 'I shatter, crush', Lat. *mol-ō*, Mod. Cymr. *mal-af* 'I grind'. **gm̥m-ó- *gm-ó-* from √ *gem-* 'go, come' (Goth. *qim-a*): Skr. opt. *gam-ḗ-t* Avest. *gᵉm-a-þ γm-a-þ* O.Pers. mid. *a-gm-a-tā*, O.H.G. *cum-u* (I § 227 p. 193); whether Lat. conj. *ad-venat* (properly **-vem-ā-t*, but changed by analogy of *veniō -ventu-s*, see I §§ 207, 208 pp. 174 f.) and Osc. indic. kúmbened 'convēnit' (*-n-* instead of *-m-* as in Latin) should be placed here or in Class II *A* is uncertain; — and a parallel stem, Idg. **gém-ti* § 493 p. 51. **u̯n̥n-ó-* from √ *u̯en-* 'win, love': Skr. opt. 1st pl. *van-ḗ-ma* (conj. *van-á-ti*), Goth. *un-vunands* 'not rejoicing'. [2]) **n̥m-ó-* from √ *nem-* 'take': Lat. *emō*, Lith. *imù* O.C.Sl. *imą*; see I § 219 Rem. 2 p. 187, § 238 p. 199; Solmsen in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 81; Brückner, Arch. slav. Phil., X 183 (not so Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 363, Wiedemann Lit. Praet. 118). **bhuu̯-ó- *bhu̯-ó-* from √ *bheu̯-* 'become, be': Skr. 3rd sing. *á-bhuv-a-t bhúv-a-t* (for the accent, see § 525)

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1) Vol. I § 379 Rem. p. 286, should be corrected. It can hardly be right to separate *żegą* from *degù*, as Miklosich does (Etym. Wörterb. 407).

2) A comparison of *un-vunands* with forms like *kunnum* = Idg. **ĝn̥-nu-més* (§ 646) shews that *n* and *m* following *n̥* and *m̥* as transition-consonants or consonant glides were pronounced more weakly than when they had their ordinary value. Thus it would be better to write **u̯n̥ⁿ-ó-*, and on the same principle **bhuᵘ-o-* (= Skr. *bhúv-a-t*), **duᵘō* (= Gr. *δύω*) rather than **bhuu̯-o- *duu̯-ō*. The difference is seen in pr. Gr. **hekᵘetoi̯* = *ἕπεται* an *(h)iku̯os* = *ἵππος*.

Avest. 3rd sing. *bv-a-þ* 3rd pl. *būn* i. e. *buv-e-n*, Lat. aor. (perf.) *fui-t* (compare conj. Osc. *fuid* = **fu-ē-t* and O.Lat. *fu-ā-s*) fut. *-bō- bunt* for **-fu̯-o-* (§ 899) Osc. indic. aor. aa-mana-ffed 'mandavit' = Avest. *bv-a-þ* (§§ 874, 899), O.Ir. *no charub* for **cara-b(u̯)ō* (*carā-*? § 899), O.C.Sl. 3rd pl. injunct. *bą* for **bu̯-o-nt* (§ 727); it is not certain that Gr. *φύω* belongs to this class, as it may be derived from **φυ-ι̯ω* (we have in Aeolic *φυίω* § 527 Rem., § 707). **qr̥t-ó-* from √ *qert-* 'cut': Skr. *á-kr̥t-a-t*, O.C.Sl. *črŭt-e-tŭ*. **dr̥k̑-ó-* from √ *derk̑-* 'see': Skr. 3rd pl. *á-dr̥ś-a-n* opt. *dr̥ś-ē-t*, Gr. *ἔ-δρακ-ο-ν* inf. *δρακ-εῖν*. **ml̥ǵ-ó-* from √ *melǵ-* 'stroke, milk': Skr. *mr̥j-á-ti* 'strokes off, cleans', Mid. Ir. *blegaim* 'I milk', O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-e-tŭ* 'milks'. **dn̥k̑-ó-* from √ *denk̑-* 'bite': Skr. *dáś-a-ti* (for the accent, see § 516 p. 82, § 525), Gr. *ἔ-δακ-ο-ν* (I § 224 p. 192). **rud-ó-* from √ *reu̯d-* 'lament': Skr. *rud-á-ti* Lat. *rud-ō* O.H.G. 2nd sing. pret. *ruzz-i* for **rut-i-z* (§ 893). **u̯id-ó-* from √ *u̯ei̯d-*: Skr. *á-vid-a-t* 'he found' Avest. Gathic *vīd-a-þ*, Armen. *e-git* 'he found', Gr. *ἴδ-ον* Lesb. *ἔ-ϝιδ-ο-ν* 'I saw' inf. *ἰδ-εῖν*, inf. Goth. *vit-an* O.H.G. *wizz-an* 'know'. **s-ó-* from √ *es-* 'be': Lat. *s-u-m s-u-mus s-u-nt*, partic. Gr. *ὤν* Lat. *sōns* O.Icel. *sannr* Lith. *sąs* O.C.Sl. *sy*, see § 493. **dh-ó-* from √ *dhē-* '*τιθέναι*': Skr. *dh-a-t*, Lat. *con-dō*, see § 493 pp. 52 f. Goth. *magan* 'be able' partic. *magands*, O.C.Sl. *mogą* 'I can', beside Gr. *μῆχος* 'help, remedy' (*η* = *ā*), cp. § 887.

§ **524.** Aryan. Skr. *sphur-á-ti* 'pushes away, accelerates', √ *sper-*; Avest. *sparaiti* may belong either to II *A* or II *B* (cp. I § 290 p. 232). Skr. *tir-á-ti tur-á-ti* 'presses or passes through', √ *ter-*. 3rd pl. *r-a-ntē*, √ *er-* 'set in motion'. Imperative: *jñ-a*, √ *ǵen-* 'know'. Optative: *san-ē-t*, √ *sen-* 'win', cp. I § 231. *kṣiy-á-ti kṣy-á-ti* 'lingers, dwells'. *a-khy-a-t* 'he looked' (in composition), variant stem *khy-ā-* § 736. Optative: 1st pl. *huv-ē-ma* pret. *á-hv-a-t* from *hū-* 'call to', √ *ǵheu̯-*. *dhuv-a-ti* 'shakes': is Gr. *θύω* 'I offer' the same as this, or does it come from **θυ-ι̯ω*? see § 527 Rem. *suv-á-ti sv-á-ti* 'begets creates'. *sr̥j-á-ti* 'sends forth', Avest. *herᵉz-aiti*. Skr. *bhr̥jj-á-ti* 'roasts' (perf. *babhrájja* and *babhárja*): Gr. *φρύγ-ω* Lat. *frīg-ō*,

Idg. **bhr̥zg-é-ti* or *bhr̥̄g-é-ti* (cp. Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 353). *á-vr̥t-a-t*, √*u̯ert-*: does Lat. *vortō* (beside *vertō*) come from pre-Italic **u̯r̥t-ṓ*? 3rd pl. *spūrdh-á-n* beside *spárdh--a-tē* 'strives', *spūrdh-* = **spr̥̄dh-*, cp. partic. *spr̥dh-ānā-s*. 3rd sing. (aor.) *bhraś-a-t* 'fell' beside pres. *bhrā́ś-a-tē*. *viś-á-tē* 'enters', Avest. *vīs-aitē̦*. Skr. *á-sic-a-t* 'he poured out': O.H.G. *sīg-u* 'I fall down, trickle' pr. Germ. **sīkṓ*, √*sei̯q-*. Partic. *diś-á-māna-s*, √*dei̯k̑-*: cp. O.Icel. *tega* 'to show' (beside *tjā* = Goth. *teihan*, II *A*). *bhuj-á-ti* 'bends, pushes away', Avest. *būj-a-þ* 'pushed away': Gr. *ἔ-φυγ-ο-ν* 'I fled' inf. *φυγ-εῖν*, A.S. *būʒ-e* 'I bow', √*bheu̯q- bheu̯g-*. Skr. 2nd sing. *druh-a-s*, Avest. *dru-žaiti*, √*dhreu̯gh-* 'deceive, lie'. Skr. *gū́h-a-ti* 'hides' (for accent see § 525) 2nd sing. *guh-a-s*, Avest. mid. *ā-guz-ē̦*. From √*dō-* 'give' Skr. *ā́da-t* (*ā* + *a-d-a-t*), Avest. 2nd sing. opt. *dōi-š*: Lat. *red-dō*, see § 493 pp. 53 f. From √*stā-* 'stand' Skr. *āstha-t* Avest. *a-xšt-a-þ*, see § 493 p. 54. Skr. *-h-a-ti* in *ujha-ti* 'lets go' for **ud* + *jhati*, beside *já-hā-ti* 'leaves'.

§ **525.** Many forms of this class have in Sanskrit the accent of II *A*; as *dáś-a-ti* √*den̑k̑-*, *gír-āmi* beside *gir-ā́mi* (§ 523 p. 86), *bhúv-a-t* (p. 86), *kŕ̥p-a-tē* 'laments'. Compare § 516, page 82.

Remark. After what has been said in I § 313 p. 251 and other places, it must seem doubtful whether such a word as Skr. *pác-a-ti* 'coquit' represents original **péq-e-ti* (II *A*), or orig. **peq-é-ti* (II *B*) with weak grade stem and secondary accent, the word accent having been afterwards retracted. I hold that Bartholomae is right in allowing only *ə* as the weak grade with secondary accent for roots of the form *peq-* (Bezz. Beitr., XVII 109 ff.), which brings presents like *pác-a-ti* under II *A*. Bartholomae, page 117, conjectures that an Ar. **sid-á* = **səd-ó-* from √*sed-* 'sit' is contained in Avest. *hiđ-a-iti*.

§ **526.** Armenian. *mal-em* 'I crush, shatter' √*mel-*: Lat. *mol-ō* etc., see § 523 p. 86. *barj-i* 'I raised' (pres. *barnam* for **barj-na-m*): Skr. *br̥h-a-ti* 'strengthens, lifts up', √*bherĝh-*. *e-git* 'he found' (pres. *gt-anem*): Skr. *á-vid-a-t* etc., see § 523 p. 87. *e-lik̔* 'he left' (pres. *lk̔-anem*): Gr. *ἔ-λιπ-ο-ν* inf. *λιπ-εῖν*, √*lei̯q-*. *e-tuk̔* 'he spewed' (pres. *tk̔-anem*).

§ **527.** Greek. Here the original distinction of accent between II *A* and II *B* is seen in the infinitive, but hardly anywhere else; e. g. *λείπ-ειν* : *λιπ-εῖν* (cp. I § 676 Rem. 1 p. 541). But in Greek this distinction was seized upon and connected with the distinction between present and aorist; so much so, that when verbs of II *A* were used as aorists, or verbs of II *B* for the present, their accent was changed; thus we have *γεν-έ-σθαι*, not **γέν-ε-σθαι* (see § 518 p. 83), and *γράφ-ε-σθαι γλύφ-ε-σθαι* instead of **γραφ-έ-σθαι* and **γλυφ-έ-σθαι* (cp. § 775 Rem.). In the finite verb, the original accent of II *B* remained in a few imperatives like *ἰδ-έ*, see § 958. It is difficult to judge whether the old accent remains in words whose root has ceased to form a separate syllable, as 3rd sing. *σχ-έ-το* conj. *σχ-ῶ* from √ *seĝh-*, because the accent must rest on this syllable in any case (cp. I § 676 Rem. 1 p. 543).

Remark 1. The same cause which changed **γραφών γραφεῖν* to *γράφων* and *γράφειν*, acted upon all other classes of thematic stems where the thematic vowel originally carried the accent, causing a change of accent whenever these stems were used as imperfect-presents. Thus we have *δάκνων* instead of **δακ-νών* cp. Skr. *gṛ-ṇá-ta* (§ 611), *τίνων* instead of **τινών* **τινϝών* cp. Skr. *ṛ-ṇvá-ti* (§ 652), *ἴσκων* instead of **ἰσκών* **ϝικ-σκών* cp. Skr. *ṛ-chá-ti* (§ 673), *βαίνων* instead of **βαινών* **βαν-ι̯ών* cp. Skr. *-gam-yá-tē* (§ 713), *ἄττων* instead of **ἀττών* **ϝαι-ϝικ-ι̯ών* cp. Skr. *vē-vij-yá-tē* (§ 730), *ἰαίνων* instead of **ἰ(σ)-αν-ι̯ών* cp. Skr. *iṣ-aṇ-yá-ti* (§ 743). This applies to all denominative verbs (Class XXXI), as *ὁράων ὁρῶν φιλέων φιλῶν*[1]) *κονίων φιτύων ὀνομαίνων ἀγγέλλων* instead of **ὁραών* **φιλεών* etc., compare Skr. *pṛtanā-yá-ti vasna-yáti arāti-yá-ti gātu-yá-ti vṛṣaṇ-yá-ti adhvar-yá-ti.* For these denominatives another fact has to be taken into account. In proethnic Greek, verbs in *-έω* like *φιλέω* had become indistinguishable from verbs of Class XXXII, in *-éi̯ō*, as *φορέω* = Skr. *bhāráyāmi* (§ 801); and even before the accent was seized upon to help in distinguishing aorist from present, **φιλεών* may have become *φιλέων* by analogy of *φορέων*, and then the verbal nouns of other denominative classes may have been drawn into the same circle of attraction.

ἔ-πταρ-ο-ν 'I sneezed' *πταρ-εῖν* from √ *pster-*. *ἔ-βαλ-ο-ν* 'I threw' *βαλ-εῖν* from √ *gel-*. *ἔ-πλ-ε ἔ-πλ-ε-το* 'versabatur' from

1) Observe that the circumflex of these contracted nom. sing. masc. forms, *ὁρῶν φιλῶν*, supports the theory of a change of accent here set forth. The old accentuation of the thematic vowel would have produced **ὁρών* **φιλών* like *ἑστώς* for *ἑσταώς*.

√*qel-*. ἔ-ταμ-ο-ν 'I cut' ταμ-εῖν from √*tem-*. ἔ-θαν-ο-ν 'I died' θαν-εῖν instead of *φαν-, beside ἔ-θενο-ν from √*ghen-* (I § 429 Rem. 1 p. 317): Russ. *жну* 'I cut off' for **gŭn-ą*, see § 534. ἔ-κταν-ο-ν 'I killed' κταν-εῖν from κτεν-, beside 1st pl. ἔ-κτα-μεν Class I § 502 p. 64. ἀν-οίγω 'I open' for *ὀ-ϝιγ-ω, cp. Hom. ὠ-ίγ-νυ-ντο and Lesb. inf. ὀ-είγ-ην (§ 643). ἔ-πι-ο-ν 'I drank' πι-εῖν beside πῖ-θι Class I; κλύ-ω 'I hear' beside κλῦ-θι Class I, § 498 p. 59 (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 240); it is not certain, I freely admit, that these stems in -ι-ο- and -υ-ο- are rightly classed here; see the Remark. βρακ-εῖν· συνιέναι ('grasp') Hesych.: Skr. *mṛś-á-ti* 'touches, grasps'. γράφ-ω 'I scratch in, incise, write', √*gerph-* (A.S. *ceorfan* 'cut, carve' Mid.H.G. *kerben* to notch, indent' *kerve* 'a notch'). Dor. τράπ-ω 'I turn' (Att. τρέπ-ω II *A*), Att. ἔ-τραπ-ο-ν τραπ-εῖν. κάρφ-ω 'I dry up, wither', beside Lith. *skreb-iù* 'I grow dry'. ἔ-λακ-ο-ν 'sounded, cried, spoke' λακ-εῖν: Lat. *loqu-or* (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 121). ἔ-παθ-ο-ν 'I experienced' παθ-εῖν, beside πένθ-ος. ἐ-πίθ-ε-το 'he obeyed, listened to' πιθ-έ-σθαι, √*bheidh-*; on Goth. *us-bida* (Romans 9. 3), see § 722. ἱκ-έ-σθαι 'to arrive' beside pres. εἴκ-ω. ἔ-στιχ-ο-ν 'I climbed, went' στιχ-εῖν, √*steigh-*. γλύφ-ω 'I dig in, engrave, incise': A.S. *clūf-e* 'I cleave, split' (O.H.G. *chliub-u*, II *A*); on Lat. *glūb-ō* see § 529. ἐ-πύθ-ε-το 'he learnt' πυθ-έ-σθαι: Skr. 3rd pl. *budh-á-nta*, √*bheudh-* (§ 513 p. 79). ἤλυθ-ο-ν aor. 'I came' beside fut. ἐλεύσομαι. κύθ-ε 'he hid' beside κεύθ-ω. ἔ-σχ-ο-ν 'he held, had' σχ-εῖν, beside ἔχ-ω, √*seĝh-*. ἔ-πτ-ε-το 'he flew' πτ-έ-σθαι beside πέτ-ε-ται. Partic. μακ-ών 'bleating, crying' beside μηκάομαι.

With the secondary ending of the 2nd sing. middle: ἐ-σχ-έ-θης beside ἔ-σχ-ε-το; ἐρρέθης εἰρέθης i. e **e-ur-e-thēs* from √*uer-* 'say' (εἴρω), see § 589. Whether these very forms were some of the original types which produced the whole series of aorists in -θην, is of course doubtful; -*thēs* seems originally to have belonged only to non-thematic stems (§ 1047. 2).

Remark 2. It is hard to classify forms in -ιω -ιο-ν and -υω -υο-ν, along with which forms in ῑ and ῡ are common. There is nothing *a priori*

against assuming that these have the suffix *-i̯o-* (Class XXVI), and that *-i̯-* fell out between vowels; indeed, this must be done for forms like Lesb. φυίω (I § 130 p. 118). πῑόμαι πῑέμεν beside πίομαι ἔπιον may be illustrated by Skr. *pī-yá-tē*, θῡ́ω beside θύω by Skr. *dhū-yá-tē*, λῡ́ω beside λύω by O.Icel. *lȳ-ja* 'destroy, crush' (see § 707, and Osthoff, M. U. IV 12 ff.). But ῑ and ῡ *may* come from forms of Class I, by presents passing from this class into the thematic conjugation, cp. for example πῑ-έ-μεν thematic and πῖ-θι non-thematic, λῡ́ω thematic and λῦ-το not (also λύ-το, for λύω cp. Lat. *luō so-luō so-lvō*), ὠ-ρῡ́ω 'I roar' (also variant ὠρύω, cp. Skr. *ruv-á-ti*) but Skr. opt. *rū-yā-t* (Lat. *rū-mor* Goth. *rū-na*). Then these ῑ- and ῡ-forms would naturally be compared with ὄρσιτο beside ὄρ-σο, ἔ-μολο-ν beside ἔ-βλω, and other such, see § 497 p. 57. Another possibility is that the long vowel came in by analogy of other tenses, λῡ́ω following λῡ́-σω, θῡ́ω following θῡ́-σω, just as we see Att. γεύω (not *γέω) by analogy of γεύ-σω (the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 31), and Lesb. ἀδικήει (instead of ἀδικέει) by analogy of ἀδική-σω (§ 775).

§ **528.** Italic. Lat. *vol-ō vol-u-nt*, √*u̯el-*, see § 493 p. 51. *mol-ō*: Armen. *malem* etc., see § 523 p. 86. *tul-ō* O.Lat., √*tel-*. *-bō*, future ending, for **bhu̯-ō*, see § 523 pp. 86 f. *lu-ō so-luō so-lvō*: cp. Gr. λύ-ω 'I loose' § 527 Rem. *currō* doubtless for **cors-ō*, cp. *ac-cersō* § 662. *nivit* (O.Lat.) for **nigv-i-t* (with variant *ningu-i-t*, Class XVI): Gr. νίφ-ει 'it snows (also νείφ-ει, II *A*), O.Ir. *snigid* 'it drops, rains', √*snei̯gh-*.[1]) *dī-vidō* (Umbr. vetu 'dividito' II *A*, see the Author, Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1890, p. 211), beside Skr. *vidh-* 'to become empty of, to lack' pres. *vindhá-tē* Class XVI. *rudō*: Skr. *rud-á-ti*, see § 523 p. 87. *sūg-ō*: O.Ir. *sūg-im* O.H.G. *sūg-u* A.S. *sūʒ-e sūc-e* O.C.Sl. *sŭsą* 'I suck'; we must suppose a root *seu̯k̑-* or *seu̯ĝ-*.[2]) Lat. Osc. *s-u-m* Lat. *s-u-mus s-u-nt*, √*es-*, see § 523 p. 87. *co-inquō* probably for **-in-squō*, beside *secāre*. *pac-i-t* O.Lat. (beside *pang-ō* Class XVI), √*pāk̑- pāĝ-*; *tag-i-t* O.Lat. (beside *tang-ō* Class XVI), cp. *te-tigi-t* Gr. τε-ταγ-ών 'grasping' Class VI (§ 564).

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1) Since only the 3rd sing. *nivit* occurs, there is the possibility of its being a denominative *nivere* (Thurneysen, Über die Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba auf *-iō*, p. 8).

2) The √*su̯eq-*, discussed by Osthoff in Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 279 f., must be kept quite distinct.

Then again, it is probable the 3rd sing. and 1st pl. of certain Latin perfects, which were originally thematic aorists, belong to this class of forms. *tuli-t tuli-mus*, see *tulō* above. *fidi-t fidi-mus*: Skr. opt. *bhidēy-am* beside *á-bhēt* 'he split'. *scidi-t scidi-mus*: Skr. *á-chid-a-t* 'he cut off'. Compare § 867.

§ **529.** In Italic it is often doubtful whether a verb belongs to II *A* or II *B*; as in the following instances. Lat. *oc-culō*, which may represent either **-celō* (cp. O.Ir. *cel-im* O.H.G. *hil-u* § 520 p. 84) or **-c̥llō*. *ad-venat* Osc. kúm-bened 'convēnit', see § 523 p. 86. Lat. *glūb-ō*, cp. O.H.G. *chliubu* and A.S. *clūfe* § 527, p. 90 (cp. p. 79 footnote 1, on *īcō rūdō*). This doubt is most common with verbs in *-uō*, because *-uō* in unaccented position may come from **-oṷō* (**-eṷō*) or from **-aṷō* (I § 172. 1 p. 152). Thus *clu-ō* 'I am called, pass for' (Gr. κλύω and κλέ(ϝ)ομαι), *ru-ō* 'I snatch, tear, carry off, root up' (Gr. ἐρύω 'pull, draw' O.C.Sl. *rŭv-e-tŭ* 'evellit' and Skr. *ráv-a-ti* 'he dashes to pieces'), *nu-ō* (Skr. *náv-a-tē* 'moves'), *clu-ō* 'I purify' (Skr. *śruv-a-ti* 'melts'), *in-gruō* (Litt. *griūvù* 'I break down' § 535), *plu-i-t* (cp. *plovē-bat* § 514 p. 80). Lastly, some verbs may belong to the *i̯o*-class, as *suō* cp. Goth. *siu-ja* etc. § 707.

§ **530.** The quality of the thematic vowel should be observed in the 1st pl. *sumus sīmus* (*possumus possīmus*), *volumus volĭmus*, *quaesumus* as contrasted with *ferĭmus* etc. In these *u* and *i* are used to represent a sound between the two (as in *măgnuficus măgnificus*, *maxumus maximus*), which was here the regular descendant of Idg. *-o-* (cp. Gr. φέρ-ο-μεν). The assumption that *-i-* in *leg-i-mus* is due to the analogy of *leg-i-tis*, and replaced *u i*, is not supported by *ferimus* beside *fertis* as compared with *volumus* : *vultis*. *sumus* must in time have got a distinct *u* (by analogy of *sum* and *sunt*, where *u* is regular for *o* in a closed syllable); for the Romance languages show sometimes a form which must come from *sumus* (Span. Port. *somos* etc.), sometimes one which must come from *sīmus* (Roumanian *semŭ* etc.). On the whole subject see L. Havet, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 26 f.

§ **531.** Keltic. Compare the general remarks in the beginning of § 520, on page 84; whence it follows that some of the examples here given may really belong to the *i̯o*-class (§ 719).

O.Ir. *marim* 'I remain' (also conjugated in the *ā*-class), ground-form **smr̥r-ō* √ *smer-*. *ad-gaur* 'convenio' *for-con-gur* 'I command', ground-form **gr̥r-ō*, cp. Skr. *gír-* 'voice'. Mod. Cymr. *molaf* 'I grind, grind to powder' √ *mel-*: Armen. *malem* etc., see § 523 p. 86).[1]) Mid.Ir. *blegaim* 'I milk': Skr. *mr̥j-á-ti* etc., see § 523 p. 87. O.Ir. *dligim* 'I earn, have a claim', cp. Goth. *dulg-s* 'debt, guilt'. *ar-fiuch* 'I fight' for **u̯ikō*, cp. O.H.G. *upar-wihit* § 532. *nigim* 'I wash' *do-fo-nug -nuch* 'I wash off', cp. Gr. *νίζω* 'I wet, wash', Class XXVI, √ *nei̯g-*. *snigi-d* 'it drops, rains': O.Lat. *nivi-t* § 528 p. 91.

§ **532.** Germanic. In pr. Germanic the accent still lay upon the thematic vowel, which is proved by a number of forms like O.Icel. *veg* as contrasted with Goth. *veiha* from √ *u̯ei̯q-* (§ 513 p. 79). Also the West-Germ. ending of the 2nd sing. O.H.G. *-is* A.S. *-es* as contrasted with Norse *-r* (for *-z*), and the A.S. ending of the 3rd sing. *-eđ*, which point to pr. Germ. **-í-si* and **í-þi*, are in some cases to be referred to verbs which in pr. Germ. belonged to Class II *B*; see § 990. 1. § 998. 1.

Goth. *skulan* O.H.G. *scolan* 'to owe', partic. Goth. *skulands* O.H.G. *scolant-i* (indic. *skal*):[2]) Lith. *skylù* 'fall in debt' instead of **skil-ù* (§ 535), √ *skel-* in Lith. *skelù* (i. e. **skel-i̯ù* 'I owe something'. Goth. *vulands* 'seething, boiling', cp. O.H.G. *walm* 'heat, glow'. O.H.G. *cum-u* O.Icel. *kom kem* (inf. *koma*) 'I come': Skr. opt. *gam-ḗ-t*, √ *gem-*, see § 523 p. 86. Goth. A.S. *munan* 'to think' (indic. *man*): Lett. *ú/-minu* 'guess at, hit upon', √ *men-*.

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1) For Cymric, much the same is true as for Irish (above, § 520 p. 84). Cymric does not enable us to decide whether **malō* or some such form as **mali̯ō* was original.

2) The latest discussion of forms with *s-* instead of *sk-*, as O.H.G. *sulen*, is by Johansson in Paul-Braune's Beiträge XIV 295.

Goth. *un-vunands* 'not pleased': Skr. opt. *van-é-ma*, √ *u̯en-*, § 523 p. 86. O.H.G. *chiuw-a* 'I chew': O.C.Sl. *žĭv-e-tŭ* 'chews' for **gi̯ŭv-e-tŭ*, groundform **gi̯uu̯-ō*. Goth. *trud-a* O.Icel. *trøđ* (inf. *trođa*) 'I step, tread' as contrasted with O.H.G. *trit-u* II *A*. Goth. *ga-daúrsan* 'to dare' (indic. *ga-dars*): Skr. *dhr̥ṣ-á-nt-* 'daring', √ *dhers-*. O.H.G. *scalt-u* 'I thrust, hit' ground-form **sk̥̄dh-ō* as opposed to O.H.G. *scilt-u* 'I scold' II *A*. Goth. *gagga* O.H.G. *gangu* 'I go' ground-form **ĝhn̥̄gh-ō*, cp. Lith. *ženg-iù* 'I stride'. Goth. *blanda* O.H.G. *blantu* 'I mix' ground-form **bhln̥̄dh-ō*, cp. Goth. *blind-s* 'blind', Lith. *blendžiũ-s(i)* 'I darken myself' (of the sun); O.C.Sl. *blęd-ą* 'I wander' for **bhlendh-* or **bhln̥dh-* (§ 535). O.H.G. *upar-wihit* 'exsuperat' inf. *-wehan*, O.Icel. *veg* 'I conquer, kill' inf. *vega* (pret. *vā*, transferred to the *e*-series): O.Ir. *ar-fiuch* 'I fight', √ *u̯ei̯q-*, cp. Goth. *veih-a* 'I fight' II *A*; the O.H.G. is a contamination of **u̯iȝ-ó* and **u̯éi̯χ-ō*. Goth. *vitan* O.H.G. *wiȝȝan* 'to know' partic. *vitands wiȝȝanti*: Skr. *á-vid-a-t* etc., see § 523 p. 87; add 1st pl. injunctive A.S. *wuton* for **witon* followed by the infinitive = 'let us ....', cp. *wītan* 'to take heed, follow a direction, prepare to start' (O.Sax. *wita* § 1029). Goth. *bi-leiba* O.H.G. *bi-lību* 'I remain': Skr. *á-lip-a-t* 'he anointed, smeared', Lith. *li-pù* 'I climb, clamber' O.C.Sl. *pri-lĭpŭ* 'adhaesi', √ *lei̯p-*. O.Icel. *søf sef* 'I sleep' inf. *sofa*: cp. A.S. *swefan* II *A*, √ *su̯ep-*. Goth. *lūk-a* O.H.G. *lūhh-u* 'I shut': Skr. *ruj-á-ti* 'breaks open, breaks to pieces'. O.H.G. *brūhh-u* A.S. *brūc-e* 'I use, enjoy': Lat. *fruor* for **frugv-ōr*. A.S. *đūt-e* 'I utter a sound': Skr. *tud-á-ti* 'pushes'. A.S. *sōđ* O.Icel. *sannr* 'true' pr. Germ. **s-a-nþ-a-*, beside indic. **es-ti* 'is', see § 523 p. 87. O.Icel. *tek* 'I take' inf. *taka*, cp. Goth. *tēk-a* II *A*. O.H.G. *bahh-u* 'I bake', cp. Gr. *φώγ-ω* 'I roast' II *A*. O.H.G. *wat-u* O.Icel. *veđ* (inf. *vađa*) 'I wade', cp. Lat. *vād-ō* II *A*.[1])

To this class also belongs the West Germ. 2nd sing. preterite: — O.H.G. *wurti* A.S. *wurde* 'becamest': Skr. *á-vr̥t-a-s*,

1) For these and other Germanic examples I refer to Osthoff, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 287 ff.; Burghauser, Idg. Präsens-Bildung im Germ. pp. 28 ff.; Bremer, Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil. XXII 495 f.

O.H.G. *mulki* 'milkedst': Skr. *á-mṛj-a-s*, O.H.G. *bizzi* A.S. *bite* 'bitedst': Skr. *á-bhid-a-s*, O.H.G. *zigi* 'pullest': Skr. *á-diś-a-s*, *sigi* 'strainedst': Skr. *á-sic-a-s*, *bi-libi* 'remainedst': Skr. *á-lip-a-s*, *ruzzi* 'criedst': Skr. *á-rud-a-s*, *kuri* 'chosest': Skr. *á-juṣ-a-s*. See § 893.

§ 533. As pr. Germ. *ī* may come from either *ī* or *ei̯* in Indo-Germanic, we cannot tell whether to place in *A* or *B* Goth. *fra-veita* 'I avenge' and O.H.G. *wīz-u* 'I punish, reprove' (√ *u̯eid-*), with not a few others.

§ 534. Balto-Slavonic. In Slavonic this class is much larger than in Baltic.

O.C.Sl. *žĭr-e-tŭ* 'devours': Skr. *gir-á-ti*, see § 523 p. 86; similarly *tĭretŭ* 'terit' √ *ter-*, *mĭretŭ* 'dies' √ *mer-*, *stĭretŭ* 'stretches' √ *ster-*, and others. Lith. *pil-ù* 'I shed' √ *pel-* 'I fill', cp. Skr. imper. *pūr-dhí* Class I. Lith. *im-ù* 'I take' O.C.Sl. *im-e-tŭ* 'takes', ground-form **m̥m-ó*, see § 523 p. 86. O.C.Sl. *žĭm-e-tŭ* 'presses', cp. Gr. γέμ-ω 'I groan' II *A*. Lith. *gin-ù* 'I keep off, avert', Russ. *žn-e-tŭ* 'cuts off, reaps' for pr. Slav. **žĭn-e-tŭ* **gĭn-e-tŭ* (I § 36 p.): Gr. ἔ-θαν-ο-ν, see § 527 p. 90. Lith. *pin-ù* 'I plait, twist', O.C.Sl. *pĭn-e-tŭ* 'stretches, hangs', √ *(s)pen-*. O.C.Sl. *po-čĭnetŭ* 'begins', √ *qen-*, cp. *po-konĭ* 'beginning'. O.C.Sl. *rŭv-e-tŭ* 'evellit': Gr. ἐρύ-ω etc., see § 529 p. 92. O.C.Sl. *žĭv-e-tŭ* 'chews' for **gi̯ŭv-e-tŭ*: O.H.G. *chiuw-u*, see § 532 p. 94. O.C.Sl. *pljĭv-e-tŭ* 'spews' for **(s)pi̯ŭv-e-tŭ*: Lat. *spu-ō* (cp. *su-ō* § 529 p. 92); *bljĭv-e-tŭ* 'vomits, breaks wind' for **bljŭv-e-tŭ*, *kljĭv-e-tŭ* 'pecks, picks' for **kljŭv-e-tŭ*; on the Lith. *blūv-ù* *klūv-ù*, which answer to the last two, see § 535. O.C.Sl. *vrĭz-e-tŭ* 'binds, shuts', √ *u̯erĝh-* (Lith. *verž-iù* 'I fasten, confine'). O.C.Sl. *vrĭž-e-tŭ* 'throws' 1st sing. *vrĭg-ą*, √ *u̯erg-*, Goth. *vaírp-a* 'I throw' II *A*. O.C.Sl. *vrĭš-e-tŭ* 'thrashes, threshes' 1st sing. *vrĭch-ą*, √ *u̯ers-*, Lat. *verr-ō* II *A*. O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-e-tŭ* 'milks': Skr. *mṛj-á-ti* etc., see § 523 p. 87. O.C.Sl. *dlŭb-e-tŭ* 'sculpit', √ *dhelbh-*, O.H.G. *bi-tilbu* 'I bury', II *A*. O.C.Sl. *rĭc-i* 'I say' 2nd sing. opt., ground-form **r̥q-o-i̯-s*, beside indic. *reč-e-tŭ* 1st sing. *rek-ą* II *A*, in

Czech also indic. *řku* for **rĭk-ą*; by analogy of *rĭc-i* were formed *tĭc-i pĭc-i žĭz-i* from *tek-ą* 'I run' *pek-ą* 'I bake' *žeg-ą* 'I burn' (cp. § 686 on Lith. *gistu* instead of *gestù*). Lith. *suk-ù* Russ. *sk-u* (for **sŭk-ą*) 'I turn, twist'. Lith. *pis-ù* 'coeo': Skr. *á-piṣ-a-t* 'trod, beat, ground', √*peis-*. Lith. *sus-ù* 'I become scabby' Lett. *sus-u* 'I become dry': Skr. *á-śuṣ-a-t* 'dried up, wore away' (I § 557. 4 p. 413). O.C.Sl. *žĭd-e-tŭ* 'waits' beside *žid-e-tŭ* II *A*, § 522 p. 85. O.C.Sl. *sŭp-e-tŭ* 'sheds, strews', inf. *su(p)-ti*. Lith. *plak-ù* 'I strike, whip', √*plāq- plāg-* 'plangere', cp. Goth. *flōk-a* 'I bewail' II *A*.

§ 535. In Lithuanian, *i* and *u* in the root syllable were often lengthened. *skylù* 'I fall in debt' instead of **skil-ù*, compare Goth. *skulan*, see § 532 p. 93; *kylù* 'I raise myself' instead of **kil-ù*, √*qel-*; *svyrù* 'I get the better' instead of **svir-ù*, √*suer-*. *griūvù* 'I break down' instead of **griuv-ù*: Lat. *in-gruō*, see § 529 p. 92; *blūvù* 'I break out into bellowing or bleating' *klūvù* 'I stick fast to anything, hang on to' beside O.C.Sl. *bljĭv-e-tŭ kljĭv-e-tŭ*, see § 534 p. 95. See Leskien, Arch. slav. Phil. v 530, and Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 71 ff., where the pretty conjecture is offered that on the analogy of pairs of forms like pres. *gyjù* (*gy-jù*): pret. *gijaũ* (*gij-aũ*), a present *skylù* was formed for *skilaũ*, a present *griūvù* for *griuvaũ*, and so forth.

In Slavonic, it is often doubtful whether a verb belongs to *A* or *B*. This is the case with *pĭj-e-tŭ* 'drinks', *bĭj-e-tŭ* 'strikes', whose *-ĭj-* may be orig. *-ii̯-* or orig. *-ei̯-* (I § 68 p. 60); cp. Leskien as above cited, pp. 501 ff.; Skr. *páy-a-tē* supports the derivation of *pĭj-e-tŭ* from **pei̯-e-ti* (§ 522 p. 85). The same doubt meets us in forms with *-ę-* in the root syllable, since this may be orig. either *-n̥-* or *-en-*, e. g. **blęd-e-tŭ* 'wanders' from √*bhlendh-* (see § 532 p. 94); cp. *lęć-e-tŭ* 'bends', § 637.

Class III.

Reduplication ending in -*ĭ* or -*ŭ* + simple Root forming the Present Stem.

§ 536. We begin with words from roots containing *i* or *u*, which have the same vowel in the reduplication; see § 469, page 14. Next follow stems which have *i* in the reduplication, but some other vowel in the root; see § 473 pages 17 ff.

Class IV, non-thematic, bears the same relation to this as Class II to Class I (§ 491 p. 50).

§ 537. Roots with *i*- and *u*-vowels. Only in Aryan and Germanic.

Pr. Idg. **bhi-bhái̯-mi* 'I quake, am afraid' 1st pl. **bhi-bhi-més* 3rd pl. **bhi-bhi̯-n̥ti*: Skr. *bi-bhē-mi* 3rd dual *bi-bhi-tas bi-bhī-tas* 3rd pl. *bí-bhy-ati*, and O.H.G. *bi-bē-m*, which fell under the influence of verbs in which -*ēm* was a suffix, and so lost the gradation of its stem.[1] Conjunctive: Skr. *bī-bhay-a-t*. Optative: Skr. *bi-bhi-yā-t*. — With thematic vowel Skr. 3rd sing. *bi-bhy-a-ti*.

Aryan. Skr. *ci-kē-mi* 'I observe, notice' 3rd sing. imper. mid. *ci-ki-tām* 2nd sing. imper. act. *ci-kī-hi*; conj. Avest. *ci-kay-a-þ*. Skr. *á-dī-dhē-t* 'he looked' 1st pl. *dī-dhi-mas* mid. pres. *dī́-dhy-ē* pret. *á-dī-dhī-ta*; conj. *dī-dhay-a-t*. Skr. *á-dī-dē-t* 'he appeared' 3rd pl. *dī-dy-ati* imper. *dī-di-hí di-dī-hí*; conj. *dī́-day-a-t*; — with thematic vowel Gr. δί-ζ-ο-μαι 'I seek, strive' (orig. 'look out for something') for *δι-δι̯-ο-μαι (see § 469 p. 14, § 549). Skr. *dī*- and *dhī*- both became *dī*- in Avestic cp. Avest. *dađāiti* = Skr. *dádhāti* and *dádāti*, § 540): *di-đaēiti*; — with thematic vowel imper. *di-đy-a*, cp. conj. *di-đy-ā-þ*. Skr. *vi-vēṣ-ṭi* 'works' 1st pl. *vi-viṣ-mas*, conj. 2nd sing. *ví-vēṣ-a-s*. *iy-ē-ti* 'goes' only found in the 2nd sing. pret. *āíy-ē-ṣ*, Avest. 3rd pl. conj. *yęyąn* = Ar. **ii̯-ai̯-ā-n* (§ 473 p. 19).

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1) Cp. § 465 p. 12, § 469 p. 14, § 739 on O.H.G. *rērēm* and Goth. *reira*.

Skr. *ju-hṓ-mi* 'I offer, sacrifice' 1st pl. *ju-hu-más* 3rd pl. *jú-hv-ati*, conj. 2nd pl. *ju-hav-a-tha*, opt. 1st pl. *ju-hu-yā́-ma*. 1st pl. *ju-hū-mási* from *hū-* 'call'. 3rd pl. *sú-ṣv-ati* from *su-* 'press'.

Sometimes a strong stem has got into the place of the weak (cp. § 499 p. 62), as Avest. 2nd sing. mid. *ji-γaẹ-ša* from *ji-* 'live', Skr. 2nd pl. *ju-hṓ-ta* from *hu-* 'offer, sacrifice', 2nd sing. *yu-yō-dhi* 2nd dual *yu-yō-tam* from *yu-* 'keep off'.

Remark. *k* in Skr. *ci-kḗ-mi* (√*qei̯-*), and *γ* in Avest. *ji-γaẹ-ša* (√*gei̯-*) are taken from the perfect, where they were regular before *o* in the sing. indic. active (I § 445 ff. pp. 331 ff.). In considering *ji-ghar-ti* (§ 540), if its root belonged to the *e*-series, we must remember that one of the stems of this verb is *jighr-*, and *gh* was regular there; so with *jā-gar-ti* from √*ger-* we must remember the stem *jā-gr-* (§ 560).

§ 538. Roots with other Vowels.

In Aryan, roots with a long *a*-vowel have generally in the reduplication *a* = Idg. *e* instead of *i*, when the weak stem in the root syllable had not *ī*. Examples: Skr. *dá-dā-ti* mid. *da-t-tḗ* from √*dō-* 'give', *já-hā-ti* pl. *ja-hi-mas* from Ar. *ǵhā-* 'leave, give up'. But on the contrary *śi-śā-ti* imper. *śi-śī-hi* mid. *śí-śī-tē* from √*k̂ō-* 'whet, sharpen'. In the latter word we see the Idg. root-determinative *ī*, which so often forced its way into the place of Ar. *i* = Idg. *ə* (see § 498 pp. 61 f.); and this *ī* is regularly echoed by *i* in the reduplicator; compare *śi-śī-hi* with *di-dī-hí* from *dī-* 'appear'. Skr. *ja-hī-tam* beside regular *ja-hi-tam* (see Whitney, Sanskrit Roots, p. 204) has been altered by the influence of the mid. *jí-hī-tē* (§ 540), similarly *ra-rī-dhvam* by that of *ri-rī-hi* (*rā-* 'give').

So too the √*dhē-* 'place' in Balto-Slavonic reduplicates with *e*, as Lith. 2nd pl. *dè-ste* like O.H.G. *da-ttā́*.

These forms with *e* belong to Class V, not like Gr. *δί-δωμι τί-θημι* etc. It seems to me impossible to decide whether in Idg. the same present stem had both *i* and *e* in its reduplicated forms, as **dhi-dhē-ti* and **dhe-dhē-ti*, or whether *e* only came in by analogy of Class V, and is of later date than the parent language. If the latter, then the influence of perfects with *e* in the reduplicator must by taken into account (§ 555).

Compare Gr. ἵλαθι = *σι-σλα-θι and Lesb. ἔλλαθι = *σε-σλα-θι § 542.

Under these circumstances, I cite Aryan and Balto-Slavonic forms both in Class III and Class V.

§ 539. Pr. Idg. **bhi-bher-mi* 'I bear' 1st pl. **bhi-bhr̥-més* 3rd pl. **bhi-bhr-n̥ti*: Skr. *bí-bhar-mi* 2nd dual *bi-bhr̥-thás* 3rd pl. *bí-bhr-ati*, Gr. 1st pl. *πί-φρα-μεν inferred from inf. ἐσ-πιφράναι. Conjunctive: Skr. *bi-bhar-a-t.* Optative: Skr. *bi-bhr̥-yā-t* (cp. *ca-kr-iyā-t*). — With thematic vowel Skr. partic. mid. *bí-bhr-a-māṇa-s* 3rd pl. imperf. *á-bi-bhr-a-n.*

**pi-pel-mi* 'I fill': Skr. *pí-par-mi pi-pr̥-más*, Gr. -πί-πλα-μεν (on the singular -πί-πλη-μι, see § 542). — With thematic vowel Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *á-pi-pr-a-ta.*

**ni-nes-mi* from √*nes-* 'go towards' (Gr. νέ-ο-μαι Skr. *nás-a-tē*): Skr. 3rd pl. mid. *ní̥s-atē* 'they touch their bodies, kiss' partic. *ní̥s-āna-s.* — Gr. νίσομαι 'I go back, return' for *νι-νσ-ι̯ο-μαι (the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] § 45. 5 p. 61) contains a stem *νι-νσ- or *νι-νσ-ο- (see § 733).

**dhi-dhē-mi* 'I place' 1st pl. **dhi-dh-més* and doubtless **dhi-dhə-més*[1]) 3rd pl. **dhi-dh-n̥ti*: Skr. *dá-dhā-mi da-dh-más* (cp. 2nd pl. mid. *da-dhi-dhvḗ*) *dá-dh-ati*, Gr. τί-θη-μι τί-θε-μεν, O.H.G. *te-ta* O.Sax. *de-da* perhaps for **dhi-dhē-* (§§ 545, 886), Lith. 2nd pl. *dė̀ste* i. e. **de-d+te.* Optative: Skr. *da-dh-yā́-t.* — With thematic vowel Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti* Lith. *de-d-ù.*

**si-sē-mi* 'I send forth, let go, throw, sow' 1st pl. **si-s-més* and doubtless **si-sə-més*: Gr. ἵ-η-μι ἵ-ε-μεν (Lat. *serimus* for **si-sa-mos?* § 543). — With thematic vowel Lat. *serō* for **si-s-ō.*

**di-dō-mi* 'I give' 1st pl. **di-d-més* and doubtless **di-də-més*, 3rd pl. **di-d-n̥ti*: Skr. *dá-dā-mi da-d-más dá-d-ati*, Gr. δί-δω-μι δί-δο-μεν, 2nd pl. Lith. *dů́ste* and O.C.Sl. *daste* instead of **deste* (§ 546). Optative: Skr. *da-d-yā́-t.* — With thematic

1) This form may be due to the analogy of *dhə-mé(m)*, cp. ἔ-θε-μεν. But it does not follow, as some have said, that the form cannot be original.

vowel Skr. dá-d-a-ti Sabell. (Vest.) di-d-e-t 'dat', cp. Lith. Lett. dûdu and O.C.Sl. partic. dady gen. dadąšta § 546.

*si-sthā-mi 'I place, sisto': Gr. ἵ-στη-μι ἵ-στα-μεν, O.H.G. [illegible]. Skr. 1st sing. ti-ṣṭhāmi may be added, and perhaps Lat. sistimus (§ 545). — With thematic vowel Skr. ti-ṣṭh-a-ti Lat. si-st-ō Umbr. se-st-u.

Idg. *pi-pō-mi 'I drink' is implied by such forms as Skr. mid. 3rd pl. pi-p-atē partic. pi-p-ānd-s; to this may be referred Falisc. pipafo 'bibam' (§ 594 Rem.). With thematic vowel Skr. pí-b-a-ti Lat. bibō instead of *pi-b-ō O.Ir. 3rd sing. ibid for *pi-b-e-ti, although the -b- of these words is certainly obscure (cp. I § 325 p. 263). Perhaps the 2nd sing. imper. *pi-b-dhi and 2nd pl. mid. *pi-b-dhṷe-, forms which must have had a place among the original non-thematic persons, caused some confusion in the sound.[1] In these -b- was regular, because -p- had been assimilated to the following voiced sound. On the same principle we have explained the variants *dek̑m̥t- (Skr. daśát-) and dek̑m̥d- (Gr. δεκάδ-), as being due to cases which had a bh-suffix, such as the instr. pl. *dek̑m̥d-bhi(s) (II § 123 p. 392). Then p must have levelled out b in the non-thematic conjugation (Skr. pi-p-atē), because this was closely associated with *pō-ti (Skr. pā́-ti), and was especially exposed to the influence of the reduplicated perfect (Skr. pa-p-ḗ Gr. πέ-πω-κα). Similarly, Gr. βό-σκω 'I feed, tend' may be connected with Skr. pā́-ti 'tends' through the imperative *b-dhí.

§ 540. Aryan. Skr. jí-ghar-ti 'smells' 3rd pl. jí-ghr-ati; with thematic vowel jí-ghr-a-ti: on gh, see § 537 Rem. p. 98. Skr. tí-tar-ti 'gets over', partic. tí-tr-at-. Skr. íy-ar-ti, for its reduplication see § 473 p. 19. Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. dī-dhar 2nd pl. dī-dhr̥-tá from dhar- 'hold fast'. Skr. imper. pi-pr̥g-dhi from parc- 'to mix'.

1) There is no reason that I know of why we should suppose that our prehistoric ancestors had this imperative very often on their lips. But be it remembered that from the one imperative form dēhi 'give' in Pali, the whole of the present tense, dēmi dēsi etc., has sprung into existence (E. Kuhn, Beitr. zur Pali-Gramm., 98).

Skr. *sí-ṣak-ti* Avest. *hi-šax-ti*, √*seq-* 'accompany' (cp. Skr. 2nd pl. *sá-śc-ati*, Class V, § 555). Skr. *ví-vak-ti* from √*u̯eq-* 'speak'. Avest. 2nd pl. injunct. *nista* = **n̥sta* i. e. **ni-nd+ta* from *nad-* 'roar, abuse'; — with thematic vowel Skr. 3rd sing. *ní-nd-a-ti* § 550. Avest. 3rd sing. injunct. *di-dąs* from *dąs-* 'consecrate, offer up'.

Roots in Ar. *-ā* reduplicate with *i* in Sanskrit when the weak forms have *ī* as root-determinative (§ 538 p. 98). √*mē-* 'measure' mid. 3rd sing. *mí-mī-tē* 3rd pl. *mi-m-atē*; — with thematic vowel opt. *mi-m-ē-t*. √*k̑ō-* 'sharpen, whet' *śi-śā-ti* imper. *śi-śī-hí*; — with thematic vowel 3rd pl. *śi-ś-a-nti*. *jí-hī-tē* 'yields, departs' 3rd pl. *jí-h-atē* beside act. *já-hā-ti ja-hi-mas* (*ja-hī-tam* and other forms have *ī* by analogy of the middle, see § 538 p. 98).

√*dhē-* 'place' and √*dō-* 'give' (almost indistinguishable in Iranian, because of the change of *dh* to *d*, I § 481 p. 355): Skr. *dá-dhā-ti dá-dā-ti* Avest. *da-δā-iti* O.Pers. pret. *a-da-dā*. 1st pl. Skr. *da-dh-más da-d-más* Avest. *da-δ-mahi*, in the Gathas *da-dᵉ-mahī*; mid. 3rd sing. Skr. *dhattḗ* Avest. *dazdę* from *dhē-* (I § 482 Rem. 1 p. 356), Skr. *dattḗ* Avest. *dastę* from *dō-*. Imperative: Skr. *dhēhí* for pr. Ar. **dha-z-dhi* from *dhē-*, and *dēhí* for pr. Ar. **da-z-dhi* from *dō-*, Avest. *da-z-di*; Skr. has also the re-formate *daddhí* instead of *dhēhí* and of *dēhí* both (I § 476 p. 351, § 482 Rem. 1. p. 356). In Skr. we also find *da-dhi-* (cp. Gr. τι-θε-), e. g. *da-dhi-dhvḗ da-dhi-ṣvá* beside *dha-d-dhvē dha-t-sva*. 3rd pl. Skr. *dá-dh-ati dá-dh-atē dá-d-ati dá-d-atē* (Avest. *da-þ-enti da-d-entę*, cp. § 500 p. 63, § 1018. 1. *b*). Optative: Skr. *da-dh-yā́-t da-d-yā́-t* Avest. Gath. *daidyā-þ*. — With thematic vowel *dá-dh-a-ti dá-dh-a-tē dá-d-a-ti dá-d-a-tē*, Avest. *da-þ-a-iti da-þ-a-itę*, which forms are also conjunctive (§§ 931 f.)

§ **541.** Confusion of Strong and Weak Stem.

Strong instead of Weak: Skr. 2nd pl. *íy-ar-ta*, imper. *śi-śā-dhi*, 2nd pl. *dá-dhā-ta á-da-dhā-ta dá-dā-ta á-da-dā-ta*.

Weak instead of Strong: Skr. Ep. *da-d-mi* Avest. 3rd sing. *dazdī* (√*dhē-*) and *dasti*. These forms are due to the analogy

of *ád-mi át-ti* and the like, the reduplication having been lost sight of in the (pr. Ar.) forms **dhadh-mas(i) *dad-mas(i)* opt. **dhadh-yā- *dad-yā-* conj. **dhadh-a- *dad-a-*, which were conceived to be simple roots (cp. the end of § 540). This also produced the forms Skr. pass. *dad-yá-tē* partic. *dat-tá-s* from √*dō-*, and Avest. inf. *dastę̄* from √*dō-* and inf. *dazdę̄* from √*dhē-* (cp. Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. III 48).

§ **542.** Greek. From roots ending in *-r* and *-l* we have only the weak stem, the strong forms following Class XI. Thus -πί-πλα-μεν 'we fill' -πί-πλα-ται: Skr. *pi-pṛ-más*; *πί-φρα-μεν 'we bring': Skr. *bi-bhṛ-más* (§ 539, p. 99). But -πί-πλη-μι instead of *πι-πελ-μι from the stem **pl-ē-*, cp. unreduplicated Skr. *prā́-si á-prā-t* Gr. πλῆ-το Lat. *im-plē-tur.* -πί-πρα-μεν 'we kindle', sing. -πί-πρη-μι, √*per-* (Mod. Slov. *perēti* 'moulder' O.C.Sl. *para* 'steam'). The nasal in πίμ-πλαμεν πίμ-πραμεν comes from πιμπλάνω, see § 621. ἵλαθι 'be gracious' ἵλατε ἵλαμαι for *σι-σλα- (I § 565 p. 422), √*sel-*, cp. Lesb. ἔλλα-θι for *σε-σλα-θι, Class V.

τί-θη-μι 'I place' τί-θε-μεν τί-θε-ται, ἵ-η-μι 'I send forth' for *σι-ση-μι ἵ-ε-μεν ἵ-ε-ται, δί-δω-μι 'I give' δί-δο-μεν δί-δο-ται, ἵ-στη-μι 'I place' ἵ-στα-μεν ἵ-στα-ται, see § 539 p. 100. Hom. 3rd sing. δί-δη imper. 3rd sing. δι-δέ-ντων from √*dē-* 'bind'. In the stems τι-θε- ἱ-ε- δι-δε- δι-δο-, ε and ο have taken the place of a previous α = Idg. *ə*, as in ἔ-θε-μεν ἔ-δο-μεν § 493 p. 53, and in τέ-θε-ται δέ-δο-ται § 856: cp. Skr. *da-dhi-dhvḗ ja-hi-mas.* The loss of forms without *ə*, answering to the Skr. *da-dh-más* etc., is a consequence of the different forms which some of the persons of this tense assumed in due course; we should have by rule *τιθμεν *θιστε; *διδμεν *διστε, *ἱμεν *ἱστε. 3rd pl. Dor. τίθεντι δίδοντι instead of *τι-θ-ατι *δι-δ-ατι, see § 1020. Sometimes the strong stem prevails, or words follow the analogy of Classes X and XI: Hom. partic. τι-θή-μενο-ς instead of τι-θέ-μενο-ς, imper. δί-δω-θι (like Pali *da-dā-hi*). On the analogy of verbs in -εω -οω -αω: pres. τιθεῖ διδοῖ, imperf. ἐτίθει ἵει ἐδίδου, imper. τίθει δίδου ἵστα, inf. τιθεῖν συν-ιεῖν, partic. Delph. διδέουσαι; and then again ἐτίθεις -ει and

ἵεις -ει produced the 1st sing. ἐτίθειν and ἵειν after the model of ᾖειν 'I went' as compared with ᾖεις ᾖει.

As regards νίσομαι beside Skr. 3rd pl. *ni̯s-atē*, see § 539 p. 99, § 733.

§ **543.** Italic. There are no forms at all which can be certainly placed in this class. The conjugation was thematic, that of Class IV; as 1st sing. Lat. *si-st-ō* Umbr. se-st-u. However, as we must regard *red-dimus red-ditis*, notwithstanding *reddunt*, as descended from **red-dămus* **red-dătis* (§ 505, p. 71), so we may regard *serimus seritis, sistimus sistitis* as derived regularly from **si-să-mos* **si-să-tes* (Gr. ἵ-ε-μεν -τε), **si-stă-mos -tes* (Gr. ἵ-στα-μεν -τε).

§ **544.** Keltic. The thematic type is seen in O.Ir. *i-b-i-d* (§ 554), and the extension with *-i̯o-* in *-airissiur* (§ 733).

ā-conjunctives are the future Mid. Ir. *gignid* 'nascetur' for **gi-gen-ā-ti*, O.Ir. *fo-didmae* 'patieris' 3rd pl. *fo-didmat* (from pres. *fo-daim* 'patitur'), see Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 77 ff. They have the look of conjunctives belonging to thematic Class IV *A*. But probably the conjunctive vowel *ā* had here taken the place of older *-o- -e-* (by association with the unreduplicated conj. imperf., *-genad*, and the reduplicated conjunctive of Class IV *B* or Class VI, *bēra*); then the forms will originally have been like Skr. *bi-bhar-a-t*, and *gignid* must be closely connected with Avest. *zī-zan-a-þ zī-zan-a-nti* Skr. *á-jī-jan-a-t* (§ 548).

§ **545.** Germanic. O.H.G. *se-stō-m* 'sisto, I arrange, design', √*stā-*, with gradation lost, see § 539 p. 100. Whether O.H.G. *te-ta* O.Sax. *de-da* 'did' is an imperf. like Gr. τί-θην or an old perfect, remains doubtful; see § 886.

§ **546.** Balto-Slavonic. A few relics are the presents of √*dhē-* 'set, place' and *dō-* 'give', but with *e* in the reduplicator (§ 538 p. 98).

In pr. Balto-Slavonic the forms were **dhe-dh-mi* and *de-d-mi*, which may be compared with Skr. *da-d-mi* and Avest. *dazdī dasti* (§ 541 pp. 101 f.). But they did not, as these did, arise only by the weak stem spreading into the singular, but from

this and another cause together; the other cause was, that the 2nd sing. middle, which originally had the weak stem, had got an active meaning (see § 991 on Lith. *desë-s dů̃si* O.C.Sl. *dasi*). And since **dhe-dh-mi* became **dedmi* in pr. Balto-Slav. (I § 549 p. 402), the two verbs were confused in the present, and the same forms served for both (cp. Avest. *dađāiti* = Skr. *dádhāti* and *dádāti*, § 540 p. 101).

However, it was only in the meaning of 'I lay' that **dedmi* survived for any time. Lith sing. 1st pers. *dèmi* for **dedmi*, 2nd reflex. *desë-s* for **de-t-së-s*, 3rd *dèsti dèst*, 2nd pl. *dèste.* Now the verb is mostly thematic, *de-d-ù dedì dẽda* etc. And *dė̃mi* 3rd sing. *dė̃sti* too took *ė* from non-present forms *dė̃jau dė̃siu* and the like, just as Gr. Lesb. ἀδικήω instead of ἀδικέω follows ἀδική-σω, and γεύω instead of **γέω* follows γεύσω etc. (§ 775). But in Slavonic we have *deždetŭ* = **de-d-i̯e-tŭ*, following the *i̯o*-class (§ 733).

In the meaning 'I give', **dedmi* was changed to **dōdmi* in pr. Balto-Slavonic by analogy of non-present forms with **dō-*, There is a reason why the vowel of the root got into **dedmi* 'I give' and not into **dedmi* 'pono'. It is that the difference between the vowel of the first syllable of the present and that of the other tenses was in **dedmi* 'pono' only one of quantity, but in the other it was a difference of quality also; **dedmi*: aor. **dē-s-* was backed up by such verbs as **tekō*: aor. **tēk-s-* (O.C.Sl. *teką těchŭ*), but there was no parallel for **dedmi*: aor. **dō-s-*. Lith. sing. 1st pers. *dů̃mi*, 2nd *důsi* for **dů-t-si*, 3rd *dů̃sti dů̃st*, pl. 1st *dů̃me*, 2nd *dů̃ste*; *dů̃mi dů̃me* for **důdmi *důdme.* Now generally thematic, *dů̃du* etc. (also Lett. *dŭdu*). O.C.Sl. *damĭ dasi dastŭ damŭ daste dadętŭ*; *damĭ damŭ* have *-m-* for *-dm-*. Partic. thematic *dady* (*dadąšta*) like Lith. *dů̃dąs*. As regards 1st dual Lith. *dů̃va* O.C.Sl. *davě*, see I § 547 p. 401.

Remark. The forms of the 2nd pl. found in old Lith. books, *destit(e)* and *důstit(e)* instead of *dèste* and *dů̃ste*, were derived from the 3rd sing. and pl. on the analogy of *tùri-t(e)* : *tùri*, to distinguish more clearly 2nd plural from 3rd singular and plural.

Class IV.

Reduplication ending in -*ĭ* or -*ŭ* + Root + Thematic Vowel, forming the Present Stem.

§ 547. This class, like Class II, falls naturally into two sections, according as the root has the strong or the weak grade. The strong form, as in Class II, is the same as that of the non-thematic Conjunctive. Compare § 513 pp. 78 ff.

§ 548. *A.* Strong Root Syllable.

In Aryan, this section includes a large class of forms, the Sanskrit Causative Aorist; an aorist formation which generally is found along with the present formed by *-áya-* (§§ 795 ff.). As to the varying quantity of the reduplicating vowel, see § 473 pp. 17 f.

Skr. 3rd pl. mid. *á-bī-bhay-a-nta* beside *bi-bhḗ-ti* 'fears'. Imperative: mid. *pi-práy-a-sva* beside *á-pi-prē-t* 'he satisfied, pleased'. *á-cu-cyav-a-t* beside 3rd pl. *á-cu-cyav-ur* from *cyu-* 'to move, stir'.

Skr. *á-tī-tar-a-t* Avest. *ti-tar-a-þ* from Skr. *ti-tar-ti* 'gets over or beyond'. Skr. *pī-par-a-t* from *pí-par-ti* 'fills', *á-dī-dhar-a-t* beside 2nd and 3rd sing. *dī-dhar* from *dhar-* 'hold fast'. Avest. *bī-bar-āmi* (cp. Skr. conj. 2nd sing. *bi-bhar-ā-si*) beside Skr. *bí-bhar-mi* 'I carry'. Skr. *a-jī-jan-a-t* 'was born' Avest. *zī-zan-a-þ* 3rd pl. *zī-zan-a-nti*, √ *ĝen-*.

Skr. *á-pī-pat-a-t*, √ *pet-* 'fly', *á-sī-ṣad-a-t*, √ *sed-* 'sit'.

On the Irish conjuntive, used for the future, of which we have an example in *gignid* 'nascetur' for **gi-gen-ā-ti*, see § 544, page 103.

Germanic. Apparently we have a form of this sort in Goth. *rei-rái-þ* 'moves, trembles', connected with Skr. *lē-láy-a-ti* 'wavers, trembles'; it may come from pr. Germ. **rī-rēį-ō* (§ 469 p. 14, § 708). But this is not a certainty, because it has not yet been made out to what vowel series the root belongs (in Sanskrit we see a pret. *á-lē-lē-t*, § 568).

§ 549. *B.* Weak Root Syllable.

Roots with *i-* and *u-* vowels. Avest. imper. *di-đy-a* (conj. *di-đy-ā-þ*), Gr. *δίζομαι* for **δι-δι̯-ο-μαι* beside Avest. *diđaęiti*, see § 537 p. 97; *δί-ζη-μαι* (Class XI): *δί-ζ-ο-μαι*: Avest. *diđaęti* = *-πί-πλη-μι*: Skr. *á-pi-pr-a-ta*: Skr. *pí-par-ti*. Skr. *ji-ghy-a-ti* 'drives on' beside *hi-nō-ti* Class XVII; *gh* instead of *h* (I § 445 p. 331, § 454 p. 335) answers to *k* in the 3rd pl. *cí-ky-ati*, see § 537 Rem. p. 98. Also Skr. aorists such as *á-śi-śriy-a-t* from *śri-* 'lean' (cp. *á-śi-śrē-t*), *á-ci-kṣip-a-t* from *kṣip-* 'throw', *á-rī-riṣ-a-t* from *riṣ-* 'take hurt', *á-śu-śruv-a-t* from *śru-* 'hear', *á-cu-krudh-a-t* from *krudh-* 'grow angry', *á-dū-duṣ-a-t* from *duṣ-* 'grow bad, go to rack and ruin'.

§ 550. Roots with other vowels.

Pr.Idg. **ǵi-ǵn-ō*, √ *ǵen-* 'gignere': Gr. *γί-γν-ο-μαι* Lat. *gi-gn-ō*, cp. **ǵi-ǵen-o-* § 548. **si-zd-ō*, √ *sed-* 'sit': Skr. *sī́dati* instead of **sīḍ-a-ti* (I § 591 p. 447, § 593 p. 449, compare Bartholomae in Bezz. Beitr. XVII 117), Gr. *ἵζω* i. e. *hizdō* (I § 593 p. 449), Lat. *sīdō* (I § 594 p. 450).[1] **ni-nd-ō* 'I scold, blame' beside Skr. *nad-* 'shriek, roar' Gr. *ὀνοσθε* 'ye blame, scold' for *ὀνοδ-* (cp. Avest. 2nd pl. *nista* = **nịsta*, § 540 p. 101): Skr. *nínd-a-ti* 'scolds, abuses', with which became associated *níd-* 'reviling, rebuke' *á-nēd-ya-s* 'blameless' and other similar words, Gr. **νίνδω*, whence *ὄνειδος* 'blame'.[2]) **si-st-ō*, √ *stā-* 'stare': Skr. *ti-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-i-t*; **pi-b-e-ti*, √ *pō-* 'drink': Skr. *pí-b-a-ti* Lat. *bi-b-i-t* O.Ir. *i-b-i-d*, see § 539 p. 100.

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1) Bechtel does not convince me that I am wrong in supposing the Idg. form to be **si-zd-ō* (Bechtel, Hauptprobl. der Idg. Lautlehre, 254). That *αἰδέομαι* comes form *αἰzδ-* or *αἰsδ-* is unproven. Compare Idg. Forsch. I 171 f.

2) This conjecture (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 394 f., and Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 84, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 116) seems to me more likely than that sugested by others (as Fick, Wtb. I4 96), namely, that Skr. *nind-a-ti* was formed from a √ *neịd-* on the principle of Class XVI. The Skr. re-formation perf. *ni-nind-a* etc. may be compared with perf. *sīd-atur* fut. *sīd-iṣya-ti* beside *sī́d-a-ti*.

§ **551.** Aryan. Skr. 3rd pl. *á-bi-bhr-a-n* partic. *bí-bhr-a-māṇa-s* from *bí-bhar-ti* 'bears', cp. Avest. *bī-bar-āmi* (§ 548 p. 105). Skr. 3rd sing. *á-pi-pr-a-ta* from *pí-par-ti* 'fills'. Skr. *jí-ghr-a-ti* from *jí-ghar-ti* 'smells'. Skr. *jí-ghn-a-tē* from *han-* 'strike, slay'. Skr. *pí-bd-a-tē* 'becomes firm, strong', √*ped-*. Skr. *ti-ṣṭh-a-ti*, Avest. *hi-št-a-iti* O.Pers. mid. *a-i-št-a-tā*: Lat. *si-st-ō*, § 550. Skr. 3rd pl. *mi-m-a-nti* from *mí-mā-ti* 'roars' opt. *mi-mī-yā-t*.

Another group of forms which comes in here is composed of such Skr. aorists as *á-vī-vṛt-a-t* from *vart-* 'vertere', *á-cī-kḷp-a-t* from *kalp-* 'help', *á-pi-spṛś-a-t* from *sparś-* 'touch', *á-ci-krad-a-t* from *krand-* 'roar'. A great many others were cast in the same mould as these; for instance, *á-mī-mṛṇa-t* from *mṛ-ṇá-ti* 'crushes'.

§ **552.** Greek. *γί-γν-ο-μαι*, see § 550. *μί-μν-ω* beside *μέν-ω* 'I remain'. *ἴ-σχ-ω* beside *ἔχ-ω* (**σεχ-ω*) 'I hold, have', √*seĝh-*. *πῑ-πτ-ω* 'I fall'; whether *ῑ* was original (cp. Skr. *á-pī-pat-a-t*, § 548 p. 105) is very doubtful; see § 473 p. 18. *τίκτω* 'I beget' for **τι-τκ-ω* beside *ἔ-τεκ-ο-ν*, cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.² § 62 p. 74. *ἰάχω* 'I cry out, shriek' for **ϝι-ϝαχ-ω*, cp. *δυσ-ηχής* (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 230 ff.).

On present stems extended by the suffix *-i̯o-* see § 733.

§ **553.** Italic. Lat. *gi-gn-ō*, see § 550. Lat. *sīdō* for **si-zd-ō*, the second sibilant of which is kept in Umbr. *ander-sistu* 'intersidito' for **-sizd(e)tō* (cp. *ander-sesust* 'intersederit'):[1]) Skr. *sī́d-a-ti* etc., see § 550. Lat. *serō* 'I sow' for **si-s-ō*, beside Gr. *ἵ-η-μι*, § 539 p. 99. Lat. *bibō* instead of **pi-b-ō*: Skr. *pí-b-a-ti* etc., see § 539 p. 100; for the assimilation of *p-* to *-b-*, cp. Umbr. řeře 'dedit' instead of *teře (fut. perf. teřust *dirsust*). Vest. *di-d-e-t* 'dat' (Pelign. *dida* 'det' Umbr. *dirsa dersa* teřa 'det' *dirstu* teřtu 'dato'), beside Gr. *δί-δω-μι*, § 539 p. 99. Compare § 871, on Osc. fi-fik-us.

1) For this explanation of the Umbrian form I have to thank a former pupil, Dr. von Planta. See now his dissertation, Vocalismus der osk.-Umbr. Dialekte, Strassburg 1892, pp. 214, 277, and his Grammatik.

§ **554.** O.Ir. *i-b-i-d* 'bibit' for **pi-b-e-ti*: Skr. *pí-b-a-ti* etc., see § 539 p. 100. As to *-airissim -airissiur* 'I stand, remain standing, exist', see § 733.

Futures like *do-bēr* 'I will give' may be also added; they were originally *ā*-conjunctives of this class. See § 565.

Class V:
Reduplication in *-e (-ē)* + simple Root, used for the Present Stem.

§ **555.** This class has a very close connexion with the Perfect. The two are distinguished in the indic. present by different personal endings (cp. Skr. 3rd pl. *sá-śc-ati*: perf. 3rd pl. *sa-śc-úr,* from √*seq-* 'be with, accompany'), and in the vocalisation of the singular, as 3rd sing. Idg. **se-seq-ti* (Skr. **sa-sak-ti*): perf. **se-soq-e* (Skr. **sa-sāc-a*). But there was no difference at all between the Preterite of Class V and the Preterite of the Perfect Class (pluperfect), nor between their Conjunctive, Optative, and Imperative moods. Perhaps there was originally only Class VI, which now appears complementary to the fifth class (Skr. *sá-śc-a-ti* Gr. ἕσπ-ο-ι-το), but then had the same relation to the perfect as Class II to I, Class IV to III; and then perhaps the indic. present forms of the fifth class were coined on the analogy of classes I and III.

§ **556.** Aryan. Skr. *ja-ján-ti* (grammarians), Avest. *za-zan-ti* 'gignit' (Bartholomae, Ar. F. II 82); cp. *á-jī-jan-a-t zī-zan-a-þ* § 548 p. 105. Skr. 3rd pl. *sá-śc-ati*, see § 555; cp. *sí-ṣak-ti* § 540 p. 100. *bá-bhas-ti* 'chews, eats' 3rd pl. *bá-ps-ati*, conj. *ba-bhas-a-t*. *á-ja-kṣ-ur* 'they ate', imper. *jagdhi* for **ja-gž-dhi*, partic. *ja-kṣ-at-* from *ghas-* 'eat' (there is a re-formed 3rd sing. *jakṣi-ti* on the lines of Class IX); with thematic vowel *ja-kṣ-a-ti*. Partic. *já-kṣ-at-* from *has-* 'laugh'. Avestic *ni-šaŋhasti* for **sa-sasti* Idg. **se-sed+ti*, √*sed-* 'sedere'; — perhaps a parallel thematic by-form is Gr. ἕζομαι i. e. ἕ-zd-ο-μαι (§ 563).

Skr. *dá-dhā-ti* 'places' *dá-dā-ti* 'gives' Avest. *da-đā-iti*, see § 540 p. 99. Skr. *já-hā-ti* 'leaves, gives up' 1st pl. *ja--hi-mas* 3rd pl. *ja-h-ati*, Avest. *za-zā-iti*; — with thematic vowel, Skr. *ja-h-a-ti*.

§ 557. Greek. Lesb. ἔλλαϑι 'be gracious' for σε-σλα-ϑι, pl. ἔλλατε, beside ἵλαϑι Class III, § 542 p. 102. κέ-κλυ-ϑι 'hear', pl. κέ-κλυ-τε: but Skr. *á-śu-śrav-ur* belong to Class III. εἶπ-α 'I spoke' (Cret. Gort. προ-ϝειπάτω) contains a stem **ue-uq-* (as regards ϝειπ- for **uēuq-*, see the Author, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 306, Gr. Gr.² p. 157; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 151 f.; Meillet, Mém. Soc. Ling. VII 60); this weak stem eventually ran right through (cp. Skr. *da-d-mi* § 541 p. 101, Lith. *dėmi* for **de-d-mi* § 546 p. 104); the -α- of εἶπ-α-ς εἴπ-α-τε is to be explained as in ἔχευας, see § 504 p. 67; — with thematic vowel, Skr. *á-vōc-a-t* Gr. ἔ-ειπ-ο-ν, see § 661.

§ 558. Keltic. Original Conjunctives of this class (cp. Skr. *ba-bhas-a-t*) are the Irish reduplicated futures, Mid.Ir. *ge-gn-a* 'vulnerabo' O.Ir. *do-gega* 'eligam' etc. They originally had the thematic vowel, which they exchanged for *ā* in the same way as did the future of which *gignid* is an example, Class III § 544. However, the *e* of the reduplicator is doubtless, as Thurneysen says, a mutation of *i* (Kuhn's Zeitschr., XXXI 77 f.); then the forms are not different from *gignid* and others of that kind.

§ 559. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *dèsti* 'lays' for **dhe-dh+ti* instead of **dhe-dhē-ti*, Lith. *dů'sti* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dastĭ* 'gives' for **dō-d+ti* instead of **de-dō-ti*, see § 546 pp. 103 f.

§ 560. Forms with Idg. *ē* instead of *e* in the Reduplication (§ 472 p. 17). These are Intensives in Sanskrit; e. g. Skr. *dā-dhar-ti* beside (*dar-dhar-ti*) from *dhar-* 'hold fast', 3rd pl. *nā-nad-ati* from *nad-* 'shriek, roar'; cp. Avest. partic. *pā-perᵉt-āna-* neut. used as a subst. 'fighting'.

Skr. *jā-gar-mi* 'I watch' 3rd pl. *jā-gr-ati* imper. *jā-gṛ-hí*, and an irregular form with weak stem, *jā-gṛ-mi*; — thematic

jā-gr-a-ti. Compare perf. *jā-gár-a* Gr. ἐγή-γερ-μαι. On the *g* of *jā-gar-mi*, see § 537 Rem. p. 98.

Remark. The fut. *jāgariṣyáti* perf. *jajāgāra* may be compared with *laṣiṣyati lalāṣa* beside *laṣati* for **le-ls-e-ti*, with *jahiṣyati ájījahat* beside *ja-h-a-ti* (§ 562), and others like them; see § 752.

A Greek intensive of this sort is Hom. δη-δέχ-αται 'they welcome, greet' imperf. δή-δεκ-το (read δη-, not δει-, — so J. Wackernagel), from δέκομαι δέχομαι 'I receive'.

Class VI.

Reduplication in *-e* (*-ē*) + Root + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ **561.** On the relation of this class to the last, see § 555.

Pr. Idg. **ghe-ghn-o-* from √ *ghen-* 'strike, kill': Skr. partic. *ja-ghn-a-nt-* (cp. *jī-ghn-a-tē* § 551 p. 107), Gr. ἔ-πε-φν-ο-ν inf. πε-φν-έ-μεν; conj. Avest. *ja-γn-ā-þ*. **u̯e-u̯q-o-* from √ *u̯eq-* 'speak': Skr. *á-vōc-a-t*, Gr. ἔ-ειπ-ο-ν εἶπ-ο-ν inf. εἰπ-εῖν (on Ϝειπ- for **u̯e-u̯q-* see § 557). **se-sq-o-* from √ *seq-* 'be with, accompany': Skr. *sá-šc-a-ti*, Gr. ἕ-σπ-ε-το opt. ἕ-σπ-ο-ι-το inf. ἑ-σπ-έ-σθαι. Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti* 'places', Lith. *de-d-ù*, √ *dhē-*.

§ **562.** Aryan. Skr. partic. *ja-ghn-a-nt-*, Avest. 3rd pl. *ja-γn-e-nti* conj. *ja-γn-ā-þ*: Gr. ἔ-πε-φν-ο-ν etc., see § 561. Skr. *á-vōc-a-t*, Avest. *vaoc-a-þ* imper. *vaoc-ā*: Gr. ἔ-ειπ-ο-ν, see § 561. Skr. *yḗṣ-a-ti* 'boils' for pr. Ar. **i̯a-i̯š-a-ti* ground-form **je-js-e-ti* from √ *jes-* (Skr. *yás-ya-ti* Gr. ζέω), cp. with *i̯o*-extension Avest. *yaēšyęiti* § 733; Skr. *á-yēṣ-a-t* served as model for *á-nēš-a-t* from *naś-* 'to be destroyed' (Avestic has *nąsa-þ*, regular), and the perfect *nēś-úr* follows *sēd-úr yēm-úr*, unless it is preferable to derive *á-nēśa-t* directly from the perfect stem, and regard it as a pluperfect (§ 854). Skr. *laṣa-ti* 'desires' probably for **la-lš-a-ti* (I § 259 p. 212), cp. *lā-las-a-s* 'covetous' Gr. λιλαίομαι 'I desire' for *λι-λασ-ι̯ο-μαι (§ 733). Skr. *á-pa-pt-a-t*, √ *pet-* 'shoot through the air, fly'. Skr. *sajjatē* 'hangs to something, sticks' for **sa-zj-a-* (I § 591

pp. 448 f.), √ *seg-* (Lith. *seg-ù* 'I fasten'). Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti* 'places' *dá-d-a-ti* 'gives' Avest. *da-þ-a-iti* from √ *dhē-* and √ *dō-*, see § 540 p. 99, § 561. Skr. *ja-h-a-ti* 'leaves, gives up', see § 556 p. 109. Skr. *rá-r-a-tē* from *rā-* 'pour', cp. 2nd pl. *ra-rī--dhvam* (§ 538 p. 98).

With *ā* = Idg. *ē* in the reduplication (cp. § 560) Skr. *jā-gr-a-ti* 'wakes' and Avest. 3rd sing. conj. *vāurāitę̄* (for **vā-vr-*) from *var-* 'choose' (cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 79 f.).

§ **563.** Greek. *ἔ-πε-φν-ο-ν*, *ἔ-ειπ-ο-ν*, *ἕ-σπ-ε-το*, see § 561. This type of aorist was fertile in the Homeric dialect, and in the poetic style developed out of it (cp. Curtius, Verb., II² 29 ff.). We may add: *ἐ-κέ-κλ-ε-το* from *κέλ-ο-μαι* 'I call, summon, ask', *πε-παλ-ών* from *πάλλω* 'I swing, brandish' (√ *pel-*), *τε-τάρπ--ε-το* from *τέρπ-ω* 'I satisfy, refresh, please', *πε-πίθ-ο-ι-το* *πε--πιθ-ών* from *πείθ-ω* 'I persuade', *πε-πύθ-ο-ι-το* from *πεύθ-ο-μαι* 'I learn'. *λέ-λαθ-ο-ν* from *λήθ-ω* 'I am hidden'. *τε-ταγ-ών* 'grasping'.

In the later language we find presents in connexion with these aorists, as *πέφνω*, *κέκλομαι*. *ἕζομαι* is one of this sort; for *ἕ-zδ-ο-μαι*, from √ *sed-* 'sit' (§ 556 p. 108), unless the form comes from **ἕδ-ἰο-μαι* = O.H.G. *sizzu* Class XXVI (§ 721).

§ **564.** Italic. Lat. *tendō* Umbr. *ostendu* 'ostendito' (I § 499 p. 366) is often derived from **te-tn-ō* (√ *ten-*),[1]) to which Gr. *τι-ταίνω* would be related in the same way as *λιλαίομαι* to Skr. *laṣati* (§ 562), cp. Skr. *ta-tán-a-t*; others analyse *ten-dō*, and refer it to class XXV (cp. II p. 161 footnote 2, IV § 696); and now R. S. Conway identifies it with Gr. *τείνω* for **ten-i̯ō* (Class. Rev., v 297), as G. Curtius had done before him.

More certain examples may be found among the Latin perfects, as *te-tig-i-t*, *te-tig-i-mus*: Gr. *τε-ταγ-ών*, *pe-pul-i-t*: Gr. *πε-παλ-ών*. See § 867.

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1) Bartholomae (Stud. idg. Spr. II 95) assumes that **te-tnō* by analogy of forms wtih *ten-* became **tentnō-*, and hence *tendō*.

§ 565. Keltic. In this class we may place the Irish *ā*-conjunctive with future meaning. O.Ir. *dobēr* 'I will give' 1st pl. *do-bēram* for **bhe-bhr-ā-*, √*bher-* 'ferre'. *fris-gēra* 'respondebit' beside pres. 3rd sing. *fris-gair*. *nad-cēl* 'quod non celabo' beside pres. *celim*. Mid.Ir. *fo-dēma* 'patietur' beside *fo-daim* 'patitur'. As regards the compensatory lengthening in these forms, see I §§ 523, 526 pp. 380 f. It is true that the Irish sound-laws do not make it certain that *e* was the original reduplicating-vowel of this conjunctive. It may have been *i*, and Thurneysen (Kuhn's Zeitschr., XXXI 81) assumes this in view of *gignid* etc. (§ 544 p. 103). Since in the reduplicated present both *e* and *i* have always been used side by side (cp. Skr. *ja-ghn-a-nt-* and *ji-ghn-a-tē* § 561 p. 110), it is hardly possible to draw the line.

§ 566. Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *de-d-ù* 'I lay': Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti*; Lith. *dů́d-u* 'I give' O.C.Sl. partic. *dad-y* 'giving'. See § 546 p. 104.

Class VII.

Complete Reduplication + Root forming the Present Stem.

§ 567. On the form of reduplication used in this and the following thematic Class see §§ 465—467, 470, 474.

§ 568. Roots beginning in a Consonant. Certain examples only in Aryan (Intensive Verbs).

Skr. *car-kar-mi* imper. *car-kr̥-tād*, Avest. 1st pl. *carᵉ-kerᵉ-mahī* from *kar-* 'think of, remember'. Skr. 2nd sing. *dár-dar-ṣi* imper. *dar-dr̥-hi*, Avest. opt. *darᵉ-dair-yā-ḇ* from *dar-* 'split'; 1) — with thematic vowel *dar-dir-a-t*. Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *sar-sr̥-tē sar-sr-ḗ* from *sar-* 'flow'. Skr. *járə-ghan-ti* conj. *jarə-ghán-a-t*

1) The second syllable of the Avestic form shows irregularly the strong grade, unless **-dr̥̄-i̯ē-t* (I § 306 pp. 241 f.) is to be assumed for the ground-form (cp. Skr. *dīr-yā-t á-dar-dir-ur dar-dir-a-t*).

from *han-* 'strike, kill'. Skr. *á-lē-lē-t* from *lī-* 'oscillate'. Skr. 1st pl. *nō-nu-mas* from *nu-* 'shriek, cry, call'; — with thematic vowel 3rd pl. mid. *nō-nuv-a-nta*. Skr. partic. mid. *jṓ-huv-āna-s* from *hū-* 'call'; — with thematic vowel Skr. *jṓ-huv-a-t*. Avest. *zao-zao-mī* 'I pour out, consecrate'. Skr. *vár-vart-ti* 3rd pl. *vár-vr̥t-ati* from *vart-* 'vertere'. Skr. mid. 3rd sing. *dḗ-diṣ-ṭē* 3rd pl. *dḗ-diś-atē* Avest. *daę-dōiš-t* from Ar. *diś-* 'show; — with thematic vowel Skr. *dḗ-diś-a-m*.

Sanskrit has also some forms with *ī* after the reduplication (§ 467 p. 13). *barī-bhar-ti* 3rd pl. *bhári-bhr-ati* from *bhar-* 'ferre'. Partic. *ghání-ghn-at-* beside *jáṅ-ghan-ti* (p. 112). *návī-nō-t* beside *nō-nu-mas* (see above). *varī-vart-ti* beside *vár-vart-ti* (above). *káni-kranti* for *káni-krad-at-* from *krand-* 'roar'.

§ 569. Roots beginning in a Sonant.

Skr. *ál-ar-ti* 'raises itself'.

Gr. ἤν-εγκ-α 'I brought' partic. mid. ἐν-εγκ-άμενο-ς, Idg. *en-eñk̂-. With ἤνεγκ-ας -ατε etc. compare ἔχευας εἶπας etc. § 504 p. 67. Whether the Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *ānaṭ* 3rd dual *anaṣ-ṭām* conj. 1st pl. *anaś-ā-mahāi*, which belong to the same root, are reduplicated or not, is a question. *anaś-* may be derived from *en-n̥k̂-, or from *enek̂- (cp. Gr. δι-ηνεκ-ής).

Class VIII.

Complete Reduplication + Root + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ 570. Roots beginning in a Consonant.

Certain examples only in Aryan (Intensives), compare § 568. Skr. shows injunctives like *dar-dir-a-t*, *nō-nuv-a-nta*, *jṓ-huv-a-t*, *dḗ-diś-a-m*, see above. Avest. *naę-niž-a-iti* 'washes' beside Skr. *nḗ-nēk-ti* mid. *nē-nik-tḗ*: cp. conj. *vōi-vīd-ā-itę* beside Skr. partic. *vḗ-vid-āna-s* from *vid-* 'find'.

§ 571. Roots beginning in a Sonant.

Armen. *ar-ar-i* aor. of *ar̄-ne-m* 'I make', Gr. ἤρ-αρ-ο-ν inf. ἀρ-αρ-εῖν aor. of ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω 'I fit'. Skr. *ām-am-a-t* aor. of

am- 'injure' (pres. *amī-ti*) Gr. *ἤγ-αγ-ο-ν ἀγ-αγ-εῖν* from *ἄγ-ω* 'I lead'.[1]) 3rd pl. *ἀκ-άχ-ο-ντο* from *ἀκ-αχ-ίζομαι* 'I am troubled'. *ἄλ-αλκ-ε* 'I warded off'. *ἤν-εγκ-ο-ν* 'I brought'. *ἐν-εγκ-εῖν* beside *ἤν-εγκ-α* (§ 569). Compare § 470.

Skr. *ānin-a-t* (*prāṇina-t*) from *an-* 'breathe', *ārjij-a-t* from *arj-* (*r̥j-*) 'direct, procure', *āubjij-a-t* from *ubj-* 'keep down', and other examples, only found in the grammarians. Gr. *ἐρύκακ-ο-ν* from *ἐρύκ-ω* 'I hold back', *ἠνίπαπ-ο-ν* from *ἐνίπ-τω* 'I address'. Compare § 474 p.

B. CLASS IX.

ROOT + -ə- OR ROOT + -ī-, WITH OR WITHOUT REDUPLICATION, FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ **572.** We have here two classes of forms to deal with; examples of which are (1) Skr. *vámi-ti* Gr. *ἄγα-μαι*, and (2) Skr. *amī-ti.*

The first has ə after the root. Whether this ə was part of the root, as some scholars too confidently assert, or a true suffix (I § 14 p. 17), is doubtful. In Greek along with *α* are found both *ε* and *ο*. Bartholomae seems to be right in seeing here the Idg. *e* and *o* (Bezz. Beitr. XVII 109 ff.).

-ə- was never found except before personal endings which begin with a consonant; cp. Skr. *rōdi-ti* pl. *rud-anti.*

Forms with *-ī-* are only found in Aryan. This vowel, Idg. *ī*, was certainly a suffix of some kind ('root-determinative'); a general discussion of it has been given above, § 498 pp. 61 f. Used in the same way we find *āi* in Sanskrit (*áj-āi-ṣ*), perhaps the same as *ει* in Gr. *ἄγ-ει-ς ἄγ-ει* (see p. 61 footnote). But it cannot be made in the least probable that *-ī-* was ever confined to the plural and dual active and the middle of all three numbers, or *-āi-* to the singular active, like Skr. *kr̥-ṇu-más* etc. as contrasted with *kr̥-ṇó-mi*; *-ī-* is particularly common in the singular active in Sanskrit.

1) On Benfey's Skr. *áj-ij-a-t*, see Hübschmann, Idg. Vocalsyst., 66; Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 116 f.

The spread of *-ī-* in Sanskrit was due in great part to a confusion with *-i-* = *-ə-*. We have therefore to compare, say, *śami-ṣva* : *śamī-ṣva* with Skr. *á-dhi-mahi* : *á-dhī-mahi.*

It is not always possible to say whether *-ī-* was attached to a form in pre-Aryan times, or took the place of *i* = *ə* in Aryan itself. Thus *-ə-* and *-ī-* may here be comprehended in one class.

§ 573. To forms without Reduplication we cannot point with any confidence except in Aryan and Greek. But Bugge conjectures that some such are contained in the Arm. 2rd aorist mid., e. g. *cnay* from pres. *cnani-m* 'pario, gigno, nascor': *cna-* for **ĝenə-* (cp. § 583 p. 125). See Bugge, Indogerm. Forsch., I p. 439.

§ 574. Sanskrit. Forms with *-i-*. *vámi-mi vámi-ti* (3rd pl. *vam-anti*, pret. *á-vam-ī-t*), beside Gr. *ἐμέω*. *áni-ti* 'breathes' 3rd pl. *an-ánti* (pret. *ā́n-ī-t*). Imper. *stani-hi* from *stan-* 'thunder'. Imper. *śami-ṣva* from *śam-* 'take pains'. *rōdi-ti* 'laments, cries'. 1st pl. *rudi-mas* 3rd pl. *rud-anti* imper. *rudi-hi* (pret. *á-rōd-ī-t*). *svápi-ti* 'sleeps'. *śvasi-ti* 'snorts' imper. *śvasi-hí* instead of **śuṣi-hí* cp. mid. *śuṣ-ē* (pret. *á-śvas-ī-t*). Also *śr̥-ṇv-i-ṣē̆* beside *śr̥-ṇv-i-rē̆* like *ja-jñ-i-ṣē̆* beside *ja-jñ-i-rē̆*. On *īś-i-tē* beside *īṣ-ṭē*, see § 853.

-i- in these Verbs is not usually confined to the present stem. Compare *śami-ṣva* with *śami-tá-s á-śami-ṣ-ṭa* (Gr. *κάμα-το-ς*), *jáni-ṣva* with *jani-tár- jani-ṣyá-ti* (Gr. *γενέ-τωρ* Lat. *geni-tor*).

To these I add a few forms which both Indian grammarians and European scholars call parts of the *iṣ-* aorist, to wit: 2rd sing. *varti-thās* from *vart-* 'vertere', *á-jay-i-t* from *ji-* 'conquer', *á-tāri-ma* from *tar-* 'move across, place or pass over', and like forms, along with the 2rd pl. mid in *-idhvam* instead of *-iḍhvam* (§ 839) given by the Indian grammarians, e. g. *ábōdhi-dhvam*. It is true the popular feeling associated these with the *s*-aorist, as it did the forms *á-dhi-thās á-dhi-ta á-kr̥-thās á-kr̥-ta*; but neither of the two kinds had any real

connexion in form with it (§ 816).[1] Perhaps this apparent connexion was cemented by the original 2nd sing. of the *iṣ*-aorist, ending in *-*iṣ* (for *-*iṣ-ṣ*) which may have been unconscionsly analysed into *-*i-ṣ* (§ 839); cp. *ánāit* following *ánāiṣ* for **a-naiṣ-ṣ* (§ 816).

-*ī*- is commonest in the 2rd and 3rd sing. pret. active (cp. the above examples). *am-ī-ti* 'injures' (3rd pl. *am-ánti*) imper. *am-ī-ṣva*. Imperative: *śam-ī-ṣva -dhvam* beside *śami-ṣva* (p. 115). *tav-ī-ti* 'thrives, is strong'. 3rd dual *á-gṛh-ī-tām* 'they seized' mid. 2nd sing. *gṛh-ī-thās gṛh-ī-ṣva*, 3rd sing. *á-grabh-ī-t*, cp. *gṛbh-ī-tá-s grah-ī-ṣya-ti á-grabh-ī-ṣ-ur*. *ás-ī-t* 'erat'.

The verb *bráv-ī-ti* 'says' has -*ī*- only in those persons which elsewhere have -*i*-, and obviously follows the *i*-verbs: thus *bráv-ī-mi -ī-ṣi -ī-ti*, *á-brav-ī-ṣ -ī-t*, but *á-brav-am brū-más bruv-ánti*. Compare Avest. *mraom* i. e. *mrav-em* = *á-brav-am*, mid. *mruyę̄* i. e. *mruv-ę̄* (Bartholomae, Handb. § 92 p. 40) = *bruv-é*, *mrūitę̄ mrū-ta* = Skr. *brū-tḗ á-brū-ta* and *mrao-š mrao-þ* as contrasted with *á-brav-ī-ṣ -ī-t*, like Skr. 3rd sing. *ás* contrasted with *ás-ī-t*; but Avestic itself has a similar *ī*-form in *vyā-mrvītā* (Y. 12. 6.), if Bartholomae rightly takes this as 3rd sing. mid. imperf. (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 37, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 127). By levelling we have Skr. imper. *bravī-hi* instead of *brū-hi*, and *brū-mi* instead of *bráv-ī-mi*.

From presents in -*aya-ti*: Skr. *ūnay-ī-ṣ* from *ūna-ya-ti* 'leaves unfulfilled', *dhvanay-ī-t* from *dhvanaya-ti* 'envelops', cp. opt. mid. *kāmay-ī-ta* § 951.

This *i*- and *ī*-inflexion spread widely in Sanskrit because it often served to renew distinctions which had been worn away by phonetic change: *ásīṣ ásīt* are clear; *ás* for 2nd and 3rd person both, is not.

On the place which preterite forms in -*ī-ṣ -ī-t* filled in the *s*-aorist, see § 839.

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1) *á-jayi-t*: 3rd pl. *á-jayiṣ-ata* = Gr. ἐ-κρέμα-το (κρεμά-θρᾱ): 2nd sing. mid. ἐ-κρεμάσ-θης (κρεμασ-τό-ς), see § 840.

§ **575.** Greek. The ə-flexion holds ground in the middle voice. *κρέμα-μαι* 'I hang' (cp. fut. *κρεμά-ω*, *κρεμά-θρᾱ* 'hanging basket'). *ἄγα-μαι* 'I revere, honour'; *ἀγα-* doubtless for **m̥gə-*, from the root of *μέγα*; then *ἄγα-μαι*: a possible **μεγα-μι* as Skr. *rudi-mas* : *rōdi-mi*. Aor. *ἐ-πριά-μην* 'I bought' beside Skr. *krī-ṇā-ti* 'buys' fut. *krē-ṣyá-ti* O.Ir. *cre-nim* 'I buy' conj. 3[rd] sing. *-cria* for **cri-ā-t*.

The active forms perhaps became thematic in prehistoric times: *ἐμέω* 'I spew' instead of **ϝεμε-μι*: Skr. *vámi-mi*, cp. *ἔμε-σσα*; *δαμάω* 'I subdue' instead of **δαμα-μι*, cp. *δάμα-σσα πανδαμά-τωρ*; *ἐλάω* 'I drive' instead of **ἐλα-μι*, cp. *ἔλα-σσα ἐλα-τήρ*; *ἀρόω* 'I plough' instead of **ἀρο-μι*, cp. *ἀρ-ηρο-μένο-ς ἤρο-σα ἄρο-τρο-ν*. On *-ε-* and *-ο-* beside *-α-* see § 572 p. 114. But the *σσ*-aorist makes it possible to regard these forms as originally ending in *-εσ-ω -ασ́-ω -οσ́-ω*, and answering to Skr. *tarás-a-ti arcas-ē*. See §§ 661, 842.

Remark. Many other forms seem to be of this group, but their explanation is obscure. See, for example, § 550 p. 106 for *ὄνο-σαι ὄνο-νται*, Osthoff Perf. 371, 409 for *πέτα-μαι*, the Author in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 587 ff. for *ἔρα-μαι*. On *ἔ-χεα-ς ἐ-χέα-μεν* and the like, which some scholars place in this category, see § 504 p. 67.

§ **576.** In Latin, Germanic and Balto-Slavonic *-ə-* and Idg. *-o-* (in Latin, Idg. *-e-* as well) must necessarily run together into the same sound. Thus it is always possible that verbs which in these languages belong to Class II originally had *-ə-* and belonged properly to the ninth class. Lat. *vomi-t vomi-mus* cp. Skr. *vámi-ti*. Goth. *-anan* 'breathe, blow' cp. Skr. *áni-ti* (1[st] pl. *-ana-m* like *ani-mas*), O.H.G. *riozan* 'cry, weep' cp. Skr. *rōdi-ti*, A.S. *swefan* O.Icel. *sofa* 'sleep' cp. Skr. *svápi-ti*. Lith. 3[rd] sing. *raũda* 'cries, weeps' Lett. *ráud*, beside O.H.G. *riozan* and Skr. *rōdi-ti*. Certainty is very far from possible here; indeed, even in Sanskrit these roots can be inflected like Class II: *vam-a-ti*, *án-a-ti an-á-ti*, *rōd-a-ti rud-a-ti*, *sváp-a-ti*.

§ **577.** Forms with Reduplication only found in Sanskrit; all have *-ī-*.

-ī- in the 2nd and 3rd sing. of some preterites which are usually called pluperfect: as *á-ja-grabhī-t* (1st sing. *á-ja-grabh--am*) from *grabh-* 'seize', *á-bu-bhōjī-ṣ* from *bhuj-* 'bend'.

Intensive: *vá-vadī-ti* from *vad-* 'speak', *pá-patī-ti* from *pat-* 'fly'. Compare § 560 pp. 109 f. Intensive: *dar-darī-ti* from *dar-* 'split' beside *dár-dar-ṣi*, *tar-tarī-ti* (and with irreg. strong stem, 2nd dual *tartarī-thas*) from *tar-* 'step over', *nan-namī-ti* from *nam-* to 'bow, bend oneself', *rṓ-ravī-ti* from *ru-* 'roar, cry', *jṓ-havī-ti* from *hū-* 'call'. Compare § 568 p. 113. The root syllable is never followed by -ī- when the reduplication ends in ĭ: cp. § 467 p. 13.

C. CLASSES X AND XI.

ROOT + -ā-, -ē-, OR -ō- FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 578. We have here to examine forms such as Gr. ἔ-δρ̥-ā-ν, ἔ-βλ-η-ν, ἐ-σβ-η-ν, ἔ-γν-ω-ν. These vowels¹) -ā-, -ē-, and -ō- never had any gradation, and the long vowel always runs right through all numbers of active and middle in the Indicative. But some modifications have arisen by a certain law affecting the European languages, by which long vowels were shortened before *n* or *i̯* + consonant; as Gr. 3rd pl. ἔ-γνον for *ἔγ-νω-ν(τ), opt. 1st pl. γνοῖμεν for *γνωι̯-μεν (I §§ 611, 612, 614, 615 pp. 461 ff.).

Originally the root had always its weak grade. In the aorists here cited it has ceased to be a syllable. But a syllable it still is in some forms, as **bhuu̯-ā-*: Lat. (conj.) *fuā-s* Lith. *bùvo* (beside **bhu̯-ā-* in Lat. *-bā-s*); **ii̯-ē-*: Skr. *iy-ā-t*, cp. perhaps Goth. *iddja*, whose *i-* may also be an augment (*e-*) (beside **i̯-ē-* in Skr. *y-á-ti*); **mn̥n-ē-*: Gr. ἐ-μάνη Lith. *mìnė*; **liq-ē-*: Gr. ἐ-λίπη Lat. *lice-t*; Gr. ἐ-βάλ-η (beside ἔ-βλ-η).

These suffixes had properly nothing do do with either aorist or present meaning. This is clear because they never have been confined to one particular stem. We find them in

1) The newest theory on "Root-Forms in ā^x" may be seen by referring to Kretschmer, Kuhn's Ztschr. XXXI 403 ff.

the Perfect, as Skr. *pa-prāú* Gr. *πέ-πλη-νται*; in the Aorist, as Skr. 3rd sing. *á-prā-s* Gr. *ἔ-πλη-σ-α*; in the Participle, as Skr. *prā-tá-s* Lat. *im-plētu-s*; and in the Present, Skr. 2nd sing. *prá-si* Lat. *im-plē-s* from stem **pl-ē-* 'fill' √ *pel-*. Often it is just in the present stem that the stems formed with these suffixes do not occur; for instance, we have Skr. fut. *hv-ā-sya-tē* O.C.Sl. aor. *zŭv-a-chŭ* Skr. *hv-ā-tar-* O.C.Sl. *zŭv-a-telĭ* 'caller', but pres. Skr. *háv-a-tē* O.C.Sl. *zov-e-tŭ* 'calls'; Skr. *jñ-ā-tí-ṣ* 'near kinsman' Gr. *κασί-γνητο-ς γν-ω-τό-ς* 'kinsman, brother' Goth. *knōþs* (Stem *kn-ō-di-*) 'stock, tribe' from √ *ĝen-* 'gignere; Gr. *ἐνι-σπή-σω* 'I will say' O.Icel. *skāld* 'poet' for pr. Germ. **skē-đlá-* (Lidén, P.-B. Beitr. xv 507) from √ *seq-* 'say' pres. *ἐν-έπω*.

These forms with *-ā-* in Italic, Keltic, and Slavonic are also used for the Conjunctive. Besides Lat. *fuā-s* given above we may cite *tulā-s* (cp. Gr. Dor. *ἔ-τλᾱ-ς*). It is no more strange to find these suffixes in two moods than to find *-e-* and *-o-* in both indicative and conjunctive.

So with the *-ē-* which meets us in Italic future and conjunctive series, as Lat. fut. *so-lv-ē-s* conj. *ī-r-ē-s* Osc. sakraíter fusíd (§ 926), must be identified with *-ē-* in *ἐ-βλ-η-ν ἐ-μάν-η-ν*; compare Lat. *ed-e-t* with Lith. pret. *ėd-ė*, Osc. fu-i-d 'sit' (*i* = *ē*) with Gr. pret. *ἐ-φύ-η*.

Greek, in the mood answering to the Latin *ā*-conjunctive, has a variation, sometimes *-η-* and sometimes *-ω-*; as *λίπη-τε λίπω-μεν*. Perhaps there were originally two sets of conjunctive forms, one with *-ē-* and one with *-ō-*; and from these a mixed paradigm was made, *-ē-* or *-ō-* being taken according as the corresponding indicative form had *-e-* or *-o-*. If so, the conjunctive *λίπη-τε* must be really the same as the aorist passive *(ἐ)λίπη-τε*, Lat. *fuā-s* the same as *-bās*, *tulā-s* the same as Gr. *(ἔ-)τλᾱ-ς*. There was a closer connexion between *-ē-* and *-ō-* than either of them had with *-ā-*, as is proved by such forms as **gi̯-ē-* Gr. *ζῆ* : **gi̯-ō-* *ζώ-ω*, **bhs-ē-* Gr. *ψῆ* : **bhs-ō-* *ψω-ρό-ς* (other examples in § 587).

It would probably be much easier to thread our way through this labyrinth if we knew which of the three sounds

is represented by the *-ā-* of Aryan conjunctives. In the indicative forms, non-Aryan languages often give the clue; thus we derive Skr. *prā-si* from **plē-si* because Greek has πλῆ-το and Latin *-plē-s*, but *drā-ti* we derive from **dr-ā-ti*[1] because of Greek ἔ-δρᾱ-ν.

Such of these forms which serve for the Conjunctive will be left for examination together when we come to the Conjunctive, §§ 918 ff. (cp. § 489 pp. 47 f.).

As has already been mentioned (§ 487 p. 41), I believe that this *ā*-suffix is the same as the feminine suffix *-ā-*; compare Skr. perf. *ji-jyāú jyā-yas-ti* Gr. Ion. βε-βίη-ται βιή-σατο with the fem. Skr. *jyā-*, *jīyā-*, Gr. βίᾱ, from √*gei̯-* 'subdue, force' (Skr. *jáy-a-ti ji-nā-ti*). This is no bolder than to suppose that indic. ἄγ-ο-μεν and conj. εἴδ-ο-μεν contain the same *-o-* as ἀγ-ό-ς. And some verbal stems with *-ē-* are actually used as nouns, as Gr. χρ-ή 'necessity' beside κέ-χρη-μαι χρ-ῆ-σθαι; Hom. ὀμο-κλ-ή, 'loud cry or call' beside Cret. partic. ἀνα-κλή-μενο-ς; Lat. *qui-ē-s* abl. *quiē* beside perf. *quiē-vī*; Skr. *ps-ā-* 'food' beside *ps-ā-ti* cp. ψῆ for *ψη-ι̯ει. The same *ē*-nouns are seen in Lat. *plē-bam*, *licē-bat*, *ārē-bat*, *āre faciō*, O.C.Sl. *bě-achŭ žĭrě-achŭ* and the like (§ 896 Rem., §§ 899, 903).

Verbs made with these suffixes are often extended by *-i̯o-*; as beside Skr. *sn-ā́-ti* 'washes, bathes' Lat. *nā-s nā-mus* we have Skr. *snā-ya-tē* Lat. *nō* for **nā-(i̯)ō* O.Ir. 3rd sing. *snāid*; and it is impossible to draw a distinct line between the older inflexion and that with *-i̯o-*. Thus we must make frequent comparisons with the *i̯o-* conjugation of Class XXVIII.

In one other respect it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a hard and fast line. The class of verbs to which grammarians mostly restrict the term Denominative are often inseparable from this tenth class and its *i̯o*-extension; as Lat. *plantō* (for **plantā-(i̯)ō plantā-s* etc. from *plantā-* 'plant' like *nōnās* etc., Gr. Lesb. ἐ-τΐμᾱ-μεν ἐ-τΐμᾱ-τε from τῑμᾱ́- 'honour like ἔ-δρᾱ-μεν ἔ-δρᾱ-τε, Armen. *jana-m jana-mḱ* like *mna-m mna-mḱ*. That these denominatives had originally only *-i̯o-* (or

-ie) in all persons cannot be proven (cp. § 487 p. 42); and in view of the great number of forms like Lat. *plantā-s plantā-mus* without *-io-* in the Idg. languages, it is very improbable.

Class X.

Unreduplicated Root + *-ā-* *-ē-* or *-ō-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 579. Root + *-ā-*.

Pr. Idg. **dr-ā-ti* 'runs' (cp. Skr. *dr-áva-ti dr-ama-ti* etc., § 488 p. 47): Skr. *drā-ti* imper. *drā-hi*, Gr. *ἔ-δρᾱ-ν ἔ-δρᾱ-μεν*. **tr-ā-ti* (cp. Skr. *tar-* 'press through, pass over'): Skr. *trā-ti* 'rescues, saves' (orig. 'lets go through, or gets happily out of') mid. *trá-sva trá-dhvam* (*trá-ya-tē*), Lat. *in-trā-s -trā-mus* (1st sig. *-trō* for **-trā-iō*) and *trāns* Umbr. *traf trahaf* 'trans' (orig. nom. sing. of the participle, see Thielmann, Arch. Lat. Lex. IV 248 ff., 358 ff.).[1] **sn-ā-ti* 'washes, bathes' intr. (cp. Skr. *sn-āu-ti* 'trickles' partic. *sn-u-ta-s*, Gr. *ν-έω* fut. *ν-εύ-σομαι*): Skr. *sná-ti* 3rd dual *snā-tas* (*snā-ya-tē*), Lat. *nā-s nā-mus* (1st sing. *nō*), cp. Gr. *νάω* 'I flow' *νᾶ-μα*. **bhu-ā-* **bhuu-ā-* from √*bheu-* 'become, be': Lat. *-bā-s -bā-mus*, O.Ir. 3rd sing. *bā ba* (conj. and fut.), Lith. *bùvo* 'was' *bùvo-me*; variant **bhu-ē-* **bhuu-ē-*, see § 587. **sruu-ā-* from *sreu-* 'flow': Gr. Epidaur. *ἐρρύᾱ* 'flowed', Lith. *pa-srùvo* 'flowed'; variant **sruu-ē-* Gr. *ἐρρύη* § 589. **g-ā-t* **e-g-ā-t* 'went' (cp. **g-em-*, § 497 Rem. p. 57): Skr. *á-gā-t á-gā-ma*, Gr. *ἔ-βη ἔ-βη-μεν*. Sometimes verbs which originally belonged to Class I, and had gradation, were absorbed into this class and lost it: see § 495 p. 55.

Examples of similar conjugation in later denominative verbs from *ā*-stems: 1st pl. Armen. *jana-mk̄*, Gr. Aeol. *τίμᾱ-μεν*, Lat. *plantā-mus*, O.Ir. *no chara-m*, Lith. *jū́sto-me*.

It is naturally often doubtful whether an *ā*-verb belongs to the Primitive or the Denominative class, to use the terms

1) *intrāre extrāre* were clearly regarded by the Romans as derived from *intrā extrā*. But *trāns* makes it quite as probable that they are compounds of **trāre*. F. D. Allen, Am. Journ. Phil. I 143 ff., does not convince me.

in their received sense. For example, Lat. *forō forās,* O.H.G. *borōm borōs* 'I bore', common ground-form **bhr̥r-ā-*, beside O.H.G. *bora* f. 'borer' (cp. § 769).

§ 580. Aryan. Besides those mentioned in § 579, there are few Aryan verbs which can fairly be supposed to have original *-ā-*, to judge from the cognate languages. Skr. *śr-ā-ti* (gramm.) beside *śrā́-ya-ti* 'cooks, roasts' from √*k̑er-* (Gr. *κεράσ-σαι*, Skr. *śr̥-tá-s*); cp. Gr. *-κί-κρā-μι* 'I mix' Class XI, perf. *κέ-κρā-ται*, *ἄ-κρāτο-ς* 'unmixt' (= Skr. *śrā-tá-s*). Skr. *ml-ā-ti* 'softens, slackens, decays' 3rd pl. *ml-ā-nti* (beside *mlā́-ya-ti*) from √*mel-* 'molere', cp. Gr. Dor. *βλᾱ́-ξ βλη-χρό-ς* 'slack, flabby' (O.Ir. *mlāith blāith* 'soft, tender' perhaps with *l̥*, I § 306 p. 243). Skr. opt. *mnā-yā-t* 'commemoret' 3rd pl. *mnā-y-ur* from √*men-* 'think', cp. Gr. Dor. perf. *μέ-μνā-ται.* Skr. *dhy-ā-ti* beside *dhyā́-ya-ti* 'thinks of' (perf. *da-dhyāu*) beside *á-dī-dhē-t* § 537 p. 97, cp. Gr. *σᾶ-μα σῆ-μα* = Skr. *dhy-ā-man-* II § 117 p. 370.[1])

We subjoin a few more of the forms with *-ā-* whose suffix may be either Idg. *-ā-* or Idg. *-ē-* or *-ō-*: *ghr-ā-ti* 'smells' (perf. *ja-ghrāu* partic. *ghrā-tá-s*) beside *jí-ghar-ti* Class III (§ 540 p. 100); *dr-ā-ti* 'sleeps' (*da-drāu drā-ṇa-s*) beside Gr. *δαρ-θάνω* Lat. *dor-miō* (cp. the Author, M. U., I 43); *dhm-ā-nt-* 'blowing' (*da-dhmāu dhmā-tá-s*) beside *dhám-a-ti* Class II *A*; *khy-ā-ti* 'looks, seems, makes known' (*ca-khyāu khyā-tá-s* beside *á-khy-a-t* Class II *B* (see footnote).

Remark. Denominatives from *ā*-stems of the later stratum in Aryan form the present in *-ā-ya-ti*, not *-ā-ti*, see § 766. Forms like *mālā-ti* 'he is like a wreath' (*mālā-*) are an artificial product of a late period.

§ 581. Armenian. *mna-m* 'I remain, await' 1st pl. *mna-mk̔* (aor. *mna-çi*), from the root of Gr. *μέν-ω* 'I remain', and probably connected directly with Skr. *mn-ā-* Gr. *μν-ā-* (§ 580). *kea-m* 'I live' ground-form **gi̯i̯-ā-mi* (Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 134) or **gᵘ̯i̯ā-mi* (cp. Skr. *jīvā́-tu-ṣ* 'life', beside Skr. *jīva-ti* 'lives' Lat. *vīvō*, which was derived from

1) Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 32, connects *σᾶμα* with Skr. *khyā-ti*, for which see below.

√‾ *gei̯-* by the suffix *-u̯o-*, but was regarded very early as a verb of Class II; cp. § 488 p. 47). *orca-m* 'I break wind, belch' for **oruc-a-m*, cp. O.C.Sl. *ryga-ją* 'ructo'.

Denominatives with *-ā-* of the newer stratum are inflected just as these are; as *ǰana-m* 'I take pains, strive' 1[st] pl. *ǰana-mḱ* (*ǰan* 'pains, excitement, diligence'), *oλba-m* 'I bewail' 1[st] pl. *oλba-mḱ* (*oλb* 'lament'). *xroxta-m* 'I am haughty, defiant' 1[st] pl. *xroxta-mḱ* (*xroxt* 'haughty, defiant').

§ **582.** Greek. *ἔδρᾱ-ν* 'I ran' 1[st] pl. *ἔ-δρᾱ-μεν* 3[rd] pl. *ἔ-δρᾰ-ν*: Skr. *drā-ti*, see § 579 p. 121. *ἔ-τλη-ν* Dor. *ἔ-τλᾱ-ν* 'I endured' 1[st] pl. *ἔ-τλη-μεν* 3[rd] pl. *ἔ-τλᾰ-ν*, imper. *τλῆ-θι*, from √‾ *tel-* (*τολ-μή*, *τελάσσαι*). Hom. *πλῆ-το* 'drew near' (cp. Dor. *ἄ-πλᾱ-το-ς πλᾱ-τίο-ν*), beside *πελάζω* 'I bring near'. *ἔ-βη-ν* Dor. *ἔ-βᾱ-ν* 'I went': Skr. *á-gā-t*, see § 579 p. 121. Att. *ἐ-γήρᾱ-ν* 'I grew old' inf. *γηρᾶναι* from pres. *γηράσκω*. Epidaur. *ἐξ-ερρύᾱ*: Lith. *pa-srùvo* 'I flowed'. Hesych. *ἐφθίᾱ*: *ἀπέθανεν* (cod. *ἐφθιᾶ*). Other forms of the same kind collected by Fick in the Gött. Gel. Anz. for 1881, pp. 1430 ff., and Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., ɪɪ 128 f.

Denominatives with *-ā-* belonging to the newer stratum were conjugated in this Class in the Aeolic dialect; e. g. pl. *τί́μᾱ-μεν τί́μᾱ-τε* (but att. *τῑμῶμεν τῑμᾶτε*). The 1[st] sing. in *-αιμι* is a re-formation in place of *-ᾱ-μι*, and *-οιμι* instead of *-ω-μι*. Cp. §§ 589, 775.

Forms passing from Class I to Class X: *ἔ-στη-μεν* instead of **ἐ-στᾰ-μεν*, *ἔ-φθη-μεν* instead of **ἐ-φθᾰ-μεν* (but the middle keeps *φθᾰ-*, as *φθᾰ́-μενο-ς*). See § 495 p. 55.

Remark. Hom. *πλῆντο* instead of **πλᾶντο* following *πλήμην* etc., so *ἄηνται ἔμπληντο* instead of **ἀένται *-πλεντο*. Similarly opt. *ἐμ-πλῆτο* and *μεμνήμην κεκτήμην*, see § 944. But some are regular, act. *ἄεισι ἄεντες δράντες* (on *ἔδρᾱν ἔγνον* see § 1020. 2). Compare I § 611 Rem. p. 462.

§ **583.** Italic. The 1[st] sing. pres. in **-ā-mi* is lost; in its place Latin had always **-ā-i̯ō*, which became *-ō*. Lat. *trāns* Umbr. *traf trahaf*, Lat. *in-trā-s -trā-mus*: Skr. *trā-ti*; Lat. 1[st] sing. *in-trō* beside Skr. *trā́-ya-tē*, see § 579 p. 121. Lat.

fl-ā-s fl-ā-mus, cp. O.H.G. *blāu* 'I blow' for **bhl-ē-i̯ō* and Gr. *φλ-ύω* 'I abound'. Lat. *n-ā-s n-ā-mus*: Skr. *sn-á-ti* 'washes, bathes', see § 579 p. 121. Ital. **fā-* for **fu̯-ā-* from √*bheu̯-* 'become, be', pret. **-fā-m*: Lat. *amā-bā-s -bā-mus*, Osc. fu--fans 'erant' (§ 899), cp. Lat. conj. *fu-ā-s*: O.Ir. *bā ba* etc. (§ 579 p. 121). Lat. *hi-ā-s hi-ā-mus*, 1st sing. *hiō* = Lith. *žió-ju* 'open the mouth', cp. Lat. *hī-scō*, O.H.G. *gi-nō-m gei-nō-m* 'I gape'. Lat. *inquam* for **en-sq-ā-m* injunctive, √*seq-* 'say', cp. *in-qui-t in-quiu-nt* (Class XXVI § 717) Gr. *ἔνι--σπ-ε* (Class II *B*) *ἐνι-σπ-ή-σω*.

d-ā- from √*dō-* 'give' is found not only as a conjunctive (Lat. *ad-dā-s*, Osc. da-dad 'reddat'), but as indicative too, Lat. *dās dat*. The last two are doubtless injunctive forms (*dat* instead of **dā-d*), and *d-ā-s* : *ad-dā-s* = *-bā-s* : *fuā-s*, *tulā-s* : Gr. *ἔ-τλā-ς*.

era-m erā-s is to *es-t* what *ea-m* (used for conj.) is to *i-t*. The use of the injunctive **fu̯-ā-* = Lat. *-ba-m* for the imperfect certainly had something to do with the use of the injunctive *erā-* as imperfect. Some scholars (the latest is Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 187 f.) connect *eram* with Ion. *ἔην ἔησθα*; *ἦην* would be the augmented form; for another possible explanation see § 858. 2.

Other Verbs belonging to this class are: Lat. *juvā-s* (partic. *-jūtu-s* perf. *jūvī*) for **di̯ugu̯-ā-s*: Lith. *džiùgo-s* 'he broke out into rejoicing' (pres. 1st sing. *džiungù'-s*); *lav-ā-s* (beside *lav-i-s*), cp. perf. *lāvī*; *dom-ā-s cub-ā-s mic-ā-s ē-legāns* (beside *ē-ligere*) *sec-ā-s* (Umbr. pru-sekatu 'prosecato') and others, cp. perf. *domuī cubuī micuī secuī*. Doubtless we should also place here certain stems which have *-ā-* all through the verb, as *arā-s* perf. *arāvī* partic. *arātu-s*, cp. Gr. *ἀρόω* 'I plough' (Hom. 3rd pl. *ἀρόωσι* Heracl. *ἀράσσοντι*, Sütterlin, Zur Gesch. der Verba denom. im Altgr., I 22), O.C.Sl. *orā-* 'to plough' in the aor. *ora-chŭ* partic. pret. act. *ora-vŭ* inf. *ora-ti*.

In Latin, there are a number of verbs which have the *ā*-flexion when compounded, but some other when not. Examples: *oc-cupāre* : *capiō*, *suspicārī* : *speciō*, *prōflīgāre* : *flīgō*, *com-*

-pellāre : *pellō, aspernārī* : *spernō.* This difference had probably something to do with a difference of meaning; the compound as contrasted with the simple verb often had a perfect (aorist) meaning. The *ā*-formation gave an aoristic meaning, and *occupāre* stands to *capiō*, much in the same relation as Gr. *μανῆναι* to *μαίνομαι*, *prōflīgāre* to *flīgō* as *λιπῆναι* to *λείπομαι*. The indic. pres. *occupa-t* is then an aorist formation, like *lic-et* (Gr. *ἔλιπη*) beside *linquō* (§§ 590, 708), conj. *ad-venās ē-venās* (beside Osc. kúm-bĕned 'convenit') beside *veniō*, *tag-i-t* beside *tangi-t*, and the like. This *ā*-aorist seems to be as old as the *ē*-aorist: cp. Gr. Epidaur. *ἐρρύā* 'he flowed', Lith. *pa-srùvo* 'he flowed' *kìlo* 'he raised himself'; perhaps to this class belongs the Armenian *a*-aorist, as *cn-a-y* 'genui, natus sum' (Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 130, cp. § 573). Compare further § 708 Rem.

In the whole range of Italic dialects, the later group of denominatives with *-ā-* went hand in hand with the present flexion of this tenth Class. Lat. *plantā-s -ā-mus* 1st sing. *plantō* like *in-trā-s* etc. Umbr. *furfant* 'februant' imper. *portatu* 'portato', Osc. faamat 'habitat' sakarater 'sacratur' imper. *deivatud* 'iurato'. Compare §§ 738, 777.

§ **584.** Keltic. Irish has only one monosyllabic present stem of the same kind as Idg. *tr-ā-*, to wit, **bhu̯-ā-*. This stem is certainly attested in conjunctive and future use (cp. Lat. *fu-a-m*), as 3rd sing. *bā ba* = **bhu̯-ā-t.* Whether it acted also as the preterite copula (cp. Lat. *-bam*), is doubtful, because its 3rd person singular appears after particles as *-bu -bo* (e. g. *robu robo*), which looks like original **bhū-t* (Gr. *ἔ-φῡ*). Most likely the 1st and 3rd sing. *ba* and 3rd pl. *batir*, which still have those forms even in Old Irish, should be derived from a preterite **bhu̯-ā-*.

Then there are a few dissyllabic present stems, as O.Ir. *scarā-* 'sunder, part from' for **skr̥r-ā-* (I § 298. 3 p. 237), *scarᵃim scarᵃi scarᵃid scarmme scarthe scarᵃit* for **scarā-mi -ā-si* etc., also *no scaru* for **scarā-i̯ō* like Lat. *juvō.* And

again, the same inflexion is used with the later group of denominative verbs, as *com-alnaim* 'I fill up' (§ 778). Even more clearly than in Irish we see this *ā*-flexion in the British dialects; 3rd sing. O.Brit. *-ot* (with *o* = *ā*), e. g. O.Bret. *cospitiot* 'titubat' *crihot* 'vibrat'.

Remark. Remarkable forms of the verb *-tau -tō* 'I am' (= Idg. **stā-i̯ō*, Class XXVI § 706) are the 3rd sing. *at-tā* and the plural *-tam -tad -tat*, which may correspond to Lat. *sta-t* and *stā-mus stā-tis sta-nt*. That *at-tā* comes from **-stā(i̯)e-t* can hardly be proved, and the unaccented *-tam -tad -tat* need not be shortened bye-forms of accented *attaam*, *ataïd ataaith*, *at-taat*, which may be secondary re-formates. Still I do not believe that we need assume, parallel to *stā-*, an original stem *st-ā*, i. e. an extension of the root by the *ā*-suffix of this tenth class; but I think that in Italic as in Keltic there was a tendency for verbs to pass from Class XXVI into this, caused by parallel present stems like *tr-ā-* and *tr-ā-i̯o-*. Compare § 505 pp. 71 f., §§ 706, 716, 719.

§ 585. Germanic. No monosyllabic stems of the first stratum, without *-i̯o-*, are found at all; unless indeed it be represented by O.H.G. *tuo-m* from √ *dhē-* (see § 507 p. 74). But the said inflexion has many representatives amongst disyllabic stems (mostly denominatives of the later stratum), cp. Goth. *mitō-s* 'thou measurest' *salbō-s* 'thou anointest', *mitō-þ salbō-þ*, *-ō-m -ō-þ*, *-ō-nd*, O.H.G. *borō-m -ō-s* and so forth (cp. §§ 739, 781).

§ 586. Balto-Slavonic. Monosyllabic stems are declined in Class XXVIII; as Lith. *ži-ó-ju* 'hio' *žió-ji -j(a) -ja-me -ja-te*, O.C.Sl. *tr-a-ją* 'I last, endure' *tra-je-ši -je-tŭ -je-mŭ -je-te -jątŭ* (cp. § 740). But imperatives like Lith. *žió-k* = Lat. *hiā* (§ 957) should be classed here.

Dissyllabic stems without *-i̯o-* spread very widely in Baltic. To this class belong a very numerous group of preterites in *-au*, as Lith. *buvaũ* 'I was' *buvaĩ bùvo bùvo-me bùvo-te*: Lat. *-b-ā-s*; *pa-srùvo* 'flowed': Gr. Epidaur. *ἐρρύα* (§ 582 p. 123); *džiug-aũ-s* 'I broke out into rejoicing': Lat. *juv-ā-s* (§ 583 p. 124); *gij-aũ* 'I revived' (cp. Avest. *jyāiti-š* 'life' Gr. *ζῇ* 'lives' for **gi̯-ē-i̯e-*, from √ *gei̯-*); *kil-aũ* 'I raised myself', *vilk-aũ* 'I dragged', *snìg-o* 'it snowed'. With augment *ėj-aũ* 'I went'

(§ 480 p. 28): Lat. *eā-* for **-ei̯-ā-* as conjunctive. Also presents; as *bij-aŭ-s* 'I fear', *lìnd-au* 'I am stowed away somewhere'.

These forms had originally secondary personal endings, *-ā-m -ā-s -ā-t* etc., like Lat. *-bam bās.* But the 1st and 2nd sing. were transformed, the ending of *suk-ù suk-ì* being added to *-ā-*. See on this point § 991. 1.

In verbs like *bij-aŭ-s lìnd-au*, *-ā-* was carried through the whole verb (fut. *bijó-siu-s lìndo-siu* etc.). Thus they were related to the *ā*-preterite (*buv-aŭ* beside fut. *bú-siu*, *dżiug-aŭ-s* beside fut. *dżiùk-siu-s*), as Lat. *ar-ā-* to *juv-ā-* (§ 583 pp. 124 f.).

O.C.Sl. has only one present of this sort, *im-a-mĭ* 'I have' *im-a-ši -a-tŭ -a-mŭ -a-te*; parallel stem *im-ě-* in partic. pret. act. *imě-vŭ* etc., cp. Lith. pret. 3rd sing. *ẽm-ė.*

Amongst the later Lithuanian denominatives those in *-au* with inf. *-yti*, as *jů'stau* 'I gird' (*jů'styti*) from *jů'sta* 'girdle', see § 782. 4. Another group of later denominatives from stems in *-ā-* has *-o-ju -o-ti*; e. g. *dovanó-ju* 'I present', inf. *dovanó-ti*, from *dovanà*, see §§ 769, 783.

§ 587. Root + *-ē-* or *-ō-*.

Pr. Idg. **gl-ē-ti* from √*gel-* 'fall' (cp. Gr. *βέλ-ος* 'missile' *βολ-ή* 'throw'): Skr. *gl-ā-ti* 'falls off, loses strength' (*glā́-ya-ti*), Gr. *ἔ-βλη-ν* 'I received a blow, I was struck', 1st pl. *ἔ-βλη-μεν* mid. *ἔ-βλη-το*, opt. *βλείην βλεῖμεν.* **pl-ē- *pl-ō-* from √*pel-* 'fill' (Goth. *fil-u* 'much' etc.): Skr. 2nd sing. hortative *prā́-si* aor. *á-prā-t*, Gr. *πλῆ-το πλῆ-ντο* (§ 582 Rem. p. 123), Lat. *im-plē-s -plē-mus -plē-tur* (1st sing. *pleō* for **plē-i̯ō*); parallel stem **pl̥l-ē-* in Lith. *pýlė* 'he shed' instead of **pilė* (§ 593); **pl-ō-* in Lat. *plōrāre* Goth. *flō-du-s* 'flood', and doubtless in Gr. *ἐπ-έπλων* 'I sailed over' pres. *πλώ-ω* partic. *πλω-τό-ς.* **(s)n-ē- *(s)n-ō-* 'weave, spin, sew' (*(s)n-ei̯-* in O.C.Sl. *ni-tĭ* 'thread'? cp. Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelerw., 64): Gr. 3rd sing. *ἔ-ννη* Herodian II 507 22 L. (*νέω* from **snē-i̯ō*), Lat. *nē-s nē-mus* (cp. O.H.G. *nāu* 'I sew' for **(s)nē-i̯ō*); **sn-ō-* in O.Ir. *snā-the* 'thread' O.H.G. *snuo-r* 'cord, band'; Skr. *snā́-van-* Avest. *snā-varᵉ*

'band, sinew' may be derived from *_sn-ē-_ on the strength of Gr. _νεῦρο-ν_ 'sinew' (for *_(σ)νη-ϝ-ρο-ν_). *_ĝn-ē-_ *_ĝn-ō-_ 'learn, know' from √ _ĝen-_ (Avest. _ā-zainti-š_ 'information' Lith. _pa-žintì-s_ 'knowing, knowledge', Skr. 2nd sing. imper. _jñ-a_ Class II _B_): Skr. opt. _jñā-yā-t_ and _jñēyā́-t_ (§ 940), Gr. _ἔ-γνω-ν ἔ-γνω-μεν_ opt. _γνοῖ-μεν_, cp. O.H.G. _knāu_ for *_ĝnē-i̯ō_, O.C.Sl. _znajetŭ_ for *_ĝnō-i̯e-_.[1]) *_mn̥n-ē-_ from √ _men-_ 'think' (Gr. _μέν-ος_ 'mind' etc.): Gr. _ἐ-μάνη ἐ-μάνη-μεν_, Lith. _mìn-ė mìn-ė-me_, cp. Goth. 3rd sing. _munáiþ_ for *_mun-ē-i̯i-đi_ (§§ 708, 739); also *_mn-ā-_ § 580 p. 122. *_i̯-ē-_ *_i̯-ō-_ 'go' from √ _ei̯-_ 'go' (Gr. _εἶ-μι_): Skr. _yā́-ti yā-más_ mid. _yā-mahē_, Goth. 2nd sing. _iddjē-s_ (§ 478 p. 26), cp. Goth. _j-ē-r_ 'year' and Gr. _ὥ-ρο-ς_ 'year' _ὥ-ρā_ 'season' O.C.Sl. _ja-rŭ_ 'spring'; Lith. _jó-ju_ 'I ride' and Lat. _jā-nu-s jānua_ doubtless from *_i̯-ā-_, from the same √ _ei̯-_ (cp. Lat. conj. _e-ā-s_). *_bhu̯-ē-_ *_bhuu̯-ē-_ from √ _bheu̯-_ 'become, be' (Skr. _bháv-a-ti_): Gr. _ἐ-φύη ἐ-φύη-μεν_, O.C.Sl. 2nd and 3rd sing. imperf. _bě_ for *_bhu̯ē-s -t_ (beside _běchŭ běchomŭ_ etc. like _želěchŭ_ etc. beside _želě_, _dělachŭ_ etc. beside _děla_ and the like), the same stem in Lat. _fē-tu-s_; *_bhu̯-ō-_ perhaps in Gr. _φω-λεό-ς_ O.Icel. _bō-l_ 'resting-place, position'; cp. *_bhu̯-ā-_ *_bhuu̯-ā-_ § 579 p. 121. *_u̯-ē-_ *_u̯-ō-_ 'to blow' (cp. the Author, M. U. I 27 ff., Per Persson, _op. cit._, 91, 225): Skr. _vā́-ti_ pl. _vā́-nti_ (_vā́-ya-ti_), Gr. _ἄη-σι_ mid. _ἄη-ται_, Lat. _ventu-s_ Goth. _vind-s_ 'wind' for *_u̯ē-nt-o-_ like Gr. _ἄ-εντ-_ for *_ἀϝη-ντ-_ (I § 612 p. 462, § 614 p. 464), cp. Goth. _vaia_ for *_u̯ē-i̯ō_ O.C.Sl. _vě-je-tŭ_; *_u̯ō-_ in Gr. _ἄω-το-ς_ 'down, piece of wool' (Goth. perf. _vai-vō_ is doubtless a re-formate following _sai-sō_ from √ _sē-sə-_, see §§ 883, 884). *_bhs-ē-_ *_bhs-ō-_ (cp. I § 552 p. 403) 'pound small, chew, grind up' beside Skr. _bá-bhas-ti_ Class V (§ 556 p. 108): Skr. _psā́-ti_, cp. Gr. _ψῆ_ for *_ψη-i̯ει_; *_bhs-ō-_ in Gr. _ψώ-ω ψώ-χω_ 'I grind or rub to powder' _ψω-ρό-ς_ 'scabby'. *_liq-ē-_ from √ _lei̯q-_ 'leave' (Gr. _λείπ-ω_ etc.): Gr.

1) It is true that O.H.G. _knāu_ is not an unexceptionable example for *_ĝn-ē-_. It might be assumed that this present was formed in connexion with a perfect Goth. *_kai-knō_ and on the analogy of *_sē-i̯ō_ (Goth. _saia_ O.H.G. _sāu_): _sai-sō_ from √ _sē-_ (_sə-_).

ἐ-λίπ-η-ν -η-μεν, Lat. *lic-e-t.*[1]) Lat. *tac-ē-s -ē-mus*, O.H.G. *dag-ē-s* 'thou art silent'. Lat. *scat-ē-s -ē-mus*, Lith. *su-skat-ė* 'he leapt up'.

With dissyllabic stems in *-ē-*, in which the root remained a separate syllable, the *ē*-suffix does not appear in so many different parts of the verb as with monosyllabic stems. In a number of verbs, especially intransitive verbs, of the European languages, a firm connexion sprang up between present formations with the suffix *-i̯o-* and forms with *-ē-*, as Gr. *μαίνομαι ἐμάνην* = O.C.Sl. *mĭnją mĭnĕ-ti*. See § 708.

§ 588. Aryan. Almost all the Sanskrit forms which can with any kind of certainty be placed in this class have been mentioned in § 587. Beside *yā́-ti* we have Avest. *yāiti*; beside *vā́-ti*, Avest. *vāiti* 3rd pl. *vā̊-nti.*

In this class was conjugated Ar. *pā-* 'protect', whose *-ā-*, in view of Gr. *πῶυ* 'herd' (II § 104 p. 315, § 105 Rem. p. 318) seems to look like Idg. *-ō-*: 2nd sing. Skr. *pā́-si*, Avest. *pā-hi*, imper. 3rd sing. Skr. *pā́-tu* Avest. *pā-tū* O.Pers. *pā-tūv* 2nd sing. Skr. *pā-hí* O.Pers. *pā-dīy* 2nd pl. Skr. *pā-tá* Avest. *pā-ta*, opt. Avest. *pā-yā-þ*. On *πῶυ ποι-μήν*, compare now Per Persson, in the work so often cited, 118.

§ 589. Greek. Of monosyllabic stems may be further mentioned (cp. § 587): *φρ-η-* 'bring' from √*bher-* (*φέρ-ω*): *ἐκ-φρη-ται* 'is let out' partic. *ἐπ-εισ-φρείς* infin. *εἰσ-φρῆναι* (forms like imper. *φρές* come by analogy of *ἵημι* and the like, see the Author, Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1880, 217 ff.). *χρ-η-* 'wish, desire' beside Skr. *hár-ya-ti* 'desires': 2nd sing. *χρῆ-σθα*, cp. *χρῄ* for **χρη-i̯ει* (Mekler, Beitr. zur Bildung des gr. Verb., pp. 23 f.). *κλ-η-* 'call' beside *καλέω*: Cret. part. *ἀν-κλη-μενο-ς* beside *ἀνα-καλέω* (Th. Baunack, Philologus XLIX 593 f.), cp. *ὁμο-κλή*

1) Bersu (Die Gutturalen, p. 154) denies that *licet* and *linquō* are connected, because *licet* has *c*, and *qu* would be expected. I conjecture that there was once a form **liciō* (Skr. *ríc-ya-tē* Gr. *λίσσωμεν* § 707), which came regularly from **licu̯-i̯ō* (as *farciō* comes from **farcu̯-i̯ō* § 715). Hence *licet*. Compare § 708.

(Hom. *ὁμοκλέομεν*). *σβ-η-* 'quench' beside *σβ-εσ-* (§ 643) √ *seg-*: *ἔ-σβ-η-ν ἔ-σβ-η-μεν*. We must also mention in this place, although it is true they are not all old formations, some forms of the 2rd sing. aor. in *-θης* = Skr. *-thās* (see below), as *ἐ-βλή-θης* beside *ἔ-βλη-το*, *ἐ-νή-θης* beside *ἔ-ννη*, see § 587 p. 127; *ἐ-ρρή-θης* beside *ϝρ-η-* 'speak' *ῥη-τό-ν* = Avest. *urvāte-m* 'determination, command' (I § 157 p. 141) from √ *u̯er-* (Gr. *εἴρω* Lat. *ver-bu-m*);[1]) *ἐ-κλή-θης* beside *κλ-η-* 'call' *ἀν-κλή-μενο-ς κέ-κλη-μαι ὁμο-κλή* (see above).

Of dissyllabic stems we have already mentioned *ἐ-μάν-η-ν*, *ἐ-φύ-η-ν*, and *ἐ-λίπ-η-ν* in § 587. This *ē*-formation, with intransitive meaning, became fertile (this is what the grammars call the "strong aorist"); a few further examples are *ἐ-δάρ-η-ν* 'I was flayed' √ *der-*, *ἐ-ρρύ-η* 'flowed' √ *sreu̯-*, *ἐ-τάρπ-η-ν ἐ-τράπ-η-ν* 'I enjoyed myself, was glad' √ *terp-*, *ἐ-κλάπ-η-ν* 'I let myself be deceived, was deceived' √ *qlep-*, *ἐ-μίγ-η-ν* 'I mixed myself' √ *mei̯k̑-*, *ἐ-ζύγ-η-ν* 'had myself yoked, was joined' √ *jeu̯g-*, *ἐ-σάπ-η* 'rotted' from *σήπ-ω* 'cause to rot', *ἐξ-επλάγη-ν* 'I was frightened' from pres. *ἐκ-πλήττω* cp. Lith. *plãk-ė* 'he struck' (pres. *plak-ù*). There was a reason why this category should become very large. Medio-passive forms of the 2nd sing. in *-θης*, as *ἐ-δό-θης* = Skr. *á-di-thās*, *ἐ-κτά-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣ̌a-thās* (Class I), *ἐ-βλ-ή-θης* beside *ἔ-βλ-η-το* (Class X), *ἐ-σχ-έ-θης* beside *ἔ-σχ-ε-το* (Class II *B*); and forms from the *s*-aorists, as *ἐρείσθης* beside *ἐρείσατο* (*ἐρείδ-ω* 'I support, press against'), *ἐμείχθης* = **ἐ-μεικ-σ-θης* beside *ἔμεικτο* = **ἐ-μεικ-σ-το* *μίγ-νῡ-μι* 'I mix');[2]) — these were all regarded as being on a par with *ἐλίπη-ς* etc., and then, by analogy of *ἐλίπη-ν ἐλίπη* etc. we have *ἐδόθη-ν ἐδόθη* and so forth, that is, from this grew the whole series of the "weak aorist passive". Compare O.Ir. 1st sing. *-burt* by analogy of 3rd sing. *-bert*, where *-t* is the middle personal

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1) *ἐρρέθης εἰρέθης* i. e. **e-u̯r-e-thēs* follows Class II *B* (§ 527 p. 90), cp. Skr. *á-khy-a-t* beside *khy-ā-ti*, imper. *jñ-a* beside *jñ-ā-sya-ti*, etc.

2) Compare § 836, on *ἐ-κορέσ-θης* and § 840 on *ἐ-κρεμάσ-θης*.

ending *-to* (§ 506 pp. 72 f.), and Lith. 1st sing. *eitù* by analogy of 3rd sing. *eĩ-t* = Gr. εἶ-σι (§ 686 Rem. 2).

Dissyllabic stems with *-ō-*, are rare in Attic (cp. ἐ-γήρᾱ-ν § 582 p. 123): ἑάλω-ν for *ἠ-ἁλω-ν (§ 479 p. 27) 'fell a prisoner, was captured' 1st pl. ἑάλω-μεν partic. ἁλόντ-; ἐ-βίω-ν 'I lived' 1st pl. ἐ-βίω-μεν.

The Aeolic dialect inflects the whole group of newly formed denominatives in -έω and -όω, and the Causatives in -έω (Class XXXII) as though belonging to Class X; e. g. Lesb. φίλη-μι 'I love, am wont' from φίλο-ς, φόρη-μι 'I carry' (Class XXXII), στεφάνω-μι 'I crown' from στέφανο-ς (Att. φιλῶ for φιλέω, φορῶ for φορέω, στεφανῶ for στεφανόω), 2nd pl. φίλη-τε στεφάνω-τε, 3rd pl. φίλεισι στεφάνοισι for *-ενσι *-ονσι (I § 205 p. 172), mid. φίλη-μαι στεφάνω-μαι. This was a new formation entirely, which came naturally because other tenses than the present were alike in the two classes, for instance ἀήσεται : φιλήσεται, γνώ-σεται : στεφανώ-σεται, and because of the old Aeolic inflexion of *ā*-stems (§ 578 p. 120); for verbs in -ημι, another factor in the change may have been reduplicated stems like κί-χη-μι Class XI (§ 594), and the singular indic. pres. of verbs in -ημι or -ωμι may have been influenced by τίθη-μι δίδω-μι respectively.[1]) However, it must not be forgotten that φιλέετε στεφανόομεν would regularly become φίλητε στεφάνωμεν in Aeolic.

Remark. As regards η ω in forms like ἄηνται, (Lesb.) στεφάνωνται, ἐμ-πλῆτο etc., see § 582 Rem. p. 123; and for the 3rd pl. act. pret. ἔμιγεν ἔγνον etc. see § 1020. 2.

590. Italic. Of stems originally monosyllabic I mention a few others (cp. § 587): *fl-ē-s fl-ē-mus*, connected with O.H.G. *blāu* 'I blow' Gr. φλ-έω φλ-ύω 'I overflow, trickle' and doubtless with *fl-ō-s*. Compare also *spr-ē-vi spr-ē-tu-s*

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1) Compare especially 2nd 3rd sing. φίλης φίλη like τίθης τίθη, variants φίλεις φίλει; and στεφάνοις στεφάνοι like δίδοις δίδοι. Similarly, we have τίμαις τίμαι like ἵσταις ἵσται. Then the diphthong passes to the 1st sing., giving στεφάνοιμι τίμαιμι (cp. ἵσταιμι).

from *sper-nō*; *qui-ē-scō qui-ē-vī*, connected with Avest. *šyęiti-š* 'wellbeing, place of delight, home' (II § 100 p. 297) and Gr. *τε-τίη-μαι* 'I am frightened' (de Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling., VII 86 f.) beside Goth. *hvei-la* 'while, time' O.C.Sl. *po-koj-ĭ* 'rest'; *(g)n-ō-scō (g)n-ō-vī* beside Gr. *ἔ-γν-ω-ν* (§ 587 p. 128).

Dissyllabic stems, usually with intransitive meaning (cp. the Greek "passive aorist" in *-η-ν* § 589 p. 130). *lic-e-t*, Osc. líkítud *licitud* 'liceto': Gr. *ἐ-λίπη*, § 587 p. 129. *vid-ē-s vid-ē-mus*, cp. Lith. *pa-vydė́-ti* 'invidere' O.C.Sl. *vid-ě-ti* 'to see'; *videō* for **u̯id-ē-i̯ō* like Goth. *vitái-þ* 'looks towards something, observes'; notice Umbr. *virseto* 'visum'. *sil-ē-s*; with *sileō* cp. Goth. *silái-þ* 'silet'. *rub-ē-s*, cp. O.C.Sl. *rŭd-ě-ti* 'redden, blush'. *fav-ē-s*, cp. O.C.Sl. *gov-ě-ti* 'religiose vereri, εὐλαβεῖσθαι, venerari, αἰδεῖσθαι' (see Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1889, p. 47); *faveō* like *gověją*. *val-ē-s*, cp. Lith. *gal-ė́-ti* 'to be able' (not so Bezzenberger in his Beitr. XVI 256). *tac-ē-s*: O.H.G. *dag-ē-s* 'art silent'; *tac-eō* like Goth. *þahái-þ*; observe Umbr. tašez *tases tasis* 'tacitus' pl. *tasetur* 'taciti'. *hab-ē-s*, Umbr. habe 'habet' habetu *habitu* 'habeto': O.H.G. *hab-ē-s* (√ *khap- khab-* or *khabh- khab-*). Further, Lat. *clu-ē-s* √ *k̑leu̯-*; *torp-ē-s* for **tr̥p-ē-* (I § 303 p. 241); *cand-ē-s* doubtless for **q̑n̥d-ē-* from √ *(s)qend-* (Skr. *ścand-rá- cand-rá-*, *cáni-ścad-a-t*); *liqu-ē-s* and others; Osc. *loufit* 'libet, vel' (Bréal, Mém. Soc. Ling. IV 145 f., 404 f.) beside Lat. *lubet*, closely connected with Goth. *lubáin-s* 'hope', and, as we shall see in § 708, with Skr. pres. *lúbh-ya-ti*; Umbr. *trebeit* 'versatur' from √ *treb-* 'build', which doubtless comes from **treb-ē-ti* rather than **treb-ī-ti* 1st sing. **treb-iō* (in Class XXVI, § 715). With nasal suffix, Lat. *langu-ē-s* from √ *slēg-* (§ 632). On this present in *-eō* compare § 708.

In the same way are inflected a late group of denominative verbs in *-eō*, and the Causatives in *-eō* (Class XXXII), e. g. *albeō albē-s* etc. from *albu-s*, and *moneō monē-s* etc. See §§ 777, 802.

§ **591.** Keltic. I know nothing that can be classed here. *do-gniu* 'I do, make, work' 3rd sing. *gniith*, inflected just like

biu, which comes from **bhu̯-ii̯ō* (§ 719), is therefore from **gn-ii̯ō* not **gn-ē-i̯ō*.

§ **592.** Germanic. Goth. *iddja* 'I went' *iddjē-s* (pl. *iddjēdum* following *nasidēdum*): Skr. *á-yā-m*, see § 478 p. 26, § 587 p. 128, § 886 Rem. Goth. *vind-s* O.H.G. *wint* O.Icel. *vindr* 'wind': Lat. *ventu-s* contains the participle **u̯ē-nt-* 'blowing', see § 587 p. 128. Elsewhere, monosyllabic stems only have the *i̯o*-suffix (Class XXVIII), as Goth. *vaia* O.H.G. *wāu* 'I blow' for **u̯ē-i̯ō*.

To this tenth class belong dissyllabic stems in *-ē-* as inflected in Old High German. *dag-ē-m* 'I am silent' *-ē-s -ē-t -ēm-ēs -ē-t -ē-nt-*: Lat. *tac-ē-s* etc., *habē-m*: Lat. *hab-ē-s*, see § 590 p. 132. *dol-ē-m* 'I suffer, endure', cp. Lith. *tylė́-ti* 'to be still, silent' (long *i* not original), common ground-form **tl̥l-ē-* from √ *tel-*. *leb-ē-m* 'I live', cp. O.C.Sl. *pri-lĭpě-ti* 'hold or cleave to' Gr. ἀλιφῆναι from ἀλείφω 'anoint, smear' (for the derived meaning compare O.Icel. *lifa* 'be left over, live'). On these O.H.G. verbs in *-ēm* and their relation to Goth. verbs in *-a- -áis* (as *dagēm*: *þaha*) see § 708.

§ **593.** Balto-Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *bě* 'eras, erat' for **bhu̯-ē-s* **bhu̯-ē-t*, see § 587 p. 128. Lith. *ent-* 'going' perhaps for **i̯-ē-nt*, beside Goth. *iddj-ē-s* Skr. *y-á-nt-*, see § 511 p. 77.

Then comes the Lith. preterite in *-ė* (3rd sing.), whose high antiquity in Baltic is vouched for by Pruss. *weddē* = Lith. *vẽdė* 'he led'. *pýlė*, *mìnė*, *su-skatė* were mentioned in § 587, *plākė* in § 590. Compare further *vìrė* from *vérdu* 'I cook, boil', *mìrė* from *mìr-sztu* 'I die', *gìmė* from *gem-ù* 'I am born', *gìnė* from *gen-ù* 'I hunt, drive', *tãpė* from *tamp-ù* 'I become' (as to *ė* in the root-syllable of *vėmė* from *vemiù* 'I vomit', *gėrė* from *geriù* 'I drink' and the like, see § 894). These forms had originally secondary endings, *-*ē-m* *-*ē-s*; the 1st and 2nd sing., however, were transformed, the endings of *suk-ù suk-ì* being added to *-ē-*, and then *-ē-u -ē-i* became regularly *-iau -ei*, as *vedżiaũ vedeĩ*, *viriaũ vire*

(Wiedemann, Lit. Praet., 32, 184).[1]) Compare § 586 p. 126 on *buvaū buvaĩ*, and § 991. 1.

Lastly should be mentioned imperatives like *minė-k* 'think of' *pa-vydė-k* 'invide'; these answer to the Greek and Latin imperatives *μάνη-θι vidē* (§ 708).

Class XI.

Reduplicated Root + -ā-, -ē-, -ō-, forming the Present Stem.

§ 594. Reduplicator in *-i* (compare Classes III and IV).

Reduplicated Root + -ā-. Pr. Idg. **gi-g-ā-ti* 'goes' (cp. § 497 Rem. p. 57, § 579 p. 121): Skr. *jígā-ti* 2nd pl. *jígā-ta* (partic. *jíg-at-* in Class III), Gr. *βίβη-σι* 3rd pl. Dor. *βίβα-ντι* (cp. G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² p. 431), partic. *βιβάς*.

Gr. *κίγ-κρā-μι* 'I mix' imper. *ἐγ-κίκρā*, beside Skr. *śr-ā-ti* Class X (§ 580 p. 122); cp. below, on *πίμ-πλη-μι*. Gr. *δί-ζη-μαι* 'I seek, strive' for **δι-δι̯-ā-μαι* beside *δί-ζ-ο-μαι*, Class IV *B* (§ 549 p. 106) and beside Skr. *á-dī-dē-t* Class III (§ 537 p. 97); **δι̯ā-* we infer from Aeol. *ζάτημι* (Att. *ζητέω*) and Dor. *ζāτεύω* from the partic. **di̯-ā-to-*.

Possibly Idg. *-ā-* is contained in Germ. **ti-tr-ō-mi* O.H.G. *zittarōm* 'I tremble' O.Icel. *titra* 'I tremble, shake', from √*der-* 'burst' (cp. Skr. *dar-* 'push apart, lose one's head, be frightened').

Reduplicated Root + -ē-. Gr. *-πί-πλη-μι πίμ-πλη-μι* imper. Hom. *ἐμ-πίπληθι* partic. *-πιπλείς* (Hesiod, Hippocrates) beside *πλ-ῆ-το* Class X § 587 p. 127. *-πί-πρη-μι πίμ-πρη-μι*

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1) I hold Wiedemann's explanation of *-iau* to be correct, nothwithstanding Streitberg to the contrary (Idg. Forsch., I 267). Streitberg has overlooked one fact: to wit, that the diphthong *-ēu̯* in these words first appeared in Baltic, and is not so old as the pre-dialect period of Balto-Slavonic.

'I kindle', √ *per-*. ἵλημι 'I am gracious' imper. Hom. ἵληθι for *σι-σλη-, √ *sel-*. κί-χρη-σι 'lends, borrows' Dor. κίγ-χρη-τι, beside χρ-ή and χερ-νής 'needy, poor'. τί-τρη-μι 'I bore', √ *ter-* τέρ-ε-τρο-ν; cp. O.H.G. *drāu* 'I turn' from the same stem *tr-ē-* (§ 739). The weak persons of these Greek verbs (and probably of κίγ-κρᾱ-μι too) usually follow Class III, as -πίπλα-μεν = Skr. *pi-pr̥-más*, ἵλα-μαι τίτρα-μαι etc. (ἵλα-θι beside ἵλη-θι, πιμπλᾱ́ς beside -πιπλείς); this was due to present tenses like ἵστημι ἵσταμεν; Sanskrit offers a parallel in forms of the perfect system like *pa-pr-ā́ pa-pr-āú* : *pa-pr̥-vā́s-* (§ 850). See § 542 p. 102, § 621, where too is given the origin of the nasal in the reduplicator of πίμ-πλημι κίγ-κρᾱμι etc.[1])

Gr. κί-χ-η-μι 'I reach, find, catch up' 1st pl. κί-χη-μεν partic. κι-χή-μενο-ς. Origin uncertain.

O.H.G. *wi-wint* 'whirlwind' beside *wint* (§ 592 p. 133) was perhaps reduplicated first as a substantive.

Remark. Some verbs of Classes III and IV have an *-ā*-suffix in Italic in non-present tenses. Umbr. *an-dirsafust* a-teřa-fust 'circumtulerit' for **di-d-ā-* from √ *dō-* 'give' pres. Umbr. Osc. 1st sing. **di-d-ō*; Falisc. *pipafo* 'bibam' cp. Skr. 3rd pl. *pi-p-atē* Lat. *bi-b-i-t* § 539 p. 100, § 553 p. 107; Volsc. *sistiatiens* 'statuerunt' from **sistā-tens* (Osthoff, Perf. 244) beside Lat. *si-st-ō*. These *ā*-stems are identical with the *ā*-conjunctives of these verbs (Pelign. *di-d-a* 'det', Lat. *bi-b-ā-s*, *si-st-ā-s*) and are proofs of the wide range which the *ā*-suffix originally had (see § 578 pp. 118 ff.).

§ 596. Fuller Reduplication (cp. Class VII). Skr. *dári-drā-ti* beside *dr-ā́-ti* 'runs', *yāyā-vará-s* 'walking or moving about' from a presumed **yā-yā-ti* connected with *y-ā́-ti* 'goes'. Armen. *mṙ-mṙ-a-m mr-mṙ-a-m* 'murmuro, fremo, rugio', Lat. 2nd sing. *mur-mur-ā-s*, O.H.G. *mur-mur-ō-s murmulō-s* 'murmurest', beside Gr. μορμύρω for *μορ-μυρ-ιω Class XXVII (§ 730). Lat. *tin-tinn-ā-s tin-tin-ā-s* beside *tin-tinn-iō* Class XXVII (§ 731). Lat. *ul-ul-ā-s*, Lith. imper. *ul-ūl-ó-k*

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1) Is Thess. inf. ἐσ-κιχρέμεν (Collitz, Samml. *no.* 1557) an adformate of τιθέμεν, or did it come from an indic. *κίχρω (cp. πρᾱσσέμεν)?

indic. *ul-ūl-ó-ju* (cp. § 735). The Lat. 1[st] sing., *murmurō tintinnō ululō* for *-ā-i̯ō* (cp. Lith. *ul-ūl-ó-ju*) in Class XXVIII (§ 741).

D. CLASSES XII TO XVIII.
NASAL PRESENT STEMS.

§ 596. Specimen types of words which belong to this section are Skr. *mr̥-ṇā́-ti r̥-ṇṓ-ti yunák-ti* with the thematic *mr̥-ṇá-ti r̥-ṇvá-ti yuñjá-ti*; and Skr. *kr̥p-áṇa-tē.*

A few remarks are necessary on these nasal accretions, which beyond all doubt are closely connected together.

(1) Skr. *mr̥-ṇá-ti* : *mr̥-ṇā́-ti mr̥-ṇ-ánti*, *r̥-ṇvá-ti* : *r̥-ṇṓ-ti r̥-ṇv-ánti*, *yuñjá-ti* : *yunák-ti yuñj-ánti* = *vidá-ti* : *vḗt-ti vid-ánti*; that is, there seems to be a definite relation between thematic and non-thematic forms; the thematic stem may be derived from the other by adding the thematic vowel to its weak form. See § 491 p. 50.

(2) The suffix *-neu̯- -nu-* is made out of *-nā- -nə- -n-* (Skr. *mr̥-ṇā́-mi* Gr. *μάρ-να-μαι* Skr. *mr̥-ṇ-ánti*) by adding the suffix or determinative *-eu̯- -u-*. This *-u-* has been discussed, § 488 pp. 44 ff.

We often find *-u-* and *-nu-* in the same root; as **str-u-* (Goth. *stráu-ja*) and **str̥-nu-* (Skr. *str̥-ṇṓ-ti* Gr. *στόρ-νῡ-μι*), from √ *ster-* 'sternere'; **k̑l-u-* (Skr. *śr-ō-ṣi śr-u-dhí*) and **k̑l̥-nu-* (Skr. *śr̥-ṇṓ-ti*) from a √ *k̑aˣl-*, never found except with one of these extending suffixes; **u̯el-u-* (Gr. *ἐλ-ύω ἔλ-υ-τρο-ν* Lat. *vol-vō in-volūcru-m*) and **u̯l̥-nu- *u̯l̥̄-nu-* (Skr. *vr̥-ṇṓ-ti ūr-ṇṓ-ti*) from √ *u̯el-* 'turn, twist, wind'; Skr. *á-dbh-u-ta-s* 'undeceitful, pure, genuine' and *dabh-nṓ-ti* from *dabh-* 'deceive'; **qs-u-* (Gr. *ξ-ύω*) and **qs-nu-* (Skr. *kṣ-nuv-ānā́-s*) from √ *qes-* (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20); **pī-u̯-* (Skr. *pī́-vas-*) and **pi-nu-* (Skr. *pí-nv-a-ti*) from *pī-* 'swell, abound in'. The variant stems in Skr. *śr-ō-ṣi* and *śr̥-ṇṓ-ṣi* may be compared with those in Gr. *θρασ-ύ-ς* and Skr. *dhr̥ṣ-ṇú-ṣ* (1[st] pl. *dhr̥ṣ-ṇu-más*). Probably one of these parallel stems, say **qs-nu-*, is a contamination of the

other two, **qs-n̥-* (Gr. *ξ-αίνω ξ-άν-ιο-ν*) and **qs-u-*, and **str̥-nu-* of **str̥-n-* (Skr. *str̥-ṇā́-ti* Lat. *ster-nō* etc.) and **str-u-*; [1]) but this must not be taken to imply that the contaminated suffix *-n-u-* arose in just these roots and no others.

Non-thematic *u*-flexion is very rare except in monosyllabic stems like Skr. *śr-ṓ-ṣi á-śr-ō-t śr-u-dhí*, where it was dominated by the analogy of verbs with *u* in the root proper. Examples of stems other than monosyllabic are Skr. *tar-u-tē* (cp. *táru-ṣantē taru-tar-*) beside *tár-a-ti*, Gr. *ἔρ-υ-μαι* (cp. *ἔρ-υ-μα* Skr. *var-ú-tra-m var-ū-tár-*) beside Skr. *vár-a-tē vr̥-ṇṓ-ti* Goth. *varja*.[2]) No proof is forthcoming that present stems of this kind were ever a numerous or productive class. It was not until *u* was joined to *n*, that the suffix ran through any large number of forms.

Remark. Some scholars, led by de Saussure, hold that **str̥neu̯-* is **steru-* with an *infix* or inserted element *-ne-*. That is all very well on paper, but under what principle of language known to us it can come passes my comprehension. They refer, of course, to *yunák-ti*, from √*jeu̯g- *jug-*, as a clear instance of inserted sounds. But I cannot admit that the nasal suffix has been *inserted* here any more than in the stem which I began with. See (5) below, pp. 139 f.[3])

(3) After a root with final consonant *n̥n*, *en*, and doubtless *on* are found as variants for the initial *n* of *-nā- -no- -neu̯- -nu̯o-*.

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1) Compare Lat. *pōpulneu-s* = *pōpulnu-s* + *pōpuleu-s*. A large collection of such mixed forms containing formative suffixes of a similar sort, is given by Per Persson, Wurzelerw. pp. 153 f.

2) On Skr. *tanṓti*, which the Indians analysed as *tan-ṓ-ti*, see §§ 639, 640. *karōti* I still hold to be a later re-formate, although Per Persson, *op. cit.* p. 149, opposes this view. See § 640.

3) Fick is keenest about these "infixes". Thus in one place he speaks of the "repetition of infixed *s*" in Greek aorists in *-σσα* and Sanskrit aorists in *-siṣam* (Gött. Gel. Anz., 1881, p. 1429). Page 1460: infixion is the "oldest and most powerful agent which causes word to grow out of word". Page 1462: "Almost always, where hitherto scholars have seen suffixes, that is, defining words added to the end of another, it is far better to speak of infixes". One question I should like to ask. Where did these infixed sounds come from, and what were they before they were infixed?

For *-nā- -n(ə)* take the following: Avest. 1st pl. *fry-ąn-mahī* beside *frī-nā-iti* 'pleases, makes inclined', *hv-ąn-mahī* beside *hu-nā-iti* 'excites, produces'. For *-no-*: Skr. *iṣ-aṇa-t* 'let him set in motion' cp. *iṣ-aṇyá-ti* = Gr. ἰαίνω for *ἰσ-αν-ι̯ω (*-n̥no-*), Armen. *lk̄-ane-m* 'I leave' (*-n̥no-*), Gr. κῡδ-άνω 'I honour, glorify' (*-n̥no-*), Goth. *ga-vakna* 'I awake' (*-n̥no-*, *-eno-*, or *-ono-*), Lith. *kùp-inu* 'I heap, hoard' (*-n̥no-*), *gab-enù* 'I bring' (*-eno-*), O.C.Sl. *vrĭg-ną-ti* 'to throw' (probably *-ono-*, see § 615 Rem.)

For *-neu̯- -nu-*: Skr. *vánanv-at-* 'liking' for **u̯n̥n-n̥u̯-* beside indic. *vanṓ-ti* for **u̯n̥-neu̯-ti* from √ *u̯en-*: Avest. 2nd pl. *debe-naotā* for **db-anau-ta* (*-anau-* instead of *-anu-* from the singular) beside Skr. *dabh-nṓ-ti* 'hurts'; Avest. partic. mid. *zar-anu-mana-* beside opt. *zar-anaę-mā* and Skr. *hr̥-ṇī-tḗ* 'growls, grumbles'. For *-nu̯o-*: Avest. *xw-anva-inti* 'they drive on' *xw-ēnva-þ* (pr. Ar. **su̯-anu̯a-*) beside *hu-nao-iti hu-nā-iti*: Avest. *sp-ēnva-þ* 'proficiebat' doubtless the same as O.H.G. *sp-innu* 'I spin' for **sp-enu̯ō* beside *spannu* 'I stretch' for **spə-nu̯ō* and beside *spanu* 'I lure, attract' for **spə-nō* (§ 654); O.H.G. *tr-innu* 'I separate myself from' ground-form **dr-enu̯ō* beside Skr. *dr̥-ṇā-ti*. Greek examples are apparently Hom. ἱκ-άνω for *ἱκ-ανϝω beside ἱκ-νέο-μαι and κιχάνω for *κι-χ-ανϝω, whose ending doubtless comes from *-n̥u̯ō* (see § 652), and ξ-ένϝο-ς ξεῖνο-ς ξένο-ς from the root of Lat. *hos-ti-s* and Goth. *gas-t-s* (cp. the Author, Idg. Forsch., I 172 ff.).

Similar groups of suffixes, fuller and weaker, are found in other present classes. *-eno-* : *-no-* = *-eso-* : *-so-* (Class XX). *-n̥no-* : *-no-* = *-ii̯o-* : *-i̯o-* (Class XXVI).

The only ones of these dissyllabic suffixes which were to any great extent productive were *-n̥no- -eno-* (*-ono-*). These we place in a class by themselves (Class XIV).

(4) In classes where the *n*-suffix comes after the root syllable, it is not always as described in (3), just above. The root often has attached to it some kind of determinative. Thus we see *-i- -ī-* (cp. § 498 pp. 61 f.), as in Skr. *r-i-ṇva-ti* Gr. Lesb. ὀρ-ί-ννω beside Skr. *r̥-ṇvá-ti* Gr. ὄρ-νῡ-μι; Gr. πι-νύ-

-μινο-ς for **πϝ-ι-νυ-* beside *νη-πύ-τιο-ς* Skr. *pu-nā́-ti*; Skr. *bhr-ī-ṇā́-ti* (Avest. *brōi-þra-* 'axe' O.C.Sl. *bri-ti* 'shear, shave') beside Gr. *φάρ-ο-ς* Lat. *for-āre*; Skr. *śr-ī-ṇā́-ti* beside *śr̥-tá-s*; Gr. Lesb. *κρ-ί-ννω* (Lat. *dis-crī-men*) beside Lith. *skir-iù*. *-s- -es-* (cp. §§ 656 ff.), as Skr. *i-ṣ-ṇā́-ti i-ṣā́-tē* beside *i-nṓ-ti*; Gr. *εἵνῡμι* (*ἕννῡμι*) Armen. *z-genum* common ground-form **u̯-es-neu̯-* **u̯-es-nu-* beside Lat. *ex-uō* Lith. *au-nù* (§ 639). Other examples will be mentioned anon.

(5) Most obscure of all has hitherto remained the "nasal infix", the nasal element, that is, in such words as Skr. *yunák-ti yuñj-más* and *yuñj-á-ti*, and its relation to the nasal suffixes in the other Classes.

The strong form, Skr. *yunaj-* for example, has hitherto been found as a verb stem only in Aryan. Some other languages have been supposed to show traces of it, as Gr. *κυνέω* and Lat. *conquiniscō frūniscor*, which are said by some to be for **κυνεσ-ω* and **quenec-scō* **frūneg-scōr*; but this in my opinion is the merest conjecture.[1]) If we must compare something from European languages, the most likely forms are the adjective Goth. *manag-s* O.C.Sl. *mŭnogŭ* 'multus' beside Skr. *máha-tē* 'is large, generous' *maghá-m* 'fullness, riches'.

Perhaps these nasal forms are merely a developement of Class XII, by a change in the first instance of, say, **jug-n-més* **jug-n-té* (*-n-* the variant of *-nə-*, cp. Avest. *verᵉ-n-tē* and the like) to **juəg-més* **juəq-té*. Then, by analogy of Skr. *anák-ti* and *añj-más* and other present forms with nasal in the root,[2]) we get the sing. *yunák-ti*. It should be remembered, however, that it is *a priori* impossible to say whether *a* in

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1) See Johansson, Deriv. Verb. Contr. 108 f., Akademiske afhandlinger til prof. Bugge, 24 ff.; W. Schulze, Quaest. Hom. 15, 42; Fick, Vergl. Wb. I⁴ 381; Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 470. In discussing *κυνέω ἔκυσσα* no use can be made of O.Corn. *cussin* and Mid.Cymr. *cussan* 'kiss', which are loan-words from the Germanic.

2) With *anaj-* cp. Goth. *anak-s* 'suddenly, at once' (Skr. *áñjas* 'quickly, suddenly'). Skr. 2nd 3rd sing. pret. *ānaṭ* 1st pl. conj. *anaśāmahāi*, *vy-anaś-i* 'penetrate' may be compared with Gr. *δι-ηνεκ-ής* (§ 569 p. 113).

Skr. *yunaj-* comes from Idg. *-a-*, *-e-*, or *-o-*. This assumed change of **jug-n-* to **juəg-* must have come about in the parent language; and the singular persons may have been made in the same period. If the forms did grow as I suggest from the Class with *-nā- -nə- -n-*, it would at once become clear why of all the forms containg this suffix in any of its three grades, none is taken from a root with final explosive or fricative (§ 598): from these roots the parent language would then show (say) **juəq-tai̯* = **jug-n-tai̯* (Skr. *yuṅk-tḗ*), while others would have the nasal suffix in its proper place, and show the type of **u̯r̥-n-tai̯* (Avest. *verᵉ-n-tē̹*).

Another view is set forth by Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurz., 152 f. (cp. too Windisch, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxi 407). He thinks that in the oldest forms which set the type for the class with Nasal Infix, the root final was a determinative, and the nasal a suffix which was added to the root before the determinative was added. Then forms with the determinative and forms with the nasal were contaminated. Thus **limpō* (Lith. *limpù* Skr. *limpā́mi*) is a sort of combination of forms answering to Lat. *li-nō* and Lith. *li-pù*. There is nothing which makes this view impossible.

Yet another hypothesis, the latest, is offered by Osthoff, Anz. für idg. Sprach- and Alterthumskunde, I 83. He suggests that Skr. *kr̥ṇátmi-* may be √ *kr̥-* + present suffix *-nat-* (stronger form of *-nt*) + personal ending *-mi*; and by analogy *riñc-más* produced *riṇác-mi*. But that there ever was a simple suffix Idg. *-net- -nt-* is, I hold, quite unproven; see § 685, Rem. 2.

(6) Nasal Present Stems are often found as bases for Nouns. Examples are: Skr. *vḗ-na-ti* 'longs' *vē-ná-s* 'longing', Avest. *peš-ana-iti* 'fights' beside Skr. *pŕ̥t-ana-m* 'battle', Gr. θηγ-άνω 'I sharpen' beside θήγ-ανο-ν 'whetstone', Skr. *dhr̥ṣ-ṇṓ-ti* 'is bold' *dhr̥ṣ-ṇu-má-s* beside *dhr̥ṣ-ṇú-ṣ* 'bold', Skr. *pí-nva-ti* 'makes to swell' beside *-pi-nva-s* 'making to swell', O.H.G. *bannu* 'regions under ban, forbidden places' for **bhə-nu̯ō* beside *ban*, gen. *bannes*, 'command enforced by pains and penalties', cp. Gr. ξ-ένϝο-ς p. 138. Compare § 487 pp. 40 f.

We shall now discuss the classes of nasal stems one by one. Of these we distinguish seven.

Class XII.

Root + *-nā-* *-nə-* *-n-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 597. The strong suffix was *-nā-*, the weak form before a sonant was *-n-*, before a consonant either *-nə-* (Gr. *μάρ-να-ται*) or *-n-* (Avest. *verᵉ-n-tę̄*).

Sanskrit, with *-nī-* before consonants (e. g. *mṛ-ṇī-más*), stands alone. *-nī-* displaces **-ni-* = Idg. *-nə-* on the same principle as changes **śi-śi-hi* to *śi-śī-hi*, so that we have *mṛṇī-más* : *mṛṇā́-mi* like *śiśī-hi* : *śiśā-mi*. See § 498 pp. 61 f.

Remark. Wiedemann's view (Lit. Praet. 49) that *-ni-* changed to *-nī-* by quantitative analogy of *-nā-* I hold to be mistaken; and so also Bartholomae's, that *mṛ-ṇā́-mi* : *mṛ-ṇī-más* contain a pr. Idg. ablaut, *-nā-* being for *-nāi̯-* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 75 ff.).

In Avestic, before sonants, not only *-n-* but *-an-*, seemingly representing Idg. *-en-*: *fry-ąn-mahī*, see § 596. 3 p. 138.

The Root Syllable has always, and always had, the weak form.

§ 598. Pr. Idg. All the forms which can be proved to be Indo-Germanic come from roots with final liquid, nasal, or vowel (cp. § 596. 5 p. 139).

Skr. *mṛ-ṇā́-mi* 'I grind, crush' 3rd sing. *mṛ-ṇā́-ti* 1st pl. *mṛ-ṇī-más* 3rd pl. *mṛ-ṇ-ánti*, Gr. *μάρ-να-μαι* 'I fight', partic. Corcyr. and Att. *βαρ-νά-μενο-ς* for **βρα-να-* (I § 292 p. 233); *μόρ-νά-μενο-ς* in Hesych. is either Aeolic for *μαρ-να-* (I § 292 p. 234) or all dialects of Greek for Idg. **mṝ-nə-* (cp. Skr. *mūr-ṇá-s*). — With thematic vowel Skr. *mṛ-ṇá-ti*.

Gr. *πορ-νά-μεν · πωλεῖν*, *πορ-νά-μεναι · πωλούμεναι* (Hesych.) are as ambiguous as *μορνάμενος*; Att. *πέρ-νη-μι* 'I sell, transfer' with changed root-grade (cp. *περάω*), O.Ir. *re-nim* 'I give away, sell' (cp. § 604).

Skr. *jā-nā́-mi* 'I learn, know' for **ĝṇ̄-nā-*; compare perhaps Lith. *žìno* 'he knows' for **ĝṇ-nā-t* (whence *žinaũ* *žìno-me* etc.

by analogy of *bij-aū-s* and the like.[1]) — With thematic vowel Skr. *jā-na-ti* Avest. 2nd pl. *zā-na-tā*, Goth. partic. *kunnand-s* (indic. *kann*).

Skr. *li-nā-mi* 'I stick close to, cower, disappear' *vi-linā́mi* 'melt, disintegrate, go to pieces', Gr. *λί-να-μαι· τρέπομαι* Hesych., O.Ir. *le-nim* 'adhaereo' (cp. § 604), O.Icel. *li-na* 'I relax, grow soft'. — With thematic vowel Lat. *li-nō* (cp. Gr. *ἀλίνω* '*ἀλείφω*' for **ἀλι-νι̯ω* § 611).

Skr. *krī-ṇā́-mi* 'I buy', O.Ir. *cre-nim* 'I buy' for **cri-na-mi* (cp. O.Ir. *crī-thid* 'fond of buying'), cp. § 604.

Often a present stem is formed both in this twelfth class and in Class XVII, particularly in Aryan; e. g. Skr. *kṣi-ṇā́-ti* and *kṣi-ṇō-ti* 'destroys'. Cp. § 605 Rem.

The likeness of the endings in the strong singular persons and those of the corresponding stems of Classes X and XI, in *-ā-*, caused a number of analogical changes. (1) *-nā-* passes into the weak persons, as O.H.G. *gi-nō-mēs* beside *gi-nō-m*, following *zittarō-mēs* (cp. § 594 p. 134) and *salbō-mēs*. (2) An extension with *-i̯o-* by analogy of the variation *-ā-* : *-ā-i̯ō-* in Classes X and XI, as Gr. *δαμνάω* instead of *δάμνημι*, A.S. *hlinie* 'I lean' instead of *hli-nō-i̯ō*.

§ **599.** Aryan. Skr. *vr̥-ṇā-ti* 'chooses' mid. *vr̥-ṇī-tē̆*, Avest. mid. *verᵉ-n-tę̄*; — with thematic vowel Avest. 3rd sing. pret. mid. *fraorᵉnata* = pr. Ar. **pra-vr̥-na-ta*. Skr. *pr̥-ṇā́-ti* 'fills';[2]) — with thematic vowel *pr̥-ṇá-ti* Avest. imper. *perᵉ-nā*. Skr. *śr̥-ṇā́-ti* 'breaks up, crushes, grinds, splits up'; — with thematic vowel imper. *śr̥-ṇa*; cp. O.Ir. *ara-chrinim* 'difficiscor, I decay, break up' § 604. Ar. **ža-nā-* 'to know' for **ĝn̥-nā-*, √ *ĝen-* 'know': Skr. *jā-nā́-ti*, O.Pers. 3rd sing. pret. *a-dā-nā*: Lith. *žìno*, see § 598 p. 141. Skr. *prī-ṇā́-ti* 'makes glad,

1) *žinō-* may also be **ĝn̥n-ā-* (Class X).

2) One is tempted to identify this form with O.H.G. *follōm* 'I fill'. This is probably at least a derivative from the adj. *fol* Goth. *full-s*, like O.Ir. *com-alnaim* from *lān*, see § 760.

makes inclined', Avest. *frī-nā-þ.* Skr. *ji-nā́-ti* 'conquers, compels', √*gei̯-.* Avest. injunct. *zi-nā-þ* 'draws away' O.Pers. *a-dī-nā*; — with thematic vowel O.Pers. *a-dī-na-m.* Skr. *pu-nā́-ti* 'purifies, clears', cp. Ir. *u-nā-d* 'to cleanse'? (Fick, Wtb. I[4] 483, according to Stokes). Skr. *dhu-nā-ti* moves to and fro, shakes' beside *dhu-nō-ti dhū-nṓ-ti.* Skr. *gṛbh-ṇā́-ti gṛh-ṇā́-ti* 'grasps', Avest. *gerᵉw-nā-iti*; — thematic Skr. *gṛh-ṇa-ti.* Skr. *badh-nā́-ti* 'binds' for **bhn̥dh-,* √*bhendh-.*

Remark. Skr. *muṣṇā́-ti* 'steals' is derived from the noun *mūṣ- muṣ-* 'mouse' (II § 160 p. 485). Similar words below in § 793.

§ 600. Strong stem instead of weak. Skr. imper. 2[nd] sing. *gṛbh-ṇā-hi* instead of *gṛbh-ṇī-hí,* 2[nd] pl. *pu-nā́-ta* instead of *pu-nī-tá.* Compare Skr. *kṛ-ṇṓ-ta* instead of *kṛ-ṇu-tá* and the like, § 641.

There was naturally a close contact between thematic and non-thematic forms in Aryan, which made it easy for words to pass from one to the other. The 1[st] person singular and the 3[rd] plural present, with other forms, and the conjunctive mood, had regularly the same form in both: compare Skr. *mṛṇā́mi mṛṇánti* from both *mṛ-ṇā́-ti* and *mṛ-ṇá-ti.* Thematic stems are specially common in Avestic; compare 3[rd] sing. mid. *sterᵉ-na-tā* opt. *sterᵉ-naę-ta* beside Skr. *stṛ-ṇā́-ti* 'strews', and 2[nd] sing. *hu-na-hi* beside *hu-nā-iti* 'begets'.

The Sanskrit 2[nd] sing. imper. active, besides *-nī-hí* (*-nā-hi*), has the ending *-āná,* found in classical Sanskrit with all roots ending in a consonant, as *gṛh-āṇá badh-āná.* Two explanations of these are possible. (1) *-āna* may = Idg. *-one,* which may be a thematic imperative of Class XIV, where Slavonic has *-ono-* (see §§ 615, 624). Or (2), *-āna* may be *-ā-* = *-n̥̄-* + *-na,* — *-n̥̄-* being a weak form of the *nā*-suffix, and *-na* the same particle which we see with the 2[nd] pl. in *-ta-na* (beside *-ta*). The second view seems better.

Remark. Bartholomae now supports the view which analyses *-āna* into *-ā* + *na,* and identifies *-na* with *-na* in *-ta-na -tha-na* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 123), and cites by way of illustration the Avestic 2[nd] sing. imper. *bara- -nā,* a variant for the usual *bara* = Skr. *bhára.* But he explains *gṛhā-* as derived from **ghṛbhāi̯-,* where I cannot follow him.

Exceptionally the root syllable has a strong grade: partic. mid. *ā́p-n-āna-s* like *āp-nṓ-mi* Class XVII, cp. opt. aor. *apēyam* and *ápas- apás-*. But *āp-* may be preposition *ā* + *ap-*.

A few isolated forms in Sanskrit show a change from this class to *-i̯o*-stems: partic. *hr̥ṇā-yá-nt- hr̥ṇī-yá-māna-s* beside *a-hr̥-ṇā-t* mid. *hr̥-ṇī-tḗ*. With forms like Gr. δαμνάω (§ 598 p. 142), *hr̥ṇī-yá-nt-* has no very close connexion.

§ **601.** Armenian. *bar̃na-m* 'I raise' for **barj-na-m* ground-form **bhr̥ǵh-nā-mi*, cp. aor. *barj-i*. *dar̃na-m* 'I return' for **darj-na-m*, cp. aor. *darj-ay*. *bana-m* 'I open' ground-form **bhə-nā-mi* from √*bhā-* (p. 56 footnote), cp. aor. *ba-ç-i*: Gr. φαίνω for **φα-νι̯ω* § 611, O.H.G. *ba-nnu* § 654. *sta-na-m* 'I possess, have in my power, buy', cp. aor. *sta-ç-ay*: Gr. στά-νω 'I place' (G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² p. 446) Lat. *dē-stināre*, O.C.Sl. *sta-nq* 'I place myself'. *lua-na-m* 'I wash', cp. aor. *lua-ç-i*.

These are inflected like the *ā*-presents *mna-m* and *ǰana-m* (§ 581 p. 122). But the original quantity of the *a* in *-na-* cannot be determined; and *-na-* may be Idg. *-nā-* or Idg. *-nə-*.

§ **602.** Greek. μάρ-να-μαι μαρ-νά-μενο-ς, πορ-νά-μεν πέρ-νη-μι, λί-να-μαι see § 598 p. 141. δάμ-νη-μι 'I tame' beside δάμα-σσεν; for the root syllable compare κάμ-νω and Skr. *śam-nī-tē* beside κάμα-το-ς *śami-tá-s*, ὄμ-νῡ-μι beside ὀμό-τη-ς. δύ-να-μαι 'I can' possibly connected with Lat. *dū-ru-s*; but Gortyn. νύ-να-μαι 'I can', probably belongs to some other root.[1])

The ι of the root-syllabic is strange in the following stems. κίρ-νη-μι 'I mix' beside aor. ἐκέρασα. πίλ-να-μαι 'I draw near quickly' beside aor. ἐπέλασα: cp. Lat. *pellō* for **pel-nō*, O.Ir. *ad-ellaim* 'I go to, visit' for *-(p)el-nā-*. κρίμ-νη-μι 'I hang' (wrongly written κρήμνημι) beside aor. ἐκρέμασα. ὀρίγ-να-μαι 'I reach or stretch' beside ὀρέγω. πίτ-νη-μι 'I spread' beside aor. ἐπέτασα; thematic ἔ-πιτ-νο-ν πίτ-νω. σκίδ-να-μαι 'I spread or widen,

1) Can this be connected with νεῦρο-ν 'sinew, tension, strength'?

disperse' beside ἐσκέδασα. Various explanations are given: see Osthoff, M. U. II 20; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 126; Moulton, Am. Journ. Phil. X 284 f., and Class. Rev. III 45; Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 375 f.

With *-i̯o*-flexion: δαμνάω, κιρνάω, ὀριγνάομαι, πιτνάω. Compare § 598 end, p. 142.

In δύ-να-μαι, the nasal was not confined to the present stem: δυνᾰτός ἐδυνησάμην ἐδυνήθην ἐδυνάσθην, like ἀγᾰτός ἀγητός ἠγάσθη from ἄγα-μαι. Compare § 643, and τανύσσαι (from τα-νύ-μαι).

§ 603. Italic. (1) We find in Latin the non-thematic inflexion of Class XIII: *ster-nō* (contrast Skr. *stṛ-ṇā́-ti*), *li-nō* (contrast Skr. *vi-linā-ti*), *pellō* for **pel-nō* (contrast Gr. πίλ-να-μαι), *sper-nō* (contrast O.H.G. *spor-nō-m* 'I tread, kick'), and no sound-law prevents our putting in this twelfth class *ster-ni-mus -ni-tis*, deriving them from **-na-mos *-na-tes* (cp. § 505 p. 71, on *red-dimus*, and § 543 p. 103, on *se-ri--mus*).

(2) But some compounds are inflected as verbs in *-āre*. *cōn-sternāre*, beside O.H.G. *stornēm* 'attonitus sum' (§ 605) Gr. πτύρω 'I make shy, put in a fright'. *in-clīnāre*: O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* 'I lean', cp. Lett. *slì-nu* (beside *sléiju*) 'I lean on, support'. *dē-stināre*, cp. Armen. *sta-na-m* 'I possess' Gr. στά--νω 'I place' and στα-νύω (§ 601 p. 144). So too *com-pellāre* from *pellere*, *aspernārī* from *spernere*. It is assumed that a similarity in the endings *-nā-s(i) -nā-t(i)*, in this class, and *-ā-s(i) -ā-t(i)* in Classes X and XI caused a current to set in the direction of the last two (cp. end of § 598). But this does not explain why only compounds were carried by it; and apparently we must not separate *pellere* : *compellāre*, *spernere* : *aspernārī* from *flīgere* : *prōflīgāre*, *capere* : *occupāre* and others. The *-nā-* in *cōn-ster-nā-s* must therefore be kept quite distinct from *-nā-* in Skr. *śṛ-ṇā́-mi* Gr. δάμ-νη-μι. See § 583 pp. 124 f.

§ 604. Keltic. O.Ir. *re-nim* 'I give away, sell' (perf. *-rir*), *le-nim* 'adhaereo' (perf. *ro lil*), *cre-nim* 'I buy' (perf. *-ciuir*) Mod.Cymr. *prynaf*, see § 598 p. 142. *gle-nim* 'adhaereo'

(perf. *ro giuil*) Mod.Cymr. *glynaf* beside O.H.G. *chli-nu* 'I cleave, stick, smear' (Gr. *γλοι-ό-ς* 'sticky dampness' O.H.G. *chleimen* 'plasmare'). O.Ir. *be-nim* 'I strike, cut' O.Brit. *et--binam* 'lanio' Mod.Bret. *benaff* 'I cut', beside Lat. *perfines* 'perfringas' (Festus) O.Bret. *bi-tat* 'resicaret' O.C.Sl. *bi-ti* 'to strike'. The inflexion of these presents, as Thurneysen shows (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 87), points to pr. Kelt. **-nă-mi -nă-si -nă-ti -nă-mesi* etc., i. e. the weak suffix *-nă-* = Idg. *-nə-* had got into the singular.

We must keep these presents distinct from O.Ir. *ara--chrinim* 'I decay, break up' (beside Skr. *śṛ-ṇā́-ti* § 599 p. 142), *-gninim* 'I recognise' (√ *ĝen-*, cp. Skr. *jā-nā́-ti* with **ĝṇ̄-* § 598 p. 141) and *ro-chluiniur* 'I hear' (beside Avest. *sru--nao-iti* Class XVII, √ *k̑leu̯-*), which have *i̯o*-inflexion. Was there any connexion between the *-i̯o-* of this last named present and the old *-nu*-inflexion? There may be the same relation between *-chrinim* and Skr. *śṛ-ṇā́-mi* as between Gr. *φαίνω* for **φα-ν-i̯ω* and Armen. *ba-na-m* (§ 611), or between Lat. *li-n-iō* (beside *li-nō*) and Skr. *vi-linā-ti* (§ 598 p. 142, § 743).

§ 605. Germanic. Here, as in Latin, we have sometimes the thematic conjugation of Class XIII, and sometimes the conjugation of Classes X and XI; see § 598 end, p. 142.

O.H.G. *spor-nō-m* 'I tread, kick' O.Icel. *spor-na* 'knock against'; thematic variant stem O.H.G. *spur-nu* and *-spirnit* conj. *-spirne* (perf. *spur-num* O.Icel. perf. *spar-n spur-nom*) like Lat. *sper-nō.* O.Sax. *mor-nō-n* 'I trouble myself, care', A.S. thematic *murne.* Explanation uncertain: O.H.G. conj. *wolle* beside Skr. *vṛ-ṇī-tḗ* 'chooses' (Kluge, Paul-Braune's Beitr., VIII 515). O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* (also *gei-nō-m*) A.S. *ʒinie* 'I gape'; with *-no-*, O.Icel. *gī-n* O.C.Sl. 3rd sing. *zi-ne-tŭ*, √ *ĝhei̯-*. O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* A.S. *hlinie* 'I lean, support myself': Lat. *in--clī-na-t.* O.Icel. *li-na* 'I soften': Skr. *li-nā-ti* etc., see § 598 p. 142. O.Icel. *fū-na* 'I rot, corrupt' (partic. *fū-inn* 'rotten'): thematic Lith. *pū-nu* 'I rot'.

We must add a group of West Germanic verbs in which *-kk- -pp- -tt-* are due to assimilation of the *n* of *-nā-* to an explosive root-final (I § 530 p. 388, § 534 p. 391, § 541 p. 396); as O.H.G. *lecchōm* 'I lick' ground-form **ligh-nā-mi,* *zocchōm* 'I pull hard, tug' ground-form **duk-nā-mi,* Mid.H.G. *hopfe* (Rhine-Frank. *hoppe*) 'I hop' ground-form **qup-nā-mi.*

Remark. Some forms of these verbs have not broken *u* and *i* in the root; as O.H.G. *zucchōm*, Mod.H.G. *zucke* beside *zocchōm*, Mid.H.G. *rupfe* beside *ropfe* (ground-form **rub-n-*), Mid.H.G. *stutze* 'I push, strike' (ground-form **stud-n-*), Mod.H.G. *nicke* (ground-form **knigh-n-*). I suggest as a possible explanation that there may once have been bye-forms with the present-suffix *-neu̯- -nu-*, as 1st pl. **duk-nu-mes.* Compare Goth. *kunnum* (**ĝn̥-nu-mes*) beside *uf-kunna.*

A third group of Germanic present stems is that exemplified by Goth. *þaha -áis.* Goth. *maúrnái-þ* O.H.G. *mornēt* beside O.Sax. *mornōn* A.S. *murne.* O.H.G. *hlinēm* beside O.Sax. *hlinōn* A.S. *hlinie.* O.H.G. *stornēm* 'attonitus sum, inhio', beside Lat. *cōn-sternāre* § 603 p. 145. The transformation in these verbs is due to their intransitive meaning, see § 781. 3. The case is different with Goth. *uf-kunnái-þ* 'recognises', as we shall see in § 646.

§ 606. Balto-Slavonic. The thematic type prevails; e. g. Lett. *gû-nu* 'I snatch' contrasted with Skr. *ju-nā́-ti* 'sets in quick motion, urges', O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tŭ* 'yawns, gapes' contrasted with O.H.G. *gi-nō-t.*

Traces of *-nā-* are perhaps left in Lith. *żìno* 'he knows' ground-form **ĝn̥-nā-t*: Skr. *jā-nā́-ti,* see § 598 p. 141; and in Lith. *ly-nó-ja* 'it rains slightly' inf. *ly-nó-ti* (Lett. *lî-ná-t*) beside *lý-na* 'it rains', *kilnó-ju* 'I lift this way and that' beside Lat. *ex-cellō* for **-celnō*, *lasz-nó-ja* 'it drizzles, trickles a little'.

Remark. *kilnóju* may also be quite well explained as a derivative from *kìlna-s* 'high'; and this makes it doubtful whether the "diminutive frequentatives" in *-nóju* ought not to be estinated quite differently and classed elsewhere. But here we must bear one point in mind — this I say with a view to Leskien (Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lit., p. 174) — to wit, that Baltic denominatives often put on the appearance of primary verbs. See § 793. Thus e. g. *lynó-ja* may quite well be a primary form by analogy of which was formed *kilnó-ju* from *kìlna-s.*

Class XIII.

Root + *-no-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 607. Stems of this class seem to bear much the same general relation to Class XII as Skr. *tí-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-i-t* to Gr. *ἵ-στη-σι*; see § 491 p. 50.

But certainly not all the stems of this class are stems of Class XII which have taken to thematic inflexion. Amongst them are many whose stem is found as a noun-stem, and was probably only a noun-stem at the first. Take, for example, Skr. *vḗ-na-ti* 'longs' beside *vē-ná-s* 'longing'; *paṇa-tē* 'trafficks, barters, buys' beside *paṇa-s* 'wager, bargain, loan' Lith. *peĩna-s* 'gain, profit' (I § 259 p. 211); Goth. *fraíhna* O.Icel. *fregn* 'I ask' beside Skr. *praśná-s* 'question'. So too Class XIV (*-n̥no- -eno- -ono-*), closely connected with this, is denominative in its origin.

Since it is impossible to distinguish verbs like Skr. *mṛ-ṇ-á-ti* (beside *mṛ-ṇā́-ti mṛ-ṇ-ánti*) from those like Skr. *vḗ-na-ti* (from *vē-ná-s*), we shall treat them together.

Parallel variants such as Gr. *βώλομαι δήλομαι* 'I wish' (**g̑l̥-no-* : **gel-no-*), O.H.G. *wallu* 'I heave, toss': *willu* 'roll, wallow' (**u̯l̥-no-* : **u̯el-no-*) recal similar pairs in Class II, Skr. *kṛṣ-á-ti* : *kárṣ-a-ti* (§ 513 pp. 78 f.), and in Class XXVI, Goth. *vaúrk-ja* : O.H.G. *wirk-(i)u* (§ 705).

§ 608. First we cite *no*-forms which occur in more than one language.

**stṛ-no-* from √*ster-* 'sternere': Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *sterᵉ-na-tā*, Lat. *ster-nō* (with the root-syllable in the strong grade), beside Skr. *stṛ-ṇā́-ti* (§ 600 p. 143). Lat. *sper-nō*, O.H.G. *spur-nu* 'I tread, step, kick', *fir-spirni-t* conj. *-spirne* (see § 614), beside Skr. *sphur-á-ti* 'quickens, throbs'. Lat. *li-nō*, Lith. *lý-na* 'it rains' (cp. Gr. *ἀλίνω* for **ἀλι-ν̯ω* § 611), beside Skr. *li-nā́-ti* O.Icel. *li-na* § 598 p. 142, § 603 p. 145. A.S. *ʒī-ne* O.Icel. *gī-n* 'I gape, yawn' O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tŭ* 'gapes, yawns' beside

O.H.G. *gi-nō-m*, see § 605 p. 146. Goth. *kei-na* O.H.G. *chī-nu* 'I bud', Lith. *gy-nu* (beside *gyjù*) 'I revive, recover'. Lat. *fallō*, O.H.G. *fallu*, both with *-ll-* for *-ln-*, possibly connected with Lith. *pů'lu* 'I fall' ground-form **phōlō*; according to another derivation, *fallō* is akin to Gr. *θολερό-ς* 'troubled, impure' Goth. *dval-s* 'foolish' A.S. *dwellan* 'check, wander'; if so, the ground-form of *fallō* must be **dhu̯l̥-nō*.

§ 609. Aryan. To the forms cited in §§ 598 and 599, parallel to forms in Class XII, add the following: 2nd pl. *gr̥-ṇá-ta* beside *gr̥-ṇā́-ti* 'calls, calls upon'; *rā́ṇa-ti* 'indulges himself, pleases himself' instead of **raṇá-ti* (cp. § 516 p. 82) ground-form **rm̥-né-ti* beside *ram-ṇā́-ti*, which must be explained like *śam-nī-tē* § 602 p. 144 (cp. *ra-tá-s* for **rm̥-ta-s*); *á-mi-na-nta* beside *mi-nā́-ti* 'lessens, hurts'; *math-na-dhvam* beside *math-nā́-ti* and *mánth-a-ti* 'twirls, moves, shakes'.

Skr. *ghūrṇa-ti* 'wavers' from *ghūr-ṇa-s* 'wavering'. *vḗna-ti* 'longs' from *vē-ná-s* 'longing'. *paṇa-tē* 'trades' from *paṇa-s* 'wager'. *phaṇati* 'leaps, hops, is in motion' from *phaṇá-s* 'snake's hood, nostril' (perhaps cognate with *sphurá-ti* 'quickens, throbs', and if so, with Lat. *sper-nō* O.H.G. *fir--spirnit*, see § 608 p. 148). Compare § 607 p. 148.

§ 610. Armenian. *aṙ-ne-m* 'I make', aor. *ar-ar-i* § 571 p. 113. *yaṙ-ne-m* 'I raise myself, get up', cp. Skr. *r̥-ṇṓ-mi* Gr. *ὄρ-νῡ-μι* Class XVII § 639. *d-ne-m* 'I place', √ *dhē-*. With the middle *i̯o*-extension (§ 711), *li-ni-m* 'I become' (aor. part. *lieal*), *tani-m* 'I lead' (aor. *tar-ay*).

§ 611. Greek. *πτάρ-νο-μαι* 'I sneeze' (Aristotle) beside *πτάρ-νυ-μαι*. *πί-νω* 'I drink', beside imper. *πῖ-θι* Aeol. *πώ-νω* (cp. § 498 p. 61). *δάκ-νω* 'I bite' ground-form **dn̥k̑-nō*, √ *dek̑-* (I § 224 p. 192). *πίτ-νω* beside *πίτ-νη-μι*, § 602 p. 144. *στά-νω* 'I place', cp. Armen. *sta-na-m* Lat. *dē-stināre* O.C.Sl. *sta-ną* and *στα-νύω* § 601 p. 144, § 603 p. 145.

κάμ-νω 'I take pains, labour', cp. Skr. *śam-nī-tē* § 602 p. 144.

Dor. βώλεται Att. βούλεται 'I prefer, I wish' ground-form *$g̑l$-*ne-*, Dor. δήλεται Delph. δείλεται (Thess. βέλλετει Boeot. βείλετη) ground-form **gel-ne-*, see I § 204 p. 170, § 428 *b* with the Remark p. 316. Hom. Dor. τάμνω Att. τέμνω 'I cut', cp. aor. ταμ-εῖν. Lesb. ἀπ-έλλω Dor. ϝήλω Hom. εἴλω 'I press' for *ϝελ-νο-.

As we find -*ṇ-i̯o-* (Gr. -αινω) parallel to -*ṇno-* (Gr. -ανω) — Class XIV, §§ 616 and 621, Class XXIX § 743 — so we have in Greek -*n-i̯o-* instead of -*no-*. Lesb. κλίννω Hom. Att. κλῑ́νω 'I bend, incline' for *κλι-ν-ι̯ω: Lat. *in-clī-nā-re* O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* Lett. *slì-nu* § 603 p. 145. κρίννω κρῑ́νω 'I separate, choose out, decide', σίννομαι σῑ́νομαι 'I rob' (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 420). ἀλῑ́νω 'ἀλείφω' (aor. ἀλῖναι), beside Lat. *li-nō* etc., see § 598 p. 142, § 608 p. 148. ὀτρῡ́νω 'I drive on' for *ὀ-τρυ-ν-ι̯ω from √*tu̯er- tur-* (Skr. *tvár-a-tē* 'hastens' O.H.G. *dwir-u* 'I turn quickly round, move', Skr. *turáṇa-s* 'hastening'); with *tru-* : *tur-* compare Skr. *hru-ṇā-ti* : *ju-hur-a-s* beside *hvár-a-tē*, Avest. *caþru-* Skr. *catur-* beside *catvar-* and the like. φαίνω 'I make appear, make visible, show' for *φα-ν-ι̯ω: Armen. *ba-na-m* O.H.G. *ba-nnu*, see § 601 p. 144. χαίνω 'I gape' for *χα-ν-ι̯ω with the aor. ἔ-χα-νο-ν, beside χά-σκω χή-μη χώ-ρᾱ: cp. Skr. *hī-ná-s* 'deserted, lacking' *ji-hī-tē* 'yields, departs' (§ 540 p. 101). By analogy of *κτεν-ι̯ω (κτείνω) beside aor. ἔ-κτεν-σα (ἔκτεινα) fut. *κτενε(σ)ω (κτενῶ), there were made in pr. Greek the aorist *ἔκλινσα *ἔφανσα (ἔκλῖνα ἔφηνα) and the future *κλινε(σ)ω *φανε(σ)ω (κλινῶ φανῶ) from *κλινι̯ω and *φανι̯ω, and others in the same way.

Remark. φαίνω shews that κλῑ́νω comes from *κλι-νι̯ω. Bartholomae's doubts are unfounded (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 87 f.).

The origin of the Att. ending -ῡνω is generally uncertain as it may come from -νω, -νι̯ω, or νϝω (§ 655). In any [illegible] pairs of variants such as βῡ́νω δῡ́νω θῡ́νω beside [illegible] produced ἰθῡ́νω ἀρτῡ́νω beside ἰθύω ἀρτύω, [illegible] analogy went further, and we have ἡ[illegible]
Compare Lith. *keláunu* § 615.

§ **612.** Italic. *ster-nō sper-nō* [illegible] pp. 148 f.

Other verbs with a weak grade of root: *tollō* ground-form **tḷ-nō* √ *tel.* *si-nō*, origin obscure (cp. Osthoff, M. U. IV 133 f., Perf. 612). *dē-gūnō* for **gus-nō*, √ *ĝeus-*.

Other verbs with strong grade of root. *pellō* for **pel-nō* (Umbr. ař-peltu 'admoveto'), beside Gr. *πίλ-να-μαι*, see § 602 p. 144. *ex-cellō* for **cel-nō*, cp. Lith. *kilnó-ju* § 606 Rem. p. 147.

tem-nō may come from Idg. **tem-* or **tm̥-*.

Again *cer-nō*, which is connected with Gr. *κρίνω* and Lith. *skir-iù*, may be explained in two ways. If it contains the unextended root, it is on a level with *pellō* etc. But it may have arisen in composition from **crinō* (I § 33 p. 34), in which case it will be analysed **cr-i-nō* and be more closely akin to Gr. *κρίνω*.

Lastly, *pandō* is doubtful. It is connected with Osc. patensíns (Class XIV, § 622). If it comes from **pat-nō* (vol. II p. 161 footnote, Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 119), *a* must be derived from *ə* on account of Gr. *πετάσσαι*, and then the root had a weak grade. But *pandō* may belong to Class XVI; see § 632.

§ 613. Keltic. O.Ir. *ser-nim* 'sero' 3rd pl. *-sernat* (cp. Windisch, Ir. Wörterb., p. 770 *b*). Perhaps *sennim* (*sennaim*) 'I drive, hunt' beside O.H.G. *swimmu* for **su̯em-nō* (§ 614 p. 152), cp. Mod. Cymr. *chwyfaf* 'I move, quiver' for **su̯em-* (Thurneysen).

§ 614. Germanic. O.H.G. *spur-nu* 'I step, kick', and with strong-grade root syllable *fir-spirni-t* conj. *-spirne*: Lat. *sper-nō*, see § 608 p. 148. A.S. *mur-ne* 'I trouble, grieve', cp. O.Sax. *mor-nō-n*, see § 605 p. 146.[1]) O.H.G. *wallu*

1) Forms like O.H.G. 1st pl. *spurnamēs* infin. *spurnan* partic. *fir-spurnan* A.S. *spurnan murnan* are without *a*-umlaut, by analogy doubtless of the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. and the plural of the pret. O.H.G. *spurnum* etc., cp. O.H.G. inf. *durfan* beside *darf durfum*, and others. But A.S. has *spornan* as well as *spurnan*. Or had the West Germanic originally forms of Class XVII beside those with *-no-*? Compare *spurnum* with *kunnu-m* § 646.

'I undulate, boil', ground-form **u̯l̥-nō* and *willu* 'I roll' O.Icel. *vell* 'I undulate, seethe' ground-form **u̯el-nō.* O.H.G. *fallu* 'I fall' see § 608 p. 149. Goth. O.H.G. *kun-nan* 'to know' partic. Goth. *kun-na-nd-s* O.H.G. *kun-na-nt-i* (indic. *kann* § 646): Skr. *jā-na-ti*, see § 598 pp. 141 f. O.H.G. *chli-nu* 'I stick, smear': O.Ir. *gle-nim*, √*glei̯-*, see § 604 p. 146. A.S. *ʒī-ne* O.Icel. *gī-n* 'I gape, yawn': O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tŭ*, see § 605 p. 146, § 608 p. 148, § 615 p. 153. Goth. *kei-na* (partic. *kij-an-s*) O.H.G. *chī-nu* 'I bud': Lith. *gy-nu*, see § 608 p. 149. O.H.G. *swī-nu* 'I disappear' (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 420), *hrī-nu* 'I touch, gain', *grī-nu* 'make a face, snarl', Goth. *skei-na* 'I appear'. *scī-nu* O.H.G. *backu* Upper-G. *pacchu* 'I bake' pr. Germ. **bakkō* for ground-form **bhəg-nó* (I § 214 p. 181, § 534 p. 391), cp. O.H.G. *bahh-u* 'I bake' Class II *B* Gr. *φώγ-ω* 'I roast' Class II *A* § 532 p. 94. O.H.G. *spa-nu* 'I attract, charm, drive on' (pret. *spuon*), ground-form **spə-nō*; also *spannu* 'I stretch, widen, I am in eager excitement' ground-form **spə-nu̯-ō* Class XVIII (§ 654), beside Lat. *spē-s spa-tiu-m* O.H.G. *spā-ti* 'late'.

Besides O.H.G. *fir-spirnit* and *willu*, other words have root syllables of the strong grade. O.H.G. *quillu* 'I spring, well up', √*gel-*, O.H.G. *swillu* O.Icel. *svell* 'I swell, heave', O.H.G. *scillu* 'I resound, sound' O.Icel. *skell* 'I clatter', O.H.G. *hillu* 'I make a sound', O.H.G. *gillu* O.Icel. *gell* 'I yell, cry out'. O.H.G. *sinnu* 'I go, think' for **sind-nō* cp. Goth. *sandja* 'I send', Mid.H.G. *zinne* I' burn' for **tind-nō* cp. Goth. *tandja* 'I kindle'. I suggest that we class here verbs with *-mm-*, for *-mn-*, as O.H.G. *swimmu* 'I swim', cp. O.Ir. *sennim* § 613. Goth. *fraíh-na* 'I ask' (perf. *frah frēhum* partic. *fraíhans*) O.Icel. *freg-n* (*frā frāgum fregenn*) A.S. *friʒ-ne* (*fræʒn fruʒnon fruʒnen*) with pr. Germ. variation of χ and ʒ (I §§ 529, 530 pp. 384 ff.), which was levelled down in different ways by different dialects: cp. Skr. *praś-ná-s* 'question' √*prek̑-* (§ 607 p. 148).

§ 615. Balto-Slavonic. Here this class is more creative than anywhere else.

Lith. *gy-nu* 'I revive, recover': Goth. *kei-na*, see § 608 p. 149. Lith. *lȳ-na* 'it rains': Lat. *li-nō* (*ibid*). O.C.Sl. *zi-ne-tŭ* 'gapes, yawns': A.S. *ʒī-ne* (*ibid*). Lett. *slî-nu* 'I lean upon, support': cp. Gr. Lesb. κλί-ννω O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* Lat. *in-clīnāre* (§ 603 p. 145, § 611 p. 150); Lett. *sî-nu* 'I bind': cp. Skr. *si-nā́-ti* 'binds, surrounds' √*sai̯-*; in the two Lettic verbs *î* doubtless comes from the infinitive (*slî-t*, *sî-t*). Lith. *ry-nù* 'I swallow, devour'; O.C.Sl. *ri-ne-tŭ* 'knocks' *rinetŭ sę* 'starts' (cp. *na-rojĭ* 'impetus'). Lith. *ei-nù* 'I go': a comparison with Lat. *prōd-īnunt* is unsafe (see § 1022). O.C.Sl. *si-ne-tu* 'shines', *mi-ne-tŭ* 'goes by'.

Lith. *pū-nu* (beside *pūv-ù*) 'I make rotten' cp. O.Icel. *fū-na* 'I rot', § 605 p. 146. Lett. *gû-nu* 'I snatch' Lith. *gáu-nu* 'I get' (*-áu-* from *gáu-ti*, no doubt): cp. Skr. *ju-nā́-ti* 'sets in quick motion, drives on, presses'. Lith. *klū-nu* (beside *klūv-ù*) 'I hook on to, remain hanging', *griū-nù* (beside *griūv-ù*) 'I knock down', *žū-nù* (beside *žūv-u*) 'I come to grief', Lett. *schû-nu* (beside Lith. *siūv-ù*) 'I sew' O.C.Sl. *pli-ne-tŭ* 'spews' for **plji-* **plјy-* **spi̯ū-* (I § 60 p. 47), and *plju-ne-tŭ* like Lith. *spiáu-nu* Lett. *spłau-nu*. Lith. *au-nù* Lett. *áu-nu* 'put covering on the feet' √*eu̯-*, Lith. *ráu-nu* Lett. *ráu-nu* 'pull, tear, snatch out' (beside Lith. Lett. *ráu-ju*) √*reu̯-*, and others (see Bielenstein, Lett. Spr. I 355).

The analogy of *ráu-nu*: infin. *ráu-ti* etc. produced Lith. denominative re-formations like *keláunu* instead of *keláuju* beside the inf. *keláuti* 'to travel' (from *kẽla-s kẽle-s* 'way'), *karaláunu* instead of *karaláuju* beside infin. *karaláuti* 'to be king' (from *karãla-s* 'king'). Compare Gr. ἰθύνω § 611 p. 150.

Slavonic gives a large number of *no*-presents from verbs with other finals than *-i* and *-u*; *planetŭ* 'blazes up' for **pol-ne-tŭ*, *po-mę-ne-tŭ* 'thinks upon', *vrĭg-ne-tŭ* 'throws' (√*u̯erg-*), *mlŭk-ne-tŭ* 'grows dumb', *za-klenetŭ* 'shuts' for **-klep-ne-tŭ*, *bŭnetŭ* 'awakes' for **bŭd-ne-tŭ*, *dvig-ne-tŭ* 'moves', *sŭch-ne-tŭ* 'dries' (intr.). Also from one root in *-ā*: *sta-ne-tŭ* 'places itself', akin to Pruss. *stānintei*, adverb of the pres. participle, cp. Armen. *sta-na-m* Gr. στά-νω Lat. *dē-stināre* § 611 p. 149.

In Slavonic the *no*-suffix is not confined to the present stem; it appears elsewhere in the system of the verb, but then in the peculiar shape *-nǫ-*. Examples are aor. *mi-nǫ-chŭ* partic. pres. *mi-nǫ-vŭ* infin. *mi-nǫ-ti* sup. *mi-nǫ-tŭ* from *mi-nǫ*. *-nǫ-* is regular only in the infinitive and supine (except *sta-ti* from *sta-nǫ*).

Remark. The following I think is not improbably the history of *-nǫ-*. Slavonic once had verbs in **-onǫ* (1st sing. pres.), and their aorist ended in *-on-sŭ -ǫsŭ* and their infinitive in *-on-tī -ǫti*, parallel to Lith. *gyvenù* 'I dwell' (fut. *-ę-siu* infin. *-ën-ti*) *kùpinu* 'I heap' (fut. *-į-siu* infin. *-in-ti-*), see § 624. Now in the present, *-no-* levelled out *-ono-*, which was only used with consonantal roots; but *-ono-* remained everywhere except in the present. Hence a compromise: an infinitive **vrĭgǫti*, for instance, would be transformed by analogy of *vrĭgnǫ vrĭgneši* etc., and become *vrĭgnǫti*. Afterwards *-nǫ-* was extended to verbs from roots ending in a vowel, such as *mi-nǫ*, and only *sta-nǫ* kept clear of this change (infin. *sta-ti*). Compare with this § 624 at end, and Wiedemann, Arch. Slav. Phil. x 653 ff.

Lithuanian has no present stems with the suffix *-no-* from roots with a final explosive or fricative; instead of these the language has forms of Class XVI, such as *bundù* as against *bŭnǫ* in Old Church Slavonic. But there are a few in Lettic, all of them however with an interior nasal, which in most cases certainly belongs to the present suffix and not to the root: *brînu* 'I wade' for **brîd-nu *brend-nu* beside Lith. *brendù* and *bredù* (*bridaũ brìsti*), *rûnu* 'I find' for **rûd-nu* beside *rûdu* = Lith. *randù* (*radaũ rásti*), *mîſ-nu* 'mingo' for **menz-nu* beside Lett. *mę̃žù* (√ *meiĝh-*), *lînu* 'I crawl' for *lîd-nu* beside *lîdu* = Lett. *lendù* (*lindaũ lį̇sti*). The origin of this kind is obvious; the class with a nasal infix (Class XVI) has been contaminated with the *-no*-class, like O.C.Sl. *sęg-nǫ* from √ *seg-* etc. (§ 636), and like Gr. λιμπάνω from √ *leiq-* etc. (§ 631).

Class XIV.

Root + *-n̥no- -eno- -ono-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 616. It is quite clear that this class is derived from nouns; see § 487 p. 41, § 596. 6 p. 140, and below. It is note-

worthy that the *n*-suffix is often extended by -*i̯o*-; as Skr. *iṣaṇ-yá-ti* beside (Ved.) *iṣaṇa-t*, Gr. ὀλισθαίνω beside ὀλισθάνω, O.H.G. *giwahann(i)u* 'I recount'. See §§ 618 and 743. This is the same formation as Skr. *vithuryá-ti* from *vithurá-s* 'staggering, shaking', Gr. αἰόλλω from αἰόλο-ς, see § 770.

§ **617**. Along with -*n̥no*- -*eno*- we find -*n̥nā*- -*enā*-, inflected in the same way as denominatives from *ā*-stems. To illustrate, take: Skr. *pr̥tanā-yá-nt*- 'fighting' beside Avest. *pešana-iti* Skr. *pr̥tan-yá-ti* beside Skr. *pŕ̥tana-m pŕ̥tanā*- 'fight', Skr. *bhandanā-yá-ti* 'shouts, cheers' beside *bhandána-s* 'shouting' *bhandánā*- 'shout'; Gr. ἐρῡκανάω beside ἐρῡκάνω 'I hold back, bar, stem' (cp. θηγάνω 'I sharpen, whet' beside θήγανο-ν θηγάνη 'whetstone', and δαπανάω 'I spend' beside δάπανο-ς 'extravagant' δαπάνη 'expense'); Lat. *runcināre* (cp. *runcina* 'plane') *coquināre cārināre farcināre*; O.Icel. *vakna* 'I awake' pret. *vakna-đa*, Goth. pret. *ga-vaknō-da* beside pres. *ga-vakna*; Lett. *stiprinó-ju* 'I strengthen' infin. *stiprinó-ti* beside *stìprinu* (infin. *stìprin-ti*), *gabenó-ju* 'I bring together' (infin. *gabenó-ti*) beside *gabenù* (infin. *gabén-ti*); and besides, the Lith. group of preterites, of which examples are 1st pl. *stìprino-me gabéno-me*, must be added.

Seeing how clear is the denominative character of this fourteenth class, no doubt can be felt that all these verbs are derived from feminine stems. The nearest parallel is found in the verbs which will be discussed in § 769, Skr. *priyā-yá-tē* Goth. *frijō*, O.Ir. *com-alnaim* O.H.G. *follōm*, and such like. That is to say, Skr. *bhandanā-yá-ti* stands to *bhandánā* 'shout' and *bhandána-s* 'shouting' exactly as O.H.G. *follō-m* 'I fill' to *follā* 'fullness' and *fol* 'full', or as *wuntōm* 'I make wounded, I wound' to *wunta* 'a wound' and *wunt* 'wounded'.

Remark. The student must not suppose that I refuse to see the parallelism between ἐρῡκανάω : ἐρῡκάνω and πιτνάω : πίτνω; O.Icel. *vakna*: Goth. *ga-vakna* and O.H.G. *ginō-m*: O.Icel. *gīn*; Lith. *stiprinóju* : *stìprinu* and *lynója* : *lỹna*. See the end of § 598, and §§ 602, 605, 606. The origin of the *ā*-flexion is different in the two sorts, but *ā*-flexion in the one may well have influenced the other in different languages inde-

pendently. For instance, Greek verbs of the type of ἐρῡκανάω may have been supported by the use of πιτνάω, or *vice versa.*

Skr. *bhandanā-yá-tē* is not to be classed with *hṛṇā-yá-nt-*, a quite isolated stem; we see this from a variant *hṛṇī-yá-māna-s* (§ 600 p. 144). Such forms as **bhandanī-yá-ti* do not exist.

§ 618. I cite first forms which appear in more than one language. Here, as below with forms belonging to one language only (§§ 619 ff.), the extension with *-i̯o-* must be cited too (§ 743).

Lat. *cruen-tu-s* partic. of a present 3rd sing. **cruini-ṭ*, Lith. *krùvinu* 'I make bloody' (partic. *krùvinta-s* = *cruentu-s*) from *krù-vina-s* 'bloody'.

Armen. *aṙoganem* 'I sprinkle', Lith. *srãvinu* 'I make flow', common ground-form **srou̯n̥nō*, √ *sreu̯-* (cp. Bugge, Idg. Forsch. I 451).

Skr. injunctive *iṣaṇa-t* 'let him set in motion, arouse, excite, quicken' and *iṣaṇ-yá-ti*, Gr. ἰαίνω 'quicken, hasten, warm' for *ἰσ-αν-ι̯ω.

Goth. *af-lifna* 'I remain over' (pret. *-nō-da*), Lith. *lipinù* 'I cause to adhere'.

Goth. *áukna* 'I increase, grow' (pret. *-nō-da*), Lith. *auginù* 'I make grow, rear'.

Gr. αὐαίνω 'I make dry, wither' for *σαυσ-αν-ι̯ω, Lett. *saũsinu* 'I make dry'. Compare Alban. *ϑań* 'I dry, wither', for **saus-ni̯ō* according to G. Meyer (Alb. Wort. 85, Alb. Stud. III 43).

Gr. τερσαίνω 'I make dry, dry up', Goth. *ga-þaúrsna* 'I grow dry, wither' (pret. *-nō-da*).

§ 619. Aryan. Avest. opt. 1st pl. *zaranaęmā* and *zaranyę-tę̄* (partic. *zaranimna-*) from *zar-* 'grow angry, ill', cp. partic. *zaranu-mana-* Skr. *hṛ-ṇī-tē* § 596. 3 p. 138. Avest. *pešana-iti* 'fights' beside Skr. *pṛ́tana-m pṛtanā-* Avest. *pešana* 'fight, battle' (cp. § 617 p. 155). Skr. *kṛpáṇa-tē* 'he behaves pitifully, prays' beside *kṛpaṇá-s* 'pitiful, miserable' *kṛpáṇa-m* 'misery'. *iṣaṇa-t* 'let him set in motion' and *iṣan-yá-ti*: Gr. ἰαίνω, see § 618. Only with *-i̯o-*: *turaṇ-yá-ti* 'hastens, goes or makes

to go quickly' from *turáṇa-s* 'hastening' (pres. *tvár-a-tē* 'hastens') cp. Gr. ὀτρύνω § 611 p. 150; *bhuraṇ-yá-ti* 'he is active' from *bhuraṇa-s* 'active', and others. Compare Skr. *pṛtanā-yá-ti bhandanā-yá-ti* § 617 p. 155.

There is nothing to decide whether this Aryan *-ana-* representes Idg. *-n̥no-* or *-eno-* (those who believe that Idg. *o* becomes *a* in open syllables in Aryan will say, or *-ono-* either). *iṣanyá-ti* as compared with Gr. ἰαίνω, so far as it goes, favours *-n̥no-*.

-eno- must be the suffix in Skr. *bhána-ti* 'sounds, calls out', if this be derived from √*bhā-*, and analysed *bh-ánati*; see p. 56 footnote. Perhaps the same suffix is used in some of those forms which are cited by Per Persson, Wurzelerweiterung pp. 70 ff., such as *dhvana-ti* 'sounds'.

§ **620.** Armenian. In this language *-ano-* = Idg. *-n̥no-* is a very common present suffix. *lḱ-anem* 'I leave', aor. 3rd sing. *e-likʻ*, √*leiq-*. *gt-anem* 'I find', aor. 3rd sing. *e-git*, √*ueid-*. *tʻḱ-anem* 'I spew, spit', aor. 3rd sing. *e-tʻuḱ*. *kl-anem* 'I swallow', aor. 3rd sing. *e-kul*. *hat-anem* 'I cut off'. *tes-anem* 'I see', √*derḱ-* (I § 263 p. 214). *liz-anem* 'I lick' for **lēz-anem*, √*leiĝh-*.

-anem, like Greek *-ανω*, is found in some forms which have another present suffix already. As for instance *harçanem* 'I ask' beside aor. *harçi*, stem **pṛ(ḱ)-sko-* (§ 672), like Gr. ἀλυσκάνω beside ἀλύ-σκω; and very near akin to *harçanem* is Avest. *perᵉsanyęiti* 'asks', if its *-s-* = Skr. *-ch-* (cp. Skr. *prachana-m* 'an asking') and not Idg. *-ḱ-* (cp. Goth. *fraíhna*).

-anim (cp. § 711) is a variant of *-anem* as Gr. *-αινω* of *-ανω*; e. g. *meṙ-ani-m* 'I die' (aor. *meṙ-ay*) like Gr. μαρ-αίνω 'I make wither, decay', *mac-ani-m* 'I cleave to, hang on to, curdle', *zerc-ani-m* 'I free or save myself, run away'.

§ **621.** Greek. In this language too *-ανο-* = Idg. *-n̥no-* is very common.

ἀλφ-άνω 'I earn'. κῡδ-άνω 'I honour, exalt'. κευθ-άνω 'I hide'. θηγ-άνω 'I whet'. ληθ-άνω 'I escape notice'.

The suffix is often used to extend other present stems. For example take the following. ἱστ-άνω 'I place' beside ἵ-στη-μι (Class III). ἰσχ-άνω 'I hold back' beside ἴ-σχ-ω (Class IV). πυνθ-άνομαι 'I learn' λιμπ-άνω 'I leave' from *πυνθω = Lith. *-bundù* √ *bheudh-* and *λιμπω = Lat. *linquō* √ *leiq-*, and so too κλαγγ-άνω 'I cry out' from *κλαγγ-ω (cp. κλάζω for *κλαγγ-ιω) = Lat. *clang-ō* beside Gr. perf. κέκληγα (Class XVI). αὐξ-άνω 'I increase' beside αὔξω αὔκ-σω (Class XX). ἀλυσκ-άνω 'I avoid' beside ἀλύ-σκω (Class XXII). ἁμαρτ-άνω 'I miss' beside ἥμαρ-το-ν (Class XXIV). δαρθ-άνω 'I sleep' beside ἔ-δαρ-θο-ν (Class XXV).

πιμπλάνω πιμπράνω, as compared with πί-πλη-μι πί-πρη-μι were made on the analogy of λιμπάνω, and this served to keep safe the nasal in πίμπλημι πίμπρημι κίγκρᾶμι κίγχρημι (§ 542 p. 102, § 594 pp. 134 f.). Perhaps there was once a form *πλα-νω, parallel to Skr. *pr̥-ṇā́-ti*, which on the analogy of πί-πλη-μι πί-πλα-μεν was transformed to *πιπλανω (cp. the reduplicated τε-τρ-αίνω, p. 159), and then came under the influence of verbs like λιμπάνω. The Greeks themselves saw a close connexion between the ending -άνω and a nasal in the first syllable of the word which had it, if this syllable contained a short vowel + explosive; we can see this from the transformation of Att. *κιχᾰ́νω (for *κι-χανϝω, Hom. κιχᾰ́νω) into κιγχάνω (§ 652).

With -ανάω (see § 617 p. 155): ἐρῡκανάω beside ἐρυκάνω 'I hold back, bar, stem', δηκανάομαι 'I welcome' beside δηκνύμενος (§ 639), ἰσχάναω beside ἰσχάνω, and others.

A large number have -αίνω. ὀλισθαίνω beside ὀλισθάνω 'I slip'. μελαίνω 'I darken' (beside μελάνω? see the commentators on Iliad 12 64), and others (cp. § 776. 6 *b*).

Amongst these verbs in -αίνω are those whose root no longer forms a separate syllable, some of which are certainly old (cp. Lett. *tv-ìn-ti tr-ìn-ti* § 624). ξ-αίνω 'I scratch, comb' (ξ-άνιο-ν 'comb for carding wool') beside ξ-ύω and ξ-έω ξ-έσ-σαι (Class XX, § 661) from √ *qes-* (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20). ἐκ-φλ-αίνω 'I bubble up' beside φλ-ύω Lat. *fl-ā-s* O.H.G. *bl-ā-u*

(§ 583 p. 124). *δρ-αίνω* 'I do, intend to do' (*ὀλιγο-δρανέων* 'faint, weak' § 801), beside *δρ-ῶ δρ-ᾶ-μα* (§ 737). *ῥαίνω* 'I besprinkle' for **σρ-αν-ιω* (*ῥανίς -ίδος* 'drop') beside *ῥ-έ(ϝ)ει* 'flows' from √ *ser-* 'run, flow' (§ 488 p. 47) cp. *ξ-αίνω* beside *ξ-ύω*; *ἐρράδ-αται ῥάσσατε* (**sr̥-d-*) belong to Class XXV (§ 695).[1]) *χρ-αίνω* 'I touch the surface gently, stroke, soil' beside *χρ-άω* 'I seize, touch' *χρ-αύω* 'touch superficially, scratch' *χρ-ίω* 'I anoint'. *γραίνειν· ἐσθίειν* Hesych., beside *γράω*, which seems to be akin to Skr. *gr-asa-ti* (§ 659). *κραίνω* 'I make, complete' (√ *qer-* Skr. *kr̥-ṇṓ-ti*); this we should probably place here. The alternative is to analyse it **κρα-ν-ιω*, from **qr̥-n-*, and place it in § 611 (pp. 149 f.), but *κρ-όνο-ς* makes this the more likely place (see II § 67 with the Rem., p. 112). *τε-τρ-αίνω* 'I bore' (*τι-τραίνω* is also found, see Veitch Greek Verbs s. v. *τετραίνω*): Lith. *tr-inù* 'I rub', √ *ter-*.

Connected with noun stems in *-ανο-* (§ 487 pp. 40 f., § 596. 6 p. 140). *ὀλισθάνω ὀλισθαίνω*: *ὀλίσθανο-ς* 'slippery, smooth'. *θηγάνω* : *θήγανο-ν θηγάνη* 'whetstone'. *μελάνω μελαίνω* : *μελανο-* (*μελαν-*) 'black'. *φασγάνεται· ξίφει ἀναιρεῖται* Hesych.: *φάσγανο-ν* 'cutting instrument, or sword'. *κναίνων· ἔγκνος ὤν* Hesych.: Samian *κνανο-* in *Κνανοψιών* (the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 32 footnote 1). Compare *λευκαίνω* with Skr. *rōcaná-s* 'light, shining', *ἀλφάνω* with Skr. *arhaṇa-m arhaṇā* 'tribute of respect'.

§ **622**. Italic. Lat. *cruen-tu-s* beside Lith. *krùvinu*, see § 618 p. 156. Osc. patensíns 'aperirent' for **patenesēnt* cp. Lat. *panderent* (§§ 632, and 837. 2).

Latin verbs in *-ināre* (§ 617 p. 155): *coquināre* beside *coquere*, *cārināre* beside *cārere* etc.

§ **623**. Germanic. In this class fall Inchoatives formed with an *n*-suffix (for the term inchoatives as applied to them,

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1) By this correct vol. I § 488 p. 360, § 492 p. 363, § 639 p. 479.

see Egge, Amer. Journ. Phil., VII 38 ff.); as Goth. *ga-vaknan* O.Icel. *vakna* A.S. *wæcnan* 'awake'. Since in these and many other words *n* is not assimilated to the preceding consonant, it follows that there must have been a vowel between than which has suffered syncope (cp. I § 214 p. 181, Kaufmann, P.-B. Beitr. XII 504 ff.). But whether this vowel was *a*, *i*, or *u*, and the suffix accordingly Idg. *-ono-*, *-eno-*, or *-n̥no-*, remains a question. Furthermore, amongst form like Goth. *dis-taúrna* 'I tear to pieces, crush to pieces', there may be forms with Idg. *-no-* (cp. Skr. *dīr-ṇá-s* O.H.G. *zor-n*, II § 66 p. 141), which would then have to be placed in Class XIII.

The old unextended inflexion was regular Gothic only for the present; e. g. *ga-vakna -is -iþ* etc. Elsewhere Gothic has *-nō-*, as *-vaknōda*. Old Icelandic carries *-nō-* all through the verb, as *vakna -naða*. In Old High German, on account of a certain change which will be set forth in § 781. 3, most of the words in question are absorbed into the *ē*-conjugation (3[rd] weak conj.), as *wesanēm*.

In addition to the words already mentioned — Goth. *af-lyna*, *áuk-na* (O.Icel. *aukna*), *ga-þaúrsna* (O.Icel. *þorna*) — the following may be named: Goth. *ga-staúrkna* 'I become stiff, dry up' O.Icel. *storkna* O.H.G. *gi-storchanēm* (beside Lith. *streg-iu* 'I stiffen'). Goth. *-brukna* intr. 'I break, break to pieces' (beside *brika* 'I break'). Goth. *ga-batna* O.Icel. *batna* 'I improve myself', O.H.G. *trunkanēm* 'I get drunk'. Beside Goth. *us-lūkna* 'I open' (intr.) appears *us-lūkn-s* 'open' (adj.).

These inchoatives are sometimes derived from an adjective, in which case they run in parallel lines with the factitive group in (Goth.) *-jan*; Goth. *fullnan* O.Icel. *fullna* 'get full' beside Goth. *fulljan* O.Icel. *fylla* 'make full, fill' from Goth. *full-s* O.Icel. *full-r* 'full' (ground-form **pl̥-no-s*), Goth. *ga-qiunan* 'become alive' beside *ga-qiujan* 'make alive, quicken' from *qiu-s* (gen. *qivis*) 'alive', Goth. *mikilnan* 'grow big' beside *mikiljan* 'make big' from *mikil-s* 'big'; cp. Lith. *lìnksminu* from *liñksma-s* and similar forms, § 624.

O.H.G. *gi-wahannen* 'mention' pret. *gi-wuog*, A.S. *wæcnan* 'awaken' pret. *wōc*, like Gr. *ἀλιταίνω* (aor. *ἤλιτο-ν*).

§ **624**. Balto-Slavonic. Baltic has *-ina* = Idg. *-n̥no-*, and *-ena-* = Idg. *-eno-*.

Lith. *krùvinu* 'I make bloody' fut. *krùvį-siu* partic. *krùvin-ta-s* = Lat. *cruen-tu-s*, *auginù* 'I make grow', *saũsinu* 'I make dry', see § 618 p. 156. *kùpinu* 'I heap up' from *kùpina-s* 'heaped up'. *trùpinu* 'I crumble, break into little bits' from *trupinỹ-s* 'crumb'. *tẽkinu* 'I make run (on a grindstone), polish' from *tẽkina-s* running' (O.C.Sl. *tečĭnŭ*). *bùdinu* 'I awake'. *lipinù* 'I make stick'. The form of the root is noticeable in *tr-inù* 'I rub' infin. *tr-ìn-ti* from √*ter-* (Lat. *terō*), with which compare Gr. *τε-τραίνω* 'I bore', and *tvįstu* 'I swell out' instead of **tv-inu*, infin. *tv-ìn-ti*, beside Lat. *tu-meō*; cp. Gr. *ξ-αίνω*, and its like, § 621 pp. 158 f.

This extraordinarily fertile suffix was used to derive verbs with a factitive meaning from adjectives too (as in Gothic, *fullnan* etc., § 623); e. g. *lìnksminu* 'I make glad, comfort' from *liñksma-s* 'joyful', *vẽninu* 'I unite' from *vẽna-s* 'one', *tvìrtinu* 'I make fast' from *tvìrta-s* 'fast'; cp. Pruss. *swintina* 'he hallows' from *swints* 'holy'.

From verbs like *pú-d-inu vẽl-d-inu svìl-d-inu* was extracted a suffix *-dinu*, which was largely used. See §§ 700 and 701.

Only Lithuania and Prussia have *-ina-* (*-in-*) with non-present stems. For Prussian, compare infin. *waidin-t* 'to show' partic. pret. act. *waidinn-ons* from the pres. 3rd sing. *waidinna*; *swintin-t-s* 'hallowed' from 3rd sing. pres. *swintina*. Lettic has for these parts of the verb *-inā-*, as *áud/inu* 'I bring up, raise, rear' infin. *áud/inát* in contrast with Lith. *auginù augìnti* (cp. Goth. *lifna lifnōda*). Lith. has also a few words with *-inoju -inoti*, as *stiprinóju* 'I strengthen' *stiprinóti* beside *stìprinu stìprinti* (Lett. *stiprinu stiprinát*), *linksminóju* 'I make glad' *linksminóti* (also accented *lìnksminoju*) beside *lìnksminu*.

Rarer than *-ina-* is *-ena-*: Lith. *gyvenù* 'I dwell' *gyvénti* (cp. Goth. *ga-qiuna*, § 623 p. 160) and *graudenù* 'I remind, admonish'; *gabenu* 'I bring', also *gabenóju gabenóti*.

That Slavonic once possessed verbs in **-oną* infin. **-on-tī* **-ątī* may be assumed, as we have seen in § 615 Rem. p. 154, from such forms as *vrĭg-ną-ti*. With this *-ono-* compare *zv-onŭ* 'sound' beside *zv-ĭněti* 'sound', containing the suffix *-n̥no-* (beside *zov-ą zv-a-ti* 'to call', II § 67 p. 154); further, Gr. *αὐονή* 'dryness' *αὔονον· ξύλον ξηρόν* (Hesych., MS. *αὔονος*) beside *αὐαίνω* 'I dry up' (beside Lith. *saũsin-ti* O.C.Sl. *sŭchną-ti*).

Class XV.

Root + Nasal Suffix forming the Present Stem.

§ **625.** Here fall such present stems as Skr. *yunáj-mi* pl. *yuñj-más*. This class has hitherto not been certainly proved to belong to any branch but Aryan. Its origin and relation to the other nasal classes has been discussed in § 596. 5 p. 139.

§ **626.** Aryan. √*leiq-* 'linquere': Skr. *riṇák-ti* Avest. *irinaxti* (I § 260 p. 212), Skr. 1st pl. *riñc-más* 3rd pl. *riñc-ánti* pret. 1st pers. sing. *á-riṇac-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-riṇak*, conj. *riṇác-a-t*, opt. *riñc-yā́-t*; — thematic Lat. *linqu-ō* Pruss. *po-linka* 'remains'. Skr. *bhinád-mi* 'I split', imper. *bhin(d)dhí*, √*bheid-*; — thematic Prakrit *bhind-a-di* Lat. *find-ō*. *pináš-mi* 'I pound, crush' 3rd pl. *piš-ánti* (cp. I footnote), injunctive 2nd and 3rd sing. *pinák*, √*peis-*; — thematic Skr. *a-piš-a-t* Lat. *pīns-ō*. Avest. *cinah-mi* 'I give information', cp. 3rd sing. *cōiš-t* 'he informed'. Avest. *cinas-ti* 'he instructs' 1st pl. mid. conj. *cinaþ-ā-maidē*. Skr. *ruṇádh-mi* 'I stop, stem' 3rd sing. act. *ruṇáddhi* mid. *run(d)dhḗ*; — thematic *rundh-a-ti*. *vṛṇáj-mi* 'I twist together' 3rd sing. mid. *vṛṅk-tḗ*, √*u̯erg-*, cp. Gr. *ῥέμβομαι* § 631. *tṛṇḗḍhi* 'shatters' instead of **tṛṇṓḍhi* (for **tṛṇaž-ḍhi*), 3rd pl. *tṛh-ánti* (see I § 404. 2 p. 298); — thematic *tṛh-a-ti*. Avest. weak form *merᵉək- merᵉnc-* from *marc-* 'destroy'. 3rd pl. act. *merᵉnc-inti* mid. *merᵉnc-aitē* 2nd pl. mid. *merᵉəgᵉ-duyē*, opt. 3rd sing. *merąš-yā-þ*, cp. I § 448 pp. 332 f.,

§ 473. 4 p. 350, II p. VIII, I § 200 Rem. p. 168, Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 483; — thematic Avest. *merᵉnc-a-itę̄*.

Remark. On Skr. *hinás-ti* 3rd pl. *hiṣ-anti* see § 667.

Strong stem instead of weak: Skr. 2nd pl. *yunák-ta* instead of *yuṅk-tá*.

Class XVI.

Root + Nasal Infix + Thematic Vowel forming the Present Stem.

§ **627.** This class stands to the preceding in the same relation as Class II *B* to Class I, etc., see § 491 p. 50.

As the nasal often spreads from the present to the other parts of the verb, and then to nouns it is often doubtful, where a Root does not contain *i*, *u*, a liquid or a nasal, whether the nasal which we see is not really part of the root itself. It is an infix in Lat. *pre-hendō -hendī -hēnsu-s* Gr. *χείσομαι* 'I will seize' (for *χενδ+σ-*) *ἔ-χαδ-ο-ν* (*χn̥δ-*) *χανδάνω* Alban. *ǵendem* 'I am found' Lett. *gīdu* 'I understand, conjecture' (for **gendu*), which is proved by Lat. *praeda* (for **prae-hedā*) Goth. *-gita*. For Skr. *spanda-tē* 'throbs' *spandaya-ti spanda-s* 'a throbbing' *pani-ṣpadá-s* 'throbbing' (*spad-* = **spn̥d-*) Gr. *σφενδόνη* 'sling' *σφαδασμός* 'throbbing, eagerness, impatience' (**σφn̥δ-*)[1]) the same is proved by Gr. *σφεδ-ανό-ς* 'hasty, wild' *σφοδ-ρό-ς* 'powerful'. But it sometimes happens that there are no kindred words which can decide the matter. And then again, to make the ground more slippery under our feet, roots whose nasal we have a right to say belongs to the root itself, make forms without any nasal by analogy. Thus Skr. *mamā́th-a māthaya-ti* instead of *mamanth-a manthaya-ti* from *mathnā́-ti mátha-ti*, where *math-* comes from **mn̥th-* (§ 516 p. 82, § 852); Gr. *δήξομαι* instead of **δεγξομαι* from *δάκ-νω ἔ-δακο-ν*, where *δακ-* comes from **dn̥k̑-* (I § 224 p. 191).

§ **628.** √*leịp-*: Skr. *limp-á-ti* 'smears', Lith. *limp-ù* 'I cling, hold'. √*peịk̑-*: Skr. *piṣ́-á-ti* 'adorns, decks, arms',

1) Connect Lat. *pendō pependī, pondus*?

Lat. *ping-ō.* √*u̯ei̯d-*: Skr. *vind-á-ti* 'finds', O.Ir. *ro-finnadar* 'gets to know' (see § 633), cp. Armen. *giut* 'gain, profit' for **u̯ind-* (Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. I 26, 63, 75; Bugge, Idg. Forsch. I 443), Gr. *ἰνδ-άλλομαι* 'I show myself, appear'. √*sei̯q-sei̯g-* 'trickle down': Skr. *siñc-á-ti* 'pours out, wets', Goth. *sigq-a* 'I sink' (part. *sagq* following *band* etc., I § 67 Rem. 1 p. 57), Lett. *síku* 'I become exhausted, dry up, fall' (of water) for **sink-u*, cp. Mid.H.G. *sīhte* 'shallow' from **sinq-to-*. √*k̑u̯ei̯t-k̑u̯ei̯d-* 'shine' (Skr. *śvit-ānā-s* Goth. *hveit-s*): Skr. *śvind-a-tē* 'is clear, or white' (gramm.), Lith. *szvint-ù* 'I become clear'. Skr. *a-pi̯ṣ-a-t* 'I crushed' (beside *pi-náṣ-ṭi*, § 626), Lat. *pīns-ō*, cp. Gr. *πτίσσω πτίττω* instead of prehistoric **πτινσ-i̯ω* (§ 631). Skr. opt. *chind-ē-ta* beside *chi-nád-mi* 'I cut off, tear to pieces' (Class XV), Lat. *scind-ō*, cp. Gr. *σχινδ-αλμό-ς* 'piece of wood split off, splinter'. Prakr. *bhind-a-di* beside Skr. *bhinád-mi* 'I split' (§ 626), Lat. *find-ō.* √*snei̯gh-*: Lat. *ningu-i-t*, Lith. *sniñg-a* 'it snows'. √*lei̯q*: Lat. *linqu-ō*, Pruss. *po-linka* 'remains' (Skr. *riṇák-ti* § 626), cp. Gr. *λιμπ-άνω* § 631. Lat. *string-ō*, Lith. *string-u* 'I remain hanging' (pret. *strig-au*), beside Lat. *striga*, Goth. *strik-s* 'stroke, line' O.H.G. *strīhhu* 'I draw a line, pass along'; O.C.Sl. *strig-ą* 'I shave, shear' for **striṇg-* (I § 229. 4 p. 195) or for **strei̯g-*? Lat. *dī-stingu-ō*, Goth. *stigq-a* 'I strike, push' O.Icel. *stǫkk* 'I leap, push', beside Lat. *īn-stīgō* Skr. *tējatē* 'is sharp, goads on', cp. Lith. *sténgiu* § 637. Lat. *mingō* √*mei̯ĝh-*, cp. Lett. *mifchu* for **minzi̯u* § 635. Skr. *lump-á-ti* 'breaks to pieces', Lat. *rump-ō*, √*reu̯p-*. Skr. *luñc-a-ti* 'pulls, plucks' (gramm.: perf. *lu-luñc-ur* is found), Lith. *runk-ù* 'I grow wrinkled', √*reu̯q- reu̯g-* (Skr. *luk-* 'a falling off, disappearance', Lat. *rūg-a*, Lith. *raũka-s* 'wrinkle'), cp. Lat. *runc-āre.* Skr. *muñc-á-ti* 'lets go, frees, gets free, runs away', Lat. *ē-mungō*, Lett. *múku* 'I make off, flee' for **munk-u*, √*meu̯q- meu̯g-*. Skr. *yuñj-a-ti* (beside *yunák-ti* § 625), Lat. *jung-ō* √*jeu̯g-*, cp. Lith. *jùng-iu* 'I yoke to'. Skr. *bhuñj-a-ti* 'makes to eat or enjoy' (beside *bhunák-ti* Class XV), Lat. *fung-or.* Avest. *bunj--a-iti* 'lays down, frees, saves itself', cp. Gr. *πεφύγγων φυγγάνω* § 631. Lith. *bund-ù* 'I wake up', cp. Gr. *πυνθ-άνομαι* § 631.

√ *qert-* 'cut': Skr. *kṛnt-á-ti* 'cuts, splits', Lith. *krint-ù* 'I fall off, drop' (of leaves, fruit and so forth), Idg. **qṛnt-é-ti*, cp. I § 285 Rem. p. 228. O.Ir. *in-grennim* 'I pursue' i. e. **ghrendō?* (cp. § 633), O.C.Sl. *grędą* 'I come', originally **ghrṇ-dh-ō* √ *ghredh-*, cp. Goth. *gridi-* f. 'step, grade' Lat. *gradior* for **ghṛdh-i̯o-* (§ 717). √ *reĝ-* 'stretch, extend': Skr. *ṛñj-á-ti* (beside 3rd pl. mid. *ṛñj-atē* Class XV), cp. Lith. partic. *į-si-rę̃žęs* 'having stretched oneself' infin. *isz-si-ręszti* 'to stretch out' *rą̃žau* 'I stretch' derived from a stem **rinž-* = Skr. *ṛñj-* (from *riž-* = *ṛj-* were derived *réižiůs* 'I inflate myself' and *ráižau-s* 'I stretch myself', cp. below, Goth. *þeiha þáih*).

Formed from such roots with *r* we find in several languages present stems with vocalism of the strong grade. These must be regarded as new formations. Examples are: Skr. *śrambh--a-tē* 'entrusts', Gr. *ῥέμβ-ο-μαι* 'I turn myself round', Mid.Ir. *dringim* 'I ascend', O.H.G. *spring-u* 'I leap', Lith. *drę̃s-ù* 'I am brave'; details will be found under the separate headings.

√ *plāq-* *plāg-*: Lat. *plang-ō*, Lett. *plûku* 'I become flat, fall flat down' for **plank-u*, cp. Gr. *πλάζω* 'I strike, knock aside, lead astray' (*ἔπλαγξα πλαγκτό-ς*) for **πλαγγ-i̯ω* § 631. Lat. *clang-ō*, cp. Gr. *κλαγγ-άνω* and *κλάζω* for **κλαγγ-i̯ω* § 631 (pf. *κέκλαγγα*), O.Icel. *hlakka* 'I cry out' (*-kk-* for *-nk-*), beside Gr. *κλώζω* 'I cluck, caw' for **κλωγ-i̯ω*.

Roots ending in a consonant, without liquid, nasal, *i*, or *u* (type *peq-* 'coquere') show an *e*-vowel. Goth. *þeiha* O.H.G. *dīhu* 'I thrive' for **þinχ-ō*, earlier **þenχ-ō* (cp. O.Sax. partic. *thungan* and causative *thengiu* 'I complete'), from which we have the re-formates *þáih dēh* etc. (I § 67 Rem. 2 p. 57), Lith. *tenkù* 'I last out, have enough' infin. *tèk-ti*, compare O.Ir. *tocad* Mod.Cymr. *tynghed* 'luck, happiness' (first for **tonketo-*, cp. the Latinised name *Tunccetace*, inscr. in Wales), which also point to a nasal present stem. Alban. *ǵend-em* 'I am found', Lat. *pre-hendō*, Lett. *gîdu* 'I understand, conjecture' for **gend-u* √ *ghed-*, cp. Gr. *χανδάνω χείσομαι* § 631.

Several languages give *i̯o*-inflexion to this type (Class XXIX). Examples: Gr. *πτίσσω πτίττω* instead of **πτινσ-i̯ω*, *πλάζω* for

**πλαγγ-ιω*; Lat. *vinc-iō*, *sanc-iō* (cp. *sacer*); Lith. *jùng-iu*, Lett. *mí/chu* (beside *mí/nu*) 'mingo' for **minz-iu*. See § 744.

§ 629. Aryan. Skr. *vind-á-ti* Avest. *vind-a-iti* 'finds', √*ueid-*; Skr. *siñc-á-ti* Avest. *hinc-a-iti* 'pours out', √*seiq-*; Skr. *kṛnt-á-ti* Avest. *kerᵉnt-a-iti* 'cuts', see § 628 where other examples are given. We may also mention the following: Skr. *śiṣ-a-ti* 'leaves over' beside *śinás-ti*; *und-a-ti* 'moistens, wets' beside *unát-ti*; *umbh-a-ti* 'holds together, holds in custody' beside 2nd sing. *unap*; *tṛmp-á-ti* 'is satisfied' √*terp-*; *bṛh-a-ti* 'strengthens' √*bhergh-*; *śṛnth-a-ti* from *śrath-* 'to become loose or soft'; Avest. *merᵉnc-a-itę* from *marc-* 'destroy' beside 2nd pl. mid. *merᵉṅgᵉ-duyę* (§ 626). Sometimes in Sanskrit the accent is changed to the accent of Class II *A*, as *śúmbh-a-ti* and *śumbh-á-ti* 'adorns' (beside *śōbh-a-tē*), partic. mid. *túñj-a-māna-s* (3rd pl. *tuñj-átē* Class XV, *tuj-yá-tē* 'is struck, knocked'), *dṛ́h-a-ti* beside *dṛh-á-ti* 'strengthens' (beside *dṛ́h-ya-ti*), *pṛ́ñc-a-ti* mingles' (beside *pṛṇák-ti* and *pi-pṛg-dhi*). With secondary strong grade vocalism (cp. § 628 p. 165): Skr. *śranth-a-tē* (gramm.) beside *śṛnth-a-ti*, *śrambh-a-tē* 'entrusts (cp. *ni-śṛmbhá-s*), *anu-rañjati* 'cleaves truly to, loves' (cp. *rāga-s* 'colour, passion, love', Gr. ῥέζω ῥέγμα ῥογεύς), Avest. 3rd sing. pret. *morᵉnd-a-þ* for **marᵉnd-a-þ* (I § 94. 3 p. 89) from *mard-* 'kill' (or does *-ar-* = *-ṝ-*?); of the same sort may be Skr. *vánd-a-tē* 'praises, honours' beside *vád-a-ti ud-yá-tē*.

Roots of the type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165). Skr. *spand-a-tē* 'throbs', beside Gr. σφεδ-ανό-ς, § 627 p. 163. *stambh-a-tē* 'strengthens itself, stands fast, supports itself', beside Lith. *steb-iû'-s* 'I wonder' *stéb-iû'-s* 'I keep myself back' *stāba-s* 'apoplexy'. Sometimes the nasal is only found in non-present forms. Thus from √*seg-* 'fasten, hang' (Skr. *sajjatē* for **sa-zj-a-* § 562 p. 110, Lith. *segù*): Skr. perf. *sa-sañj-a* aor. *a-sañj-i* partic. *-saṅk-tavya-s*; from Ar. *dabh-* or *dhabh-*[1])

1) The desiderative forms *dhipsati dhīpsati* are late re-formates instead of Ved. *dipsati*, certainly not instead of pr. Ar. *dhabh*. Compare *dhak*, p. 171.

'to hurt, deceive' (cp. Skr. *á-dbh-u-ta-s* § 596. 2, p. 136, desid. Skr. *dípsa-ti* Avest. *diwža-idyāi* § 667, Skr. perf. *da-dā́bh-a*, *-dābha-s* 'hurting', Avest. caus. *dābayę-iti*): Skr. perf. *da-dámbh-a* caus. *dambháya-ti dambh-a-s* 'deceit'. In such instances, one of two explanations is possible. (1) Either a nasal present which was the origin of these nasal forms has perished. With *sañj-* compare O.C.Sl. *sęg-nǫ* § 636; *dambh-* may be illustrated by Gr. ἀτέμβω 'I hurt, deceive', if the root is *dhebh-*, and if this Greek word is a contamination of ϑε(μ)β- and τε(μ)φ-. (2) Or the nasal came from other words; thus *dadámbha*, beside *dabhnóti*, was formed on the analogy of *tastámbha* : *stabhnóti*, and similar pairs.

§ 630. Armenian. Present stems of this kind I know none; but cp. *giut* 'profit, gain', which seems akin to **u̯ind-ō̆* (§ 628 p. 164).

§ 631. Greek. Only a few examples of the unextended stem can be found. λινδέσϑαι· ἁμιλλᾶσϑαι beside λίζουσι· παίζουσιν Hesych. for *λινδ-ι̯ω?), connected by Fick with λοίδορο-ς and Lat. *loido-s lūdu-s*. σφίγγ-ω 'I tie, fasten', compared with Armen. *pirk*, for **sphig-ro-s*, by Bugge (Idg. Forsch. I 453). With secondary strong-grade vowel (cp. § 628 p. 165): ῥέμβομαι 'I turn round, revolve' (ῥόμβο-ς 'bull-roarer, wheel') containing Idg. **u̯r̥əg-* from √ *u̯erg-*: Skr. *vr̥ṇák-ti* 'twists together' infin. *vr̥ñj-ásē*, Mid.H.G. *runke* A.S. *wrincle* 'wrinkle' O.H.G. *rench(i)u* 'I turn, pull backwards and forwards in turning'. Root of the type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165): στέμβω 'I shake, misuse, handle roughly' beside στόβο-ς στοβέω στοβάζω.

Passing over to Class XXIX (§ 628 p. 165). πτίσσω πτίττω 'I crush, bruise' instead of *πτινσ-ι̯ω (the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 61): Skr. *a-pi̧ṣ-a-t* etc., see § 628 p. 164. πλάζω 'I strike, knock down' for *πλαγγ-ι̯ω: Lat. *plang-ō* etc., see § 628 p. 165. κλάζω 'I sound, cry out' for *κλαγγ-ι̯ω: Lat. *clang-ō* etc., see *ibid.* Perhaps also σκίμπτω 'I throw hard at something' for *σκιμπ-ι̯ω, beside Skr. *kṣip-á-ti* 'throws, slings'.

Large numbers pass into Class XIV (§ 621 p. 158). λιμπ-άνω 'I leave': Lat. *linqu-ō* etc., see § 628 p. 164. φυγγ-άνω 'I flee' (Lesb. partic. πεφύγγων): Avest. *bunj-a-ti*, see § 628 p. 164. πυνθ-άνο-μαι 'I learn': Lith. *bund-ù*, see § 628 p. 164. κλαγγ-άνω beside κλάζω, see above. θιγγ-άνω 'I touch, feel', cp. ἔ-θιγ-ο-ν. ἐρυγγ-άνω beside ἐρεύγ-ο-μαι 'I belch'. τυγχ-άνω, cp. ἔ-τυχ-ο-ν. λανθ-άνω beside λήθ-ω Dor. λᾱ́θ-ω 'I escape notice'. The existence of λανθάνω beside ἔλαθον produced δαγκάνω 'I bite' beside ἔδακον (√ *deñk̑-*), λαγχάνω 'I get by lot' beside ἔλαχον (perf. λέλογχα), and further, χανδάνω 'I hold' beside ἔχαδον, which was itself produced by analogy of *χενδ-ω (cp. fut. χείσομαι) from √ *ghed-* (cp. § 628 p. 165). I am uncertain about λαμβάνω 'I take' beside aor. ἔλαβον perf. εἴληφα Cret. λέλομβα (like εἴληχα λέλοχα).

Where no present formation has survived: ἴμψας· ζεύξας. Θετταλοί Hesych., beside Lat. *vinc-iō* Skr. *vi-vyak-ti* 'embraces, surrounds' 3rd dual *vi-vik-tá-s*, cp. γιμβάναι· ζεύγανα (Hesych.) i. e. ϝιμβάναι (like τύμπανο-ν).

§ **632.** Italic. Lat. *ningu-i-t* Umbr. *ninctu* 'ninguito', Lat. *dī-stinguō* Umbr. *an-stintu* 'distinguito', Lat. *ping-ō*, *pīns-ō*, *scind-ō*, *find-ō*, *linqu-ō*, *string-ō*, *ming-ō*, *rump-ō*, *ē-mungō*, *jung-ō*, *fung-ōr*, see § 628 p. 164. Lat. *vinc-ō* perf. *vīc-ī*, Osc. *vincter* 'convincitur', cp. Goth. *veih-a* 'I fight' Class II *A* O.H.G. *upar-wihit* Class II *B*, √ *u̯eiq-* § 532 p. 94. Lat. *fing-ō* beside *fic-tu-s fig-ulu-s*, √ *dhei̯ǵh-*: O.Ir. *dengaim* 'I oppress' (so Thurneysen). *ling-ō* beside *ling-urriō*, √ *lei̯ǵh-*. *tund-ō* beside *tu-tud-ī*. *pung-ō* beside *pu-pug-ī*. *ac-cumbō* beside *-cubuī cubāre*.

Lat. *frang-ō* for **bhr̥əg-ō* beside *frag-ili-s*, Goth. *brika* 'I break', √ *bhreg-* (cp. Osthoff, M.U. v p. 111).

Lat. *pang-ō* beside *pe-pig-ī* Gr. πήγ-νῡ-μι 'I fix', √ *pāk̑-pāǵ-*; akin are doubtless Goth. *fāha* O.H.G. *fāhu* 'I grasp, seize' (cp. Skr. *pā́śa-* 'cord, line') for pr. Germ. **faəχ-ō*, with partic. O.H.G. *gi-fangan*. *tang-ō* beside *te-tig-ī in-teger* (Umbr. antakres 'integris'), *con-tāgiu-m*. *plang-ō* beside

plāg-a: Lett. *plůku*, see § 628 p. 165. *lamb-ō*, beside O.H.G. *laffu* 'I lick' perf. *luof*, √*lāb-*. Perhaps also *pandō* beside *pateō* and beside Osc. patensíns 'aperirent', which comes from **patn̥nō* or **patenō* (§ 622 p. 159); cp. § 612 p. 151;[1]) and *of-fendō*, see § 696.

pre-hendō: Alban. *ǵend-em* etc., √*ghed-*, see § 628 p. 165.

The fertility of this type in Latin is made clear by *fund-ō* beside Goth. *giuta* 'I pour' for **ĝheu̯-dō* Class XXV § 690. Cp. Goth. *standa* and the like, § 634 at end.

Passing into Class XXIX (§ 628 p. 165). *vinc-iō*, beside Skr. *vi-vyak-ti vi-vik-tás*, see § 631 p. 168. *sanc-iō* beside *sac-er*.

langu-eō (*langu-ēscō*) perf. *langu-ī* (beside *laxu-s* O.H.G. *slach* 'slack, lazy' and Gr. λήγω 'I cease', √ *slēg-*), following Class X, § 590 p. 132.

§ **633.** Keltic. O.Ir. *dengaim* 'I oppress' from **dhiṇghō* (3[rd] pl. pass. conj. *for-diassatar* 3[rd] sing. perf. *dedaig*): Lat. *fingō*, see § 632. O.Ir. *slucim* 'I swallow, gulp' (secondary -*i̯o*-flexion) Mod.Cymr. *llyncaf llyngaf* 'devoro' from **sluṇkō*, √*slaˣu̯k- slaˣu̯g-*, Gr. λυγκαίνω and λυγγάνομαι 'I sob'.

O.Ir. *in-grennim* 'I pursue' with strong-grade vowel in the root: O.C.Sl. *gręd-ą*, see § 628 p. 165; but compare the Remark. So also Mid.Ir. *dringim* 'I ascend' = O.Ir. **dreng(a)im* (*drēimm* 'clambering' subst.), akin to Skr. *darh-* 'make fast' pres. *dr̥h-á-ti dŕ̥h-a-ti* (cp. Lith. *lipù* 'I mount up with my feet, climb' beside *limpù* 'I remain clinging', O.H.G. *chlimbu* 'I climb' beside *chlību* 'I cling').

O.Ir. *com-boing* 'confringit' (perf. 3[rd] sing. *-baig*), cp. Skr. *bhanák-ti* perf. *ba-bhañj-a* Armen. *bek-anem*. *tong(a)im* 'I swear' beside *co-tach* 'compact'. *in-dlung* 'I split' beside *in-dlach* 'split' subst.

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1) Bartholomae (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 96 f.) derives *pangō pandō ē-mungō* from **paṇk-nō* **pant-nō* **muṇk-nō* (cp. O.C.Sl. *kręt)-ną* and the like, § 636). This view seems to me unjustifiable until the general principles which govern the interchange of *tenues* and *mediae* when root-finals in Indo-Germanic have been made out (I § 469. 7 p. 346).

O.Ir. *ro-finnadar* 'gets to know' is related to Skr. *vind-á-ti* § 628 p. 164, and seems to have adopted *ā*-flexion; but compare the Remark, below.

Remark. Thurneysen writes to me: "*Grenn-* and *finna-* appear in Old Irish always with *nn* and never with *nd*. I hesitate between two explanations. (1) Either *nd* very early became *nn* before the accent (the prefix which accented is always *ind-*, is either *inn-* or *in-* when pretonic); or (2) the nasal stood originally after the dental: *finna-* = **vid-nā-* or **vi-n-d-nā-*, *grenn-* = **gred-n-* (**grid-n-*?) or **gre-n-d-n-*. I am still searching for evidence to decide the matter." With **vindnā-* **grendn-* compare Lett. *brĩnu* for **brendnu*, O.C.Sl. *sęgną* § 615 p. 154, § 636.

§ 634. Germanic. Except *standa* : *stōþ*, all Germanic stems of this class run the nasal right through the verb.

Goth. *sigq-a* O.H.G. *sink-u* 'I sink', Goth. *stigq-a* 'I strike', see § 628 p. 164. Goth. *fra-slinda* O.H.G. *slint-u* 'I swallow' (re-formed, O.H.G. *slunt* 'throat'): cp. Mid.H.G. *slīte* A.S. *slīde* 'I slide, slip', Lith. *slid-ù-s* 'slippery, smooth' Lett. *slaid-s* 'steep'.[1]) O.Icel. *slepp* 'I make slide' pr. Germ. **slimpō* (pret. *slapp*): cp. O.H.G. *slīfu* 'I slide, sink', √ *sleịb-*. O.H.G. *climbu* 'I climb, clamber, ascend': cp. O.Icel. *klīf* 'I climb' pret. *kleif*, O.H.G. *chlību* 'I cling, hold'. √ *gleịp-* (*gleịp-* and *leịp-* are *p*-extensions of √ *gleị-* and *leị-*, cp. § 797). Mod.H.G. *blinke* 'I glitter' a weak verb, but originally doubtless strong (re-formate O.H.G. *blanch* 'bright'): cp. O.H.G. *blīhhu* 'I gleam', Lith. *blyksztù* 'I turn pale' *blaiksztýti-s* 'to clear up'. From O.Sax. *mengian* (Goth. **maggjan*) 'to mingle' we must apparently infer **mingan* 'to mingle' akin to Skr. *miś-rá-* 'mixt'; see § 805. (Kluge in his Etym. Dict. explains differently).

Roots with *-er-* *-el-* show strong-grade vowels (cp. § 628 p. 165). O.H.G. *spring-u* 'I leap' instead of pr. Germ. **spruŋg-ō* ground-form **spr̥ŋgh-ō*: cp. Gr. σπέρχομαι 'I hasten' σπερχ-νό-ς 'hasty'. O.H.G. *ring-u* 'I move to and fro, writhe violently'

1) Osthoff compares *fra-slinda* with Gr. λει-μό-ς λαῖ-τμα (Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil., XXIV 215; Anz. für idg. Spr., I 82). According to this etymology, we should start with a stem *sli-t-* (cp. τ in λαῖτμα) which took a nasal infix. Compare below, in this section, on *standa* (p. 172).

A.S. *wrinȝe* 'I turn, press' (cp. Goth. *vruggō* f. 'knot, noose'): cp. O.H.G. *wurg(i)u* 'I throttle, choke' Lith. *verž-iù* 'I tie together, enclose', √*u̯erĝh-* (I § 285 Rem. p. 228). O.H.G. *scrint-u* 'I burst, blow up, split, rend' (O.H.G. *scrunta* 'split, tear, rent'): cp. Lith. *skérdžiu* 'I burst, blow up, split', partic. *su-skirdę̄s* 'blown up, burst open', √*sqerdh-* (i. e. *sqer+dh-*, § 689). Mid.H.G. *schrimpfe* 'I become wrinkled, shrivel': Pruss. *sen-skrempūsnan* acc. 'wrinkle, fold' (*p*, as elsewhere, wrongly written for *b*), cp. O.Icel. *skorp-r* 'shrivelled, dry' *skorp-na* 'I dry up' intr. Russ. *skorblyj* 'shrivelled', √*sqerb-*. Mid.H.G. *sprinza* O.Icel. *sprett* 'I leap, burst, blow up' doubtless akin to O.C.Sl. *prę̨d-ają* 'I leap, tremble', √*(s)perd-* (i. e. *(s)per+d-* § 700). O.H.G. *sling-u* 'I move, twist, swing to and fro, crawl' (cp. *slango* 'snake'), doubtless with Lith. *slenkù* 'I crawl' akin to Lat. *sulcu-s* 'furrow, snake's trail'.

Root type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165). Goth. *þeiha* O.H.G. *dīhu* 'I thrive' pr. Germ. **þeŋχ-ō*: Lith. *tenk-ù* √*teq-*, see § 628 p. 165. Goth. *finþa* O.H.G. *find-u* 'I find', as we may conjecture, from √*pet-* Gr. πίπτω (for the meaning cp. ἐμπεσεῖν). A.S. *ȝe-tinȝe* 'I hold on to, press' cp. *ȝe-tenȝan* 'to make fast, add, join to' O.Icel. *tengja* 'tie or fasten together', beside Skr. *dagh-* 'reach up to, touch' √*degh-* (Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *dhak* is an ad-formate of roots which had both initial and final *media aspirata*): O.C.Sl. *dęgŭ* 'line, string' *ne-dągŭ* 'weakness, sickness'.

Goth. *fāh-a* O.H.G. *fāh-u* 'I seize' pr. Germ. **faŋχ-ō*, connected possibly with Lat. *pang-ō*, √*pāk̂- pāĝ-*, see § 632 p. 165. Compare O.Icel. *banga* weak verb 'I strike, knock' Mod.H.G. Swiss *bang(e)* 'I give a knock' (Mid.H.G. *bengel* 'cudgel'), beside O.H.G. *bāgu* 'I fight, strive', O.Ir. *bāgim* 'I strive', √*bhēgh- bhōgh-*.

Secondary *i̯o*-flexion (§ 628 p. 165) must be assumed for O.H.G. *winch(i)u* 'I move sideways, fluctuate, nod, beckon' (pret. in Mid.H.G., pret. and part. in Mod.H.G. also strong — *wanc*, *gewunken*), if it, along with the Lith. *vìng-i-s* m. 'deviation, bend' *ving-ù-s* 'crooked, bent (compare *véngiu* 'I avoid, do not want to do something' inf. *vénkti*), is related

to O.H.G. *wīhhu* 'I shrink, yield' Gr. *οἴγνῡμι* for **ὀ-Ϝιγ-* 'I open' ('make yield'). But these comparisons are doubtful (cp. Fick, Wtb., i[4] 541, 547 f.; G. Meyer, Et. Wört. der alb. Spr., 463; Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelerw., 174 f.).

Nasal present stems from roots extended by *-t-*; see § 685. Goth. ***standa*** 'I stand' pret. ***stōþ*** O.H.G. ***stantu*** pret. ***-stuot*** (generally with intrusive nasal, ***stuont***) for ****standō*** ground-form ****stə-n-tṓ*** from √***stā-***. Goth. ***vinda*** O.H.G. ***wintu*** 'I wind, turn, wrap, enfold' (pret. ***vand want***), beside Goth. ***ga-vida*** 'I tie up' O.H.G. ***witu*** 'I tie, bind' from ***u̯ei̯-*** Skr. ***vī-tá-s*** 'folded, enclosed' Lith. ***vej-ù*** 'I twist a cord' (cp. § 790). O.H.G. ***swintu*** 'I vanish, disappear' A.S. ***swinde*** beside O.H.G. ***swī-nu*** § 614 p. 152. Compare above, O.H.G. ***scrintu*** from *sqer+dh-* p. 171, Mid.H.G. ***sprinze*** from *sper+d-* (*ibid.*), Lat. ***fundō*** from *ĝheu̯+d-* § 632 p. 169, and again O.H.G. ***chlimbu*** from *glei̯+p-* (above, p. 170), O.C.Sl. *tręsą* 'I shake, shatter' from *tr+es-* and Skr. *dhvąsa-ti* 'disperses, disappears' intr. from *dhu+es-* (Classes XIX and XX, cp. Per Persson, Wurzelerweiterung, p. 83).

§ **635.** Balto-Slavonic. In Baltic, this present formation is very productive.

Lith. ***limp-ù*** 'I cling, hold' (pret. *lip-aũ*), Lett. ***sīk-u*** 'I sink down, fall', Lith. ***szvint-ù*** 'I grow clear', ***sniñg-a*** 'it snows', Pruss. *po-linka* 'remains', Lith. ***string-u*** 'I remain hanging', ***runk-ù*** 'I grow winkled', Lett. ***múk-u*** 'I make off, flee', Lith. ***bund-ù*** 'I wake up' see § 628 p. 164. Lith. ***stimp-ù*** 'I grow stiff' (pret. ***stip-aũ***), ***tunk-ù*** 'I grow fat' (***tuk-aũ***), ***dżiung-ù*** 'I become glad' (***dżiug-aũ***).

Lith. *krint-ù* 'I fall off' (*krit-aũ*): Skr. *kr̥nt-á-ti*, √*qert-*, see § 628 p. 165. *drimb-ù* 'I drop in thick drops' (***drib-aũ***), beside *dreb-iù* 'I let fall in thick drops' Gr. *τρέφ-ε-ται* 'curdles' √*dhrebh-*. *trink-ù* 'I go wrong, do not come off' (***trik-aũ***), beside ***trăk-a-s*** 'foolish fellow' ***trak-ù-s*** 'foolish, mad' Gr. *ἀ-τρεκής* 'uninjured, exact, true'. ***splint-ù*** 'I spread' intr. (***split-aũ***), beside ***spleczù*** 'I spread', trans.

Roots of the type *peq-* (§ 628 p. 165). Lith. ***tenk-ù*** 'I suffice in some respect, have enough of something' (***tek-aũ***): Goth.

þeiha for pr. Germ. **þeӡχ-ō*, see § 628 p. 165. Lett. *gídu* 'I take in, conjecture', see § 628 p. 165. Lith. *gend-ù* 'I become damaged, split in two' (*ged-aũ*).

Lett. *plûku* 'I become flat, fall flat down' for **plank-u*: Lat. *plang-ō*, see § 628 p. 165. Lith. *kank-ù* 'I hold out, suffice' (*kak-aũ*).

An indication of the fertility of this type in Lithuanian is the forming of present stems of the kind from nouns (cp. § 793); e. g. *rentù* 'I get thinner' (*retaũ*) from *rẽta-s* 'thin, not close', *lempù* 'I pamper myself' (*lepaũ*) from *lepù-s* 'pampered'.

Secondary *i̯o*-flexion (cp. § 628, p. 165) is found only where the nasal spread beyond the present system. Lith. *jùng-iu* 'I yoke, put to' (inf. *jùnk-ti*) beside Skr. *yuñj-a-ti* Lat. *jung-ō*, Lett. *mí/chu* 'mingo' for **minz-i̯u* (inf. *mí/t*) beside Lat. *ming-ō*, § 628 p. 164. Lett. *kamp-ju* 'I seize, grasp' (inf. *kampt*), beside Lat. *cap-iō*.

Under the same conditions we have stems adopting *to*-conjugation (§ 686), where the meaning is intransitive. Lith. *jùnkstu* (Lett. *júkstu* for **junkstu*) 'I grow used' (*jùnkau jùnkti*) beside Lett. *júku* for *(j)unk-u*, akin to O.C.Sl. *učą* 'I instruct' Skr. *uc-ya-ti* 'finds pleasure in' *ṓkas-* n. 'pleasure, place of pleasure, home'; cp. O.C.Sl. *vyk-ną* and Goth. *bi-ūhts*, which likewise seem to have been nasalised (§ 636). Lith. *stìnkstu* 'I curdle, congeal, grow stiff' (*stìngau stìnkti*) beside Gr. *στείβω* 'I tread something hard' *στιβαρό-ς* 'firm, pressed, solid' (cp. Lith. *sténgiu* § 637). *sklį̃stù* 'I flow apart' (*sklindaũ sklį̃sti*) beside *sklìd-ina-s* 'full to overflowing' *skleidžiù* 'I spread'; a pret. 3rd sing. *sklìdu* (*sklìdō*) is also found, pointing to a present **sklind-ù*. Lett. *stringstu* 'I grow tight, dry up' (*stringu stringt*) beside Lith. *string-u* 'I remain hanging' (*strigau*) and *streg-iu* 'I crystallise, stiffen' (cp. § 628 p. 164). Lith. *drį̃stù* 'I grow bold' (*drį̃saũ drį̃sti*), $\sqrt{}$ *dhers-*. *linkstù* 'I bend' (*linkaũ liñkti*) beside Gr. *λεκ-άνη* 'pan, fan' *λοξό-ς* 'crooked'; also Lat. *lanx* with nasal (for **l̥əq-*?). The model for these presents is

seen in *blĩsta* 'it darkens' beside *blind-ō* √ *bhlendh-*, *tĩstù* 'I stretch myself out' beside *tĩs-aũ* stem *ten-s-*, and the like.

§ **636**. This formation is much rarer in Slavonic than it is in Baltic. O.C.Sl. *strig-ą* 'I shear, slave' for **striṇg-?* see § 628 p. 164. *gręd-ą* 'I come' (inf. *gręsti*) for *ghr̥ndh-* or **ghrendh-*: O.Ir. *in-grennim*, see § 628 p. 165. *sęd-ą* 'I sit' (inf. *sešti*), √ *sed-*, cp. Pruss. *sindats syndens* 'sitting' beside *sīdans sīdons* = Lett. *sḗdą̃s*. *lęg-ą* 'I lie' (inf. *lešti*), √ *legh-*. *tręsą* 'I shake, shatter' inf. *tręs-ti* from *tr-es-*, unless it comes from **trem-so-* (cp. Lith. *trimù* 'I tremble' Lat. *tremō*), see § 657. As regards *gręd-ą lęką* 'I bend' *pręd-ą* 'I spin' compare § 637.

Sometimes extended by *-i̯o-* (§ 628 p. 165). *žęždą* 'I desire, thirst' for **žęd-i̯ą* (inf. *žędati*) beside Lith. *pa-si-gendù* 'I miss' and *geidžiù* 'I long for'. *glęždą* 'I look, gaze' for **ględ-i̯ą* (inf. *ględěti*) beside Mid.H.G. *glinze* 'I shine' O.H.G. *glīzu* 'I glitter'. See § 637. With nasal confined to the present system: *ob-ręštą* 'I find' for **-ręt-i̯ą*, inf. *-rešti* aor. *-rětŭ* (for the etymology of this verb see § 687).

There is another extension, with *-no-*. *vyk-ną* 'I grow used' doubtless derived from **vyką* = Lett. *júku* for **(j)unk-u*, beside *učą* 'I teach' (§ 635 p. 173). *sęg-ną* 'I long for' beside Lith. *seg-ù* 'I fasten', cp. Skr. *sa-sañj-a* § 629 p. 166. *kręną* 'deflecto' for **kręt-ną* (cp. *krątiti* 'to twist, turn'), beside Skr. *kr̥ṇát-ti* 'turns the thread, spins' *kártana-m*. *sęk-ną* 'I sink' beside Lett. *síku* 'I sink, fall' for **sink-u*, √ *sei̯q-* (§ 628 p. 164). *ręg-ną* 'hisco' beside Lat. *ringor* (inf. *ring-ī*) *ric-tu-s*. Compare § 637.

§ **637**. Side by side with Lith. *drimbù* (ground-form **dhr̥mbh-ō*) and the like stand forms with *e* in the root syllable (cp. § 628 p. 165). *drę̃s-ù* 'I am bold' (pret. *drį̃s-aũ*) beside *drį̃s-tù* √ *dhers-* § 635 p. 173. *brendù* (dialectic *brindu* for *brendu*) 'I wade' beside *bredù* (*brid-aũ*) O.C.Sl. *bred-ą*. *lenk-iù* 'I bend' (*lenkiaũ leñkti*) beside *link-stù* √ *leq-* § 635 p. 173. *tréndu* 'I am devoured by moths or worms' inf. *trendė́-ti*, with *trìdė* beside Skr. *tr̥ṇatti tard-a-ti* § 692. We may assume

that *drẽs-ù* for **drins-ù* was coined to supplement *drįs-aũ* on the analogy of *renk-ù* : *rinkaũ*, *kertù* : *kirtaũ* etc.; *lenk-iù* appears beside *linkstù* on the analogy of *grę̃ž-iù* 'I turn, twist' beside *grį̃sztù* 'I turn myself' etc. Slavonic verbs with *ę*, *gręd-ą* *lęk-ą*, and **kręt-ą* which appears to be implied by *kręnq*, may quite well correspond to Lith. *drimb-ù* or to Lith. *drẽs-ù.*[1])

Baltic *en* Slav. *ę* is found in present stems from roots with *i*-vowels both extended and unextended. Lith. *senkù* 'I fall, sink' (of water) O.C.Sl. *sęk-ną* 'I sink down' beside Lett. *síku* for **sink-u* Skr. *siñc-á-ti* √ *seiq-* (§ 628 p. 164). Lith. *spréndžiu* 'I grasp with the hand' (*spręsti*) O.C.Sl. *prędą* 'I spin' (*pręsti*) beside Lith. *sprìndi-s* m. 'span' Lett. *spraid-s* 'place where one stands in a narrow compass' *debes-spraisli-s* 'vault of heaven' O.H.G. *spreiten* 'stretch out, separate, part asunder'. Lith. *pa-si-gendù* 'I miss' O.C.Sl. *žęždą* 'I desire, thirst' for **žęd-ją* beside Lith. *geidžiù* 'I desire' Goth. *gáidw* n. 'lack' O.H.G. *gīt* 'eagerness, greed, avarice'. Lith. *sténg-iu* 'I apply my strength to something' beside *stìnkstù* 'I congeal, get stiff' Gr. στείβω (§ 635 p. 173). Lith. *mę̃z-ù*[2]) 'mingo' (*mį̃žaũ mį̃szti*) Lett. *mī/-nu* for **menz-nō* beside Lett. *mí/chu* for **minz-įō* (§ 635 p. 173) Lat. *ming-ō* Lith. *mìžė* f. 'cunnus' *mìž-iu-s* 'penis', √ *meiĝh-*. O.C.Sl. *glęždą* (inf. *ględěti*) and *ględają* (inf. *ględati*) 'I look, gaze' beside Mid.H.G. *glinze* 'I shine, glitter' (pret. new formation *glanz*) O.H.G. *glīzu* O.Sax. *glītu* 'I glitter' √ *ghleid-*. O.C.Sl. *ręgną* 'hisco' (*rągŭ* 'jest', subst.) beside Lat. *ringor ric-tu-s*. If the Baltic forms stood alone, the explanation would be easy; we might say that the analogy of *renk-* : *rink-* etc. produced *senk- menž-* beside *sink- minž-*; compare what is said above on *drẽsù*. But this explanation does not suit

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1) The fact that we find *kręt-* and not *čręt-* is not sufficient to prove that the ground-form of *kręt-* is the weak grade **qr̥nt-*. Such a form must have become Slav. **krĭnt-*, as **dhr̥ns-* becomes Lith. *drins-*, and **qr̥nt-* becomes Lith. *krint-* (I § 285 p. 227). There never was a form **kĭrnt-*, nor yet **qrn̥t-*, which Bartholomae suggests as the ground-form of *kręt-* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 97).

2) Dialectic *minžu* = **menžu* (vol. I § 285 Rem., p. 227, is wrong).

the Slavonic forms, because in Slavonic, before consonants, Idg. *in* becoms *ī*, but Idg. *n̥* becomes *ę* (I § 219. 4 p. 186).

Remark. Wiedemann's view (Arch. Slav. Phil. x 652 f., Lit. Praet. 58, 168 f.) — that Idg. *in* and *un* before consonants become slav. *ę* and *ą*, except in final syllables — can hardly be maintained in this connexion, because we have *isto* = Lett. *ìnkstas*, *lyko* = Lith. *lùnka-s* Pruss. *lunka-n* and *smrĭd-ę* (see below). Nor is Streitberg's attempt satisfactory (Idg. Forsch., I 283 f.). Perhaps the problem may be solved thus. We may suppose that originally *in* and *un* always became *ī* and *ū*; but that later, when *in* and *un* were again produced in any way before consonants, these became *ę* and *ą*. We may suppose that *sink-* first became **sīk-*, and afterwards, as the principle of Class XVI still remained active, the nasal crept into the stem anew; compare (say) Gr. Att. ἕννῡμι for *ϝεσνῡμι, which took the place of pr. Gr. *ϝεννῡμι (= Ion. εἵνῡμι) for orig. *ϝεσ-νῡ-μι (I § 565 p. 422). Similarly *bądą* may come from **bhū-dhō* or **bhū-dō*, and may have got its nasal only at a late stage of proethnic Slavonic; though it may equally well be derived from **bhu̯-ā-dhō* or *-dō* attracted into the nasal class, or from **bhu̯on-dhō* or *-dō* regarded as an extension of a form **bhu̯-onō* (cp. § 701). Furthermore, for the 3rd pl. *smrĭd-ętŭ* beside *smrĭd-i-mŭ* etc. we may assume that the old ending **-int(u)* (cp. part. *smrĭd-ęt-* Lith. *smird- -int-*) first lost its nasal, and then recovered it by analogy of *imątŭ* etc.

The etymologies brought up by Wiedemann in his article in the *Archiv* by way of support to his view are all too uncertain to base any theory upon. O.C.Sl. *nąžda* 'compulsion, force, necessity' I connect with Skr. *nādh- nāth-* 'to be opprest, in need of help'; *tąpŭ* 'blunt, dull', with *stemp- stemb-* in O.H.G. *stumpf*, Lith. *stambù-s* 'coarse' *stamba-s* 'stump'; *-dągŭ* 'force, strength' is to be connected with *dęgŭ* 'cord, strap, bridle' (Miklosich, Et. Wort., p. 49 *a*), and with O.H.G. *gi-zengi* 'reaching to, touching close' and Skr. *dagh-* 'to reach' (§ 634 p. 171).

Class XVII.

The Root + *-neu̯- -nu-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 638. *-neu̯-* is the strong form of the suffix; *-nu-*, *-nu̯-* and *-nuu̯-* the weak forms. *-nuu̯-* follows a root with final consonant, cp. 3rd pl. Skr. *aś-nuv-ánti* Gr. ἀγ-νύ-ᾱσι as contrasted with Skr. *ci-nv-ánti*, I § 153 p. 138.

Beside *-neu̯- nu-*, Aryan has *-anau- -anu-*. See § 596. 3, pages 137 f.

The Root Syllable had originally the weak grade, except in Skr. *dāś-nṓ-ti* Gr. δηκ-νύ-μενο-ς.

§ 639. Pr. Idg. **ṛ-neu̯-* **ṝ-neu̯-*, √*er-*: Skr. *ṛ-ṇṓ-mi* 'I excite, set moving' 1st pl. *ṛ-ṇu-más* 3rd pl. *ṛ-ṇv-ánti* mid. 3rd sing. *ṛ-ṇu-tē̆*, conj. *ṛ-ṇáv-a-t*, opt. *ṛ-ṇu-yā́-t*; Gr. ὄρ-νῡ-μι 'I excite, disturb, startle' 1st pl. ὄρ-νυ-μεν (ὀρ- = *ṝ*-). — With thematic vowel: Skr. *ṛ-ṇv-á-ti*.

**ṛ-neu̯-*: Skr. *ṛ-ṇṓ-mi* 'I fall in with something, reach, attain', Armen. *aṙ-nu-m* 'I take', Gr. ἄρ-νυ-μαι 'I attain, earn'. Perhaps identical with the previous verb. ἄρ-νυ-μαι as regards the grade of its root vowel would stand to ὄρ-νῡ-μι as τι-νύ-μεναι to τί-νυ-νται, and Skr. *stṛ-ṇṓ-mi* to Gr. στόρ-νῡ-μι (see below).

**stṛ-neu̯-* **stṝ-neu̯-*, √*ster-* 'sternere': Skr. *stṛ-ṇṓ-mi*, Gr. στόρ-νῡ-μι.

**pstṛ-neu̯-*, √*pster-* 'sneeze': Gr. πτάρ-νυ-ται, cp. Lat: thematic *ster-nu-ō* (*sternūtāre*).

**tn̥-neu̯-*, √*ten-* 'stretch, lengthen': Skr. *ta-nṓ-mi* Gr. τά-νυ-ται.

**sn̥-neu̯-*, √*sen-* 'reach a goal, attain, end, complete'. Skr. *sa-nṓ-mi*, Gr. ἄ-νῡ-μι ἤ-νυ-το (the regular spir. asp. appears in ἁ-νύ-ω and elsewhere). — Thematic: Gr. ἅνω ἄνω for *ἁ-νϝ-ω.

**qi-neu̯-*, √*qei̯-* 'pay a penalty' etc.: Skr. *ci-nṓ-mi*, Gr. inf. τι-νύ-μεναι, also with ῑ mid. τί-νυ-νται. — Thematic: Skr. *ci-nva-ti*, Gr. τῑ́νω τίνω for *τι-νϝ-ω.

**mi-neu̯-*, √*mei̯-* 'lessen': Skr. *mi-nṓ-mi*, cp. Gr. μι-νύ-θω (§ 694), Lat. *mi-nu-ō*.

Skr. *kṣi-ṇṓ-mi* 'I destroy', cp. Gr. φθι-νύ-θω (§ 694), thematic φθῑ́νω φθίνω for *φθι-νϝ-ω.

**ĝhi-neu̯-*, √*ĝhei̯-*: Skr. *hi-nṓ-mi* 'I set in motion, drive on', cp. thematic Skr. *hí-nv-a-ti*, Goth. *du-ginna* 'I begin'. This comparison I regard as more likely than Bugge's (P.-B. Beitr., xii 405 f.). This scholar, followed by several others, has compared the Germanic verb with O.C.Sl. *na-čĭną* (cp. Fick, Wort. I⁴ 382).

**dhu-neu̯- *dhū-neu̯-*, √ *dheu̯-*: Skr. *dhu-nō-mi dhū-nṓ-mi* 'I shake, shatter', cp. Gr. θύνω and θυνέω 'I move wildly, storm' (§ 652).

**dhṛs-neu̯-*, √ *dhers-* 'be bold, dare': Skr. *dhṛṣ-ṇṓ-mi* 3rd pl. *dhṛṣ-ṇuv-ánti*, O.Sax. 1st pl. **durnum* (inferred from the later sing. *darn* conj. *dürne*) = Goth. **daúrz-nu-m* (§ 646).

**dēk̑-neu̯-*, √ *dek̑-* (Skr. *daśas-yá-ti* 'shows honour, is gracious or pleasant', Gr. Hom. δη-δέχ-αται δέκ-ο-μαι § 560 p. 110, Lat. *decus*): Skr. *dāś-nṓ-mi* 'I pay homage to', Gr. Hom. δηκ-νύ-μενο-ς 'paying homage, greeting' (so read, with J. Wackernagel, in Il. 9. 196, Od. 4. 59). The same grade of vowel as in Skr. *dāṣ-ṭi dāś-vás-* Hom. δηκανόωντο, and other words.

**u̯es-neu̯-*, stem **u̯-es-* 'put on a garment' (§ 656): Armen. *z-genu-m* 'I dress', Gr. εἵνῡ-μι (ἕννῡμι).

We often see the same root forming a present both in this class and in Class XII; as Goth. 1st pl. *kun-nu-m* and Skr. *jā-nā́-mi* √ *ĝen-*, Avest. *sri-nao-iti* and O.Sax. *hli-nō-n*, Skr. *stṛ-ṇṓ-mi* and *stṛ-ṇā́-mi*, *mi-nṓ-mi* and *mi-nā́-mi*.

§ 640. Aryan. √ *qer-* 'make': Skr. *kṛ-ṇṓ-mi* Avest. *ker*ᵉ*-nao-mi* Skr. *kṛ-ṇv-ánti* Avest. *ker*ᵉ*-nv-anti*, pret. Skr. *á-kṛ-ṇav-am* O.Pers. *a-kū-nav-am* [1]) Skr. *á-kṛ-ṇō-t* Avest. *ker*ᵉ*-ṇao-þ*, conj. Skr. *kṛ-ṇáv-āni* Avest. *ker*ᵉ*-nav-āni*, opt. Skr. *kṛ-ṇu-yā́-t* Avest. *ker*ᵉ*-nu-yā-þ*; — thematic Skr. 3rd sing. *á-kṛ-ṇv-a-ta.* [2]) Skr. *vṛ-ṇṓ-mi* 'I hide, cover, enfold' imper. *vṛ-ṇu-hí* Avest. *ver*ᵉ*-nū-iđi*; also Skr. *ūr-ṇṓ-mi* for **vūr-ṇō-mi* pr. Ar. **ṝ-nau̯-mi* (I § 157 p. 141, § 306 pp. 241 ff.), like Gr. στόρ-νῡ-μι beside Skr. *stṛ-ṇṓ-mi*, Skr. *dhū-nṓ-mi* beside *dhu-nō-mi*; — thematic Avest. *ver*ᵉ*-nv-a-iti.* Skr. *ta-nṓ-mi* 'I stretch, lengthen' (§ 639 p. 177), conj. Ved. *ta-náv-ā* Avest. *ta-nav-a*, opt. mid. Skr. *ta-nv-īy-á* Avest. *tanuya* i. e. *ta-nv-iy-a*

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1) For *kū-*, see I § 288, p. 230.

2) For Skr. *karō-ti kuru-tha* J. Wackernagel offers a very likely conjecture (Kuhn's Litteraturblatt, III 55 f.). He suggests that *kṛṇō- kṛṇu-* became in vulgar speech *kaṇō- kuṇu-*, and these became *karō- kuru-* by analogy of the other forms of the verb, which all had *r*.

(§ 940). Skr. *i-nṓ-ti* 'subdues, forces' Avest. *i-nao-iti*, doubtless akin to Gr. *αἴ-νυ-μαι* 'I grasp, take'; — thematic Skr. *í-nv-a-ti*. Avest. *sri-nao-iti* 'bends, directs somewhere', √*k̑lei̯-*. Skr. *su-nṓ-ti* 'presses out', 3rd sing. *á-su-nu-ta* Avest. *hu-nū-ta*; — thematic Avest. imper. mid. *hu-nv-a-ŋuha* (= Skr. **su-nv-a-sva*). Skr. *dhṛṣ-ṇṓ-ti* 'dares', √*dhers-*, § 639 p. 178. Skr. *aś-nṓ-ti* 'reaches' Avest. *aš-nao-iti*, ground-form **n̥k̑-neu̯-ti*, opt. Skr. *aś-nu-yā́-t* Avest. *aš-nu-yā-þ*. Skr. *śak-nṓ-mi* 'I can'.

In Skr. *kṣ-ṇāú-ti* 'whets' partic. *kṣ-ṇuv-āná-s* from √*qes-* (II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20), the root has ceased to be a separate syllable; compare perhaps Lat. *novā-cula*, first for **s-neu̯-ā-* (Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 419, 470). *āu* instead of *ō* arose as in *ūrṇāu-ti* (beside *ūr-ṇṓ-ti*) by analogy of such a present as *stāú-ti*, see § 494 p. 55. The diphthong was regarded as part of the root proper, hence *kṣṇu-tá-* (Avest. *hu-xšnu-ta-* 'well sharpened') *kṣṇṓ-tra-* and *ūrṇu-tya-* *-ūrṇavana-* (similar forms in Greek, see § 643 p. 183).

§ 641. Strong suffix instead of weak; Skr. 2nd pl. *á-kṛṇō-ta kṛṇṓ-ta* instead of *á-kṛṇu-ta kṛṇu-tá*, *hinṓ-ta hinṓ-tam* instead of *hinu-tá hinu-tám*, Avest. 2nd pl. *srinao-ta* (O.Pers. 3rd pl. *a-kūnav-a a-kūnav-atā* I regard as thematic, see § 649). Compare Skr. *gṛbhṇā-hi* instead of *gṛbhṇī-hí*, and like forms § 600 p. 143. *Vice versa*, Avest. 2rd sing. *kerᵉnūi-ši* contrasted with Skr. *kṛṇṓ-ṣi*.

The strong stem occurs along with the weak in thematic conjugation; e. g. Avest. 2nd sing. pret. act. *kerᵉ-nav-ō*. On this matter, refer to §§ 648 and 649.

In the 1st plural and dual, *-nu-* may drop its *-u-* before the personal ending, unless the root ends in a consonant; *kṛṇmás kṛṇvás kṛṇmáhē kṛṇváhē* beside *kṛṇu-más* etc. *sunmás* beside *sunu-más* etc. (but only *aś-nu-más aś-nu-vás* etc.). The first trace of this new developement is one example in Veda, *kṛṇmahē*. It is possible enough that *kṛṇvánti* : *aśnuvánti* suggested *kṛṇvás* (instead of *kṛṇuvás*) beside *aśnuvás*; or that *kṛṇuvás* became *kṛṇvás* naturally (cp. Wackernagel, Kuhn's Litteraturbl. iii 56), which

produced *kṛṇmás* by analogy. If *kṛnvás* did arise by regular change, the variant *kṛṇuvás* must have been restored on the analogy of *kṛṇumás*, as *kṛṇmas* was coined on the analogy of *kṛṇvás*. However, some influence must have been exerted by the relation of *kurmás kurvás kurmáhē kurváhē* to *kuruthá kuruthás kurudhvḗ*. *kurmás* is as early as the Rig-Veda, and **kurumás *kuruvás* never seem to have existed at all. I would suggest that the forms with *kur-* are due to the analogy of the opt. aor. *kuryā́-t* mid. **kurī-tá-* (cp. *vurī-ta murīy-a*); and it would be all the easier to understand how the stems *kur-* and *kuru-* = *kṛṇu-* (p. 178 footnote 2) came to be confused, if the imperative *kuru* represents not only orig. *kṛṇu*, but a form **qṛr-* + the particle *u* (cp. the particle *-na* in Avest. 2nd sing. imper. *bara-nā* § 600 Rem. p. 143). Compare the references given to explain *kurmás* in § 498 p. 57.

Remark. Moulton (Am. Journ. Phil., x 283) thinks that *-n-* in forms such as *kṛ-ṇ-más* is the weak form of *-nā-* (Class xii), and compares Avest. *verᵉ-n-tę̄*. But if only he could point to a Sanskrit example of *-n-* instead of *-nī-* in Class XII!

2nd sing. Ved. *śṛ-ṇv-i-ṣē* (beside *śr-ṇó-ti* 'hears') is an ad-formate of 3rd pl. *śṛ-ṇv-i-rḗ*, cp. *jajñ-i-ṣē* beside *jajñ-i-rḗ* (§ 574 p. 115).

On the strong root of Skr. *āp-nó-mi*, see § 600 p. 144; for that of Skr. *dāś-nó-mi*, § 639 p. 178.

Reduplicated: Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *ą̄s-aš-nu-tā* beside *aš-nao-iti* § 640 (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 309).

§ **642.** Armenian. Verbs in *-nu-m* (sing. *-nu-m -nu-s -nu* pl. *-nu-mkʿ -nukʿ -nu-n*).

aṙ-nu-m 'I take' (aor. *aṙ-i*): Skr. *ṛ-ṇó-mi* etc., see § 639 p. 177. *ǰeṙ-nu-m* 'I warm myself, get warm, glow' (cp. *ǰer-m* 'warm' = Gr. θερ-μό-ς): Skr. *ghṛ-ṇō-mi* (gramm.). *l-nu-m* 'I fill', ground-form **plē-nu-*, cp. Lat. *plē-nu-s*. *ait-nu-m* 'I swell', cp. Gr. οἰδάω 'I swell'. *tʿakʿ-nu-m* 'I hide myself', cp. Gr. πτήσσω 'I bow, bend'.

z-genum 'I dress myself' (*z-* is a prefix) for **ges-nu-* (I § 561 p. 417): Gr. *εἵνῡμι* (*ἕννῡμι*), see § 639 p. 178.

§ **643.** Greek. *-νῡ-*, which we see in the strong persons of the singular, seems to have pushed out Idg. *-neu̯-*, because of the analogy of the forms *-νᾱ-* : *-νᾰ-* (Class XII), cp. § 480 p. 29, on *ὑμεναίουν* beside *ὑμεναιῶ*. Even if we supposed that *-νῡ-* represents Idg. *-nū-*, a weak grade, used along with *-nu-*, we should have to assume that the forms had followed *-νᾱ-* : *-νᾰ-*; and Avest. *-nū-* is not sufficient evidence for an Idg. *-nū-*. In the 3rd pl., *-νυ-αντι* (instead of **-νϝ-εντι* = Skr. *-nuv-anti*, see § 1021. 3) seems to have become regular quite early; once there were in use such forms as **τι-νϝ-αντι* **τι-νϝ-εντι* = Skr. *ci-nv-ánti* (cp. § 638 p. 177); as to Ion. *ἀγνῦσι* Att. *ἄγνυνται*, see §§ 1020. 2 and 1065. 2.

Besides the forms mentioned in § 639 — *ὄρ-νῡ-μι*, *ἄρ-νυ-μαι*, *στόρ-νῡ-μι*, *πτάρ-νυ-μαι*, *τά-νυ-μαι*, *ἄ-νῡ-μι*, *τι-νύ-μεναι* *τῐ-νυ-νται* — there are yet others with weak-grade vowels in the root syllable. *θάρ-νυ-μαι* in Hesychius (*-αρ-* = *-r̥-*) and *θόρ-νυ-μαι* (*-ορ-* = *-r̥̄-*) 'I leap, cover (of animals)' (I § 306 p. 241). *κῐ-νυ-μαι* 'I move myself'. Cret. 3rd sing. *πι-δίκ-νῡ-τι* = Att. *ἐπι-δείκνῡσι* (on *πι-*, see the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 219) √*dei̯k̑-*. *οἴγνῡμι* 'I open' Hom. *ὠ-(ϝ)ίγ-νυ-ντο* beside Lesb. inf. *ὀ-είγ-ην*, originally 'I make yield', beside O.H.G. *wīhhu* 'I yield, give way'. *μίγ-νῡ-μι* 'I mix' beside fut. *μείξω*, √*mei̯k̑- mei̯ĝ-*. *ὀμόργ-νῡ-μι* 'I wipe' for **mr̥̄ĝ-*, √*merĝ-*. *ἄχ-νυ-μαι* 'I am grieved, troubled', beside Goth. *un-agands* 'not fearing' *ōg* 'I fear'. An old form with strong root (third strong grade) is Hom. *δηκ-νύ-μενο-ς* 'doing honour to, reverencing, greeting', see § 639 p. 178. Greek new formations with a strong root-form are *ὀρέγ-νῡ-μι* 'I reach, stretch out' √*reĝ-*, *δείκ-νῡ-μι* 'I show' beside Cret. *πι-δίκ-νῡ-τι*, *ζεύγ-νῡ-μι* 'I bind' √*jeu̯g-*, *πήγ-νῡ-μι* 'I fix' √*pāk̑- pāĝ-* and others. Ion. *δέκ-νῡ-μι* 'I show', coming, as we may conjecture, from a √*dek-*, but in use finally confused with *δείκ-νῡ-μι* (cp. Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 66). *ὄμ-νῡ-μι* 'I swear' beside *ὀμο-* (*ὀμό-σσαι* *ὀμό-τη-ς*), *ὄλλῡ-μι* 'I destroy' for **ὄλ-νῡ-μι*

(I § 204 p. 170) beside *ὀλε-* (*ὀλέ-σσαι*), like *δάμ-νη-μι* beside *δαμα-*, *κάμ-νω* beside *καμα-* (§ 602 p. 144).

The place of (Ion.) *εἵνῡμι* 'I clothe' for **ϝ-εσ-νῡ-μι* = Armen. *z-genu-m* (§ 639 p. 178) was in Attic taken by a new form *ἕννῡμι*; see I § 565 pp. 422 f. The following are forms of the same kind: *σβέννῡμι* 'I quench, stop' for earlier *ζείνῡμι* i. e. *ζδείνῡμι* (Hesych.)[1]) from a stem **zg̑-es-* √ *seg̑-*, cp. aor. Hom. *σβέσ-σαι*; *βδέννυμαι* (gramm.) beside *βδ-έω* 'pedo' aor. *βδ-έσαι* for **βδ-εσ-*, earlier **βζδ-εσ-*, √ *pezd-* 'pedere' (cp. § 661). Further, *ζώννῡμι* 'I gird'[2]) beside *ζωσ-τήρ* Idg. *j-ōs-* (§ 656). On the model of these were made *κορέννῡμι* 'I satisfy', *πετάννῡμι* 'I spread', *ῥώννῡμι* 'I strengthen', *στρώννῡμι* 'I strew, spread' and others; and the analogy of *ἠμφί-εσα -εσμαι*: *ἀμφι-έννῡμι* gave rise to *κορέννῡμι* beside *ἐκόρεσα κεκόρεσμαι*, etc.

A present **πί-νῡ-μι* is represented by *πινυμένην· συνετήν* Hesych., compare *πι-νυ-τό-ς* 'enlightened, sensible' *πινύσσω πίνυσι-ς*. This, along with *νη-πύ-τιο-ς* 'senseless, under age, minor' and *νήπιο-ς* (same meaning) for **νη-πϝ-ιο-ς* (I § 166 p. 147), is akin to Skr. *pu-nā́-ti* 'purifies, clears up' (for the accent cp. Goth. *hug-s* 'understanding, reason' beside Skr. *śúci-ṣ* 'pure', § 907). But *πινυ-* does not come from **πυ-νυ-* (I § 48 p. 41); the ground-form was **pu̯-i-nu-*, having the same determinative *ĭ̄* as we see in Ital. **pu̯-ī-i̯o-s* (Osc. piíhiúí Lat. *piu-s*, see Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 185) Skr. *pav-ī-tár-*, and in Gr. *πύιρ* Umbr. *pir* O.H.G. *fuir* 'fire'. It follows that **πίνῡμι*: Skr. *pu-nā́-mi* = Skr. *r-i-ṇva-ti* Gr. *ὀρῑ́νω*: Skr. *ṛ-ṇvá-ti* Gr. *ὄρ-νῡ-μι* (cp. § 596. 4 p. 138).

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1) Hesychius has *ζείναμεν· σβέννυμεν* which is emended to *ζείνυμεν* This emendation is not necessary. There may quite well have been parallel forms, one in Class XII and one in Class XVII, as so often happens in Sanskrit. Then the form *ζείνῡμι* in the text should be marked with an asterisk.

2) It is quite possible that Att. *ὑπο-ζωνύνα*[ι] *C.I.A.* I 77. 9 (second half of the 5th cent. B. C.) may represent the regular form (cp. *ἐζωμένος*, Meisterhans, Gr.², p. 148).

λάζυμαι beside *λάζομαι* 'I take, seize', *κτείνῡμι* beside *κτείνω* 'I slay' (for **κτεν-ι̯ω*) are due to the analogy of *τῑνομαι τίνομαι* (for **τι-νϝ-ο-μαι*): *τῑνυνται τινύμεναι*, etc. But *καίνυμαι* 'I surpass, outdo' was formed from *κέκασμαι* because *δέδασμαι* has *δαί-νυ-μαι* (§ 707).

On thematic forms in *-νϝ-ω* see § 652. As regards those in *-νύω*, as *τανύω ὀμνύω στρωννύω*, found in the Homeric dialect and in Attic more and more often from the 4th century B. C. onwards, it is doubtful whether they represent pr. Idg. verbs in *-nuu̯-ō*, which may have been used side by side with *-nu̯-ō* as in the 3rd pl. Skr. *aś-nuv-ánti* Gr. *ἄγ-νυ-ᾱσι* beside Skr. *ci-nv-ánti.* They may equally well be a new formation peculiar to Greek.

From *τάνυμαι τανύω γάνυμαι*, whose structure was less clear to the consciousness of those who used them than was that of *ὄρ-νῡ-μι ἄγ-νῡ-μι* and words of that sort, were formed *τανύσσαι τετάνυσται γανύσσεται* and so forth on the analogy of *ἐρύσσαι εἴρυσται ἐρύσσεται* beside the pres. *εἰρύμεναι ἐρύω* 'I draw, pull'. Compare Skr. partic. *kṣ̌ṇu-tá-s* from *kṣ̌-ṇā́u-ti*, fut. *aśnuviṣya-tē* from *aś-nṓ-mi áṣ̌-ṭa*, *ūrṇu-tya-* from *ūr-ṇāu-ti* (§ 640 p. 179), and Greek itself *δυνα-τό-ς ἐδυνησάμην* from *δύ-να-μαι* (§ 602 p. 145).

For *μι-νύ-θω φθι-νύ-θω*, see § 694.

§ **644.** Italic. Only thematic forms occur in this branch; see § 649. An undoubted relic of *-neu̯-* is *nov-ā-cula*, if it is to be connected with Skr. *kṣ̌-ṇā́u-ti* (§ 640 p. 179).

Remark. Job (Mém. Soc. Ling. vi 353 f.) offers a very doubious suggestion, that in Latin present stems in *nu-* came directly from those in *-no-*; he says **tol-nu-mus *tol-nu-tis* lead at once to **tolnimus *tolnitis* (*tollimus tollitis*), whence by complementary analogy *tollō.*

§ **645.** Keltic. Not one of the original forms is preserved. On O.Ir. *ro-chluiniur* 'I hear' (beside Avest. *srunaoiti*), see § 604 p. 146.

§ **646.** Germanic. The plural of certain verbs is of this class. Goth. O.H.G. *kun-nu-m* 'we learn, know' from **ǵn̥-nu-*

-mes (cp. p. 86 footnote 2) as contrasted with Skr. *jā-nī-más*, Class XII; the parallel weak form Goth. *uf-kunna* 3rd sing. *-kunnái-þ* is a new formation from *kann kunnum* on the analogy of *vita vitái-þ* to *váit vitum*. Low Germ. *darn* 'I dare' conj. *dürne* gives ground for assuming an O.Sax. **durnum* Goth. **daúrz-nu-m* (I § 582 p. 434) = Skr. *dhṛṣ-ṇu-más*. O.H.G. *unnum* 'we grant' ground-form **ṇ-nu-mes* (cp. O.Icel. *ǫf-un-d* 'ill-will' beside Goth. *ans-t-s* O.H.G. *ans-t uns-t* 'favour, grace' II § 100 p. 303), from the same root as Gr. προσ-ηνής 'inclined' ἀπ-ηνής 'disinclined'. As these plurals appeared to be of the same kind as the preterite-present, they were conjugated in the same way. Thus arose, by analogy of the singular, Goth. *kann* O.H.G. *kan*, Low Germ. *darn* O.H.G. *an*. The same principle is neatly used by Kluge (Paul's Grundr. I 377) to explain O.H.G. *durfum* 'we must', which he regards as a *nu*-form for **þurpum* with *-p-* for *-pp-* Idg. *-pn-* (I § 530 p. 388) = Skr. *tṛp-ṇu-más*; the student should compare de Saussure, Mém. Soc. Ling. VII 83 ff. Some further uncertain traces of *nu*-flexion in Germanic are given in § 605 Rem. p. 147, and p. 151 footnote 1.

Otherwise the Germanic branch prefers thematic conjugation (Class XVIII), as Goth. *du-ginna* (§ 654).

§ **647.** Balto-Slavonic. For the remains of the present suffix *-nu-* in Slavonic see § 649 p. 185.

Class XVIII.

Root + *-neu̯-o-* or *-nu̯-o-* forming the Present Stem.

§ **648.** Side by side with *-nu̯o-* we meet with *-enu̯o-* and *-ṇu̯o-*; see § 596 pp. 137 f.

This class, which is based upon Class XVII, falls into two divisions like Class II. O.Pers. *a-kū-nav-a-tā* stands to Skr. *á-kṛ-ṇv-a-ta* as Gr. ἔ-πνε(ϝ)-ε to ἄμ-πνυ-ε. And just as Skr. *ay-a-* is at once indicative (*áy-a-tē*, cp. Lat. *eō*), and conjunctive to an indic. of Class I (*áy-a-t áy-a-ti* conj. of *ḗ-ti*), so Ar. *kṛ-*

-naṷ-a- is also conjunctive to an indic. of Class XVII (Skr. *kṛ-ṇáv-a-t* conj. of *kṛ-ṇṓ-ti*). Here, as before, there was originally no distinction between the original form of the two moods.

§ 649. Class XVIII *A*: Suffix *-neṷ-o-*.

Aryan. Avest. 2[nd] sing. pret. act. *kerᵉ-nav-ō* imper. *kerᵉ--nav-a*, O.Pers. pret. 3[rd] sing. act. *a-kū-nav-a* 3[rd] pl. mid. *a-kū--nav-atā* (i. e. *-a-ntā*), cp. indic. Skr. *kṛ-ṇṓ-mi* 'I make'; conj. Skr. *kṛ-ṇáv-ā-t kṛ-ṇav-ā-tha* Avest. *kerᵉ-nav-ā-þ* O.Pers. 2[nd] sing. *kū-nav-ā-hy*. O.Pers. 3[rd] sing. imper. *var-nav-a-tām* conj. *var-nav-ā-tiy* beside Avest. *verᵉ-nv-a-itę* 'believes' (*B*). Compare the conj. Skr. *aś-nav-ā-tha* Avest. *aš-nav-ā-þ* beside Skr. *aś-nṓ-mi* 'I reach', Avest. *sri-nav-ā-hi* beside *sri-nao-mi* 'I bend, guide in some direction'.

Greek. It has been usual to class here forms like θῡ-νέω 'I move wildly, storm' beside Skr. *dhū-nṓ-ti*, κῑ-νέω 'I move from its place' beside κί-νυ-μαι, -νεω being taken to be for *-νεϝ-ω. But since in all the verbs in question the future, aorist etc. have never -νευ-, as one might expect from πλέω ἔπλευσα and νέω ἔνευσα, but -η- always, and since Lesbian makes the present of them end in -ημι (imper. κίνη like φίλη), this explanation is at least improbable. I derive -εω from εἰω in every case. See § 801.

Italic. Lat. *minuō* and *sternuō*, which are connected with Skr. *mi-nṓ-mi* Gr. μι-νύ-θω and Gr. πτάρ-νυ-μαι (§ 639 p. 177), can by rule be derived from **-neṷ-ō* (I § 172. 1 p. 152). But Osc. menvum 'minuere' makes it at least likely that *minuō* comes from **minṷō* as *tenuis* from **tenṷi-s* (I § 170 p. 149). The perfect *minuī sternuī* and the participle *minūtu-s* are adformates of *statuī statūtu-s* : *statuō*.

Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *mi-nują* beside *mi-ną* 'I go past, pass by, flow by', and partic. pret. pass. *kos-novenŭ* 'touched' from pres. *kos-ną*, point to an older present inflexion *-nová -noveši* etc. (*-nov-* for *-neṷ-*, I § 68 p. 59). Compare Wiedemann, Arch. slav. Phil., x 653.

§ 650. Class XVIII *B*: Suffix *-nu̯-o-*.

Pr. Idg. Skr. *ci-nv-a-ti*, Gr. Hom. *τί́νω* Att. *τίνω* for **τι-νϝ-ω* beside Skr. *ci-nō-mi* Gr. infin. *τι-νύ-μεναι* 3rd pl. *τί-νυ-νται*, § 639 p. 177. Skr. *hí-nv-a-ti* Goth. *du-ginna* beside Skr. *hi-nō-mi*, § 639 p. 177. **r-i-nu̯-e-ti* with root determinative *-i-* (§ 596. 4 p. 138); Skr. *ri-ṇv-a-ti* 'makes run, flow', Gr. Hom. *ὀρί́νω* Lesb. *ὀρίννω* 'I set in motion' for **ὀρι-νϝ-ω* (the initial has perhaps been influenced by a word from the same root, *ὄρ-νῡ-μι*, ground-form **r̥̄-nu-*, to which it stands related as Hom. *ἀγί́νω* to Cret. *ἀγνέω*, see §§ 652 and 801), Goth. *ri-nna* 'I overflow' pr. Germ. **ri-nu̯-ō* (cp. however for the Germanic word § 654 p. 188).

With *-enu̯-o-* for the suffix (§ 596. 3 pp. 137 f.), **sp-enu̯-e-ti* from √ *spē- spə-* 'bring onwards, stretch' (Lat. *spēs spatium* etc.): Avest. *spēnva-þ* 'proficiebat' = pr. Ar. **spanu̯a-t*, O.H.G. *spinnu* 'I spin' (cp. O.H.G. *spannu* = **spə-nu̯-ō* § 654).

§ 651. Aryan. Skr. *r̥-ṇvá-ti ci-nva-ti hí-nva-ti á-kr̥-ṇva-ta í-nva-ti ri-ṇva-ti*, Avest. *verᵉ-nva-iti hu-nva-ϑuha* see §§ 639, 640, 641, and 650. Skr. *pí-nva-ti* 'swells, makes abound' beside partic. mid. *pi-nv-ānā́-s* Avest. *fra-pinao-iti* 'swells, spreads' (intr.). Skr. *jí-nva-ti* 'sets in motion, pushes on, hastens' beside *ji-nō-mi*. Skr. imper. mid. *du-nva-sva* beside *du-nō-mi* 'I burn'.

Sometimes Sanskrit, like Germanic, has a verb which carries the suffix of the present through the whole verbal system; as *pínva-ti* : *pipinva pinvayati, jínvati* : *jinviṣya-ti jinvi-tá-s*.

Observe the different accent of 3rd pl. *hínva-nti*, and *hinv-ánti* in Class XVII.

Containing the suffix *-enu̯o-*. Avest. *spēnva-þ* 'proficiebat': O.H.G. *spinnu*, see § 650; Avest. *xwanva-inti* 'they drive on' *xwēnva-þ* pr. Ar. **su̯-anu̯a-*, beside *hu-nao-iti hu-nā-iti*.

§ 652. Greek. On the treatment of *-νϝ-* in the following words, see I § 166 p. 146. *ἄνω ἄνω* for **ἀ-νϝω, τί́νω τίνω* for **τι-νϝω, φθί́νω φθίνω* for **φθι-νϝω, ὀρί́νω ὀρίννω* for **ὀρι-νϝω*, see §§ 639, 650. *φθά́νω φθάνω* 'I anticipate' for

**φϑα-νϝω*, beside *φϑά-μενο-ς*. *δῑ́νω* Lesb. *δίννω* 'I eddy' for **δῑ-νϝω*, beside Skr. *dī́-ya-ti* 'flies' Lett. *déi-ju dî-t* 'to dance', cp. *δῖνο-ς δίνη* Lesb. *δίννα* for **δῑ-νϝο-ς δῑ-νϝᾱ*. Hom. *ἀγῑ́νω* 'I lead, bring' beside *ἄγω* Cret. *ἀγνέω* has the same root-determinative as *ὀρίνω* (on this determinative, which is contained in Skr. *áj-āi-ṣ*, see § 498 p. 61); and therefore *ἀγῑ́νω* too must be derived from **-νϝω*; on the bye-form *ἀγῑνέω*, see § 801. With *ὀρ-ῑ́νω ἀγ-ῑ́νω ἀγῑνέω* compare the Hesychian glosses *ἔζινεν· ἐπεσβέννυεν* and *ἐξίνει· ἐπεσβέννυεν*, which point to **zg-ī-* as variant stem to **zg-es-* (§ 643 p. 182). Whether Homer's *ϑύνω* 'I move wildly, storm', represent orig. **dhū-nu̯ō* or **dhū-nō -n-i̯ō*, Class XIII (cp. Skr. *dhū-nṓ-ti dhu--nō-ti dhu-nā-ti*) cannot be decided; in the former case *ϑῦνο-ς* 'fury, impetus' should be compared with *δῖνο-ς* for **dī-nu̯o-s* (see above); for *ϑῡνέω δῑνέω* see § 801.

Hom. *κιχᾱ́νω* Att. *κιγχάνω* 'I reach, overtake' for **-ανϝω* beside *κί-χη-μι* (§ 594 p. 135). *κιγχάνω* has the first syllable nasalised because, after *ϝ* had gone, the analogy of verbs like *ϑιγγάνω* could act upon it (§ 621 p. 158, § 631 p. 168). Hom. *ἱκᾱ́νω* 'I arrive, reach' for **ἱκανϝω*, bye-form *ἱκνέομαι* (§ 801). Both of these present stems may be regarded as ad-formates of **φϑανϝω* (*φϑᾱ́νω φϑάνω*), because they all had something of the same meaning: on the analogy of *φϑήσομαι* to *φϑᾱ́νω*, *κιχᾱ́νω* was formed working backwards from *κιχήσομαι*, and afterwards *ἱκᾱ́νω*. But there was another suffix *-n̥u̯ō* before Greek became a separate language; and this would become regularly pr. Gr. *-ανϝω* (the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] § 21. 3 p. 41), see § 596. 3 p. 138.

The suffix is *-enu̯o-* in Corcyr. *ξ-ένϝο-ς*, whence Lesb. *ξέννο-ς* Ion. *ξεῖνο-ς* Att. *ξένο-ς* (I § 166 p. 146), since this word seems to have the same root as Lat. *hos-ti-s* and Goth. *gas-t-s*; see § 596. 3 and 6, pp. 138 and 140.

§ **653.** Italic. Lat. *mi-nu-ō*, Osc. menvum 'minvere', see § 649 p. 185.

§ **654.** Germanic. Goth. *du-ginna* O.H.G. *bi-ginnu* 'I begin', see § 639 p. 177, § 650 p. 186. Goth. *af-linna*

'I go away, cease', O.H.G. *bi-linnu* 'I cease', beside Skr. *vi-linā̆ti* 'goes to pieces, dissolves, melts' etc. § 598 p. 142. Goth. *vi-nna* 'I suffer, feel pain, worry', O.H.G. *gi-winnu* 'I reach something with trouble, win' (cp. O.H.G. *winna* 'strife'), beside Skr. *vḗ-ti* 'presses on in hostile fashion, conquers, seeks eagerly, tries to win'. All these verbs came under the influence of such others as Goth. *binda*; hence forms like *du-ginna -gann -gunnum -gunnans.*

O.H.G. *ba-nnu* 'I order, command on pain and penalty, summon' (cp. O.H.G. *ban*, gen. *bannes* 'command enforced by pains and penalties' A.S. *bann* 'ban, banns, proclamation'), ground-form **bhə-nu̯ō*, √ *bhā- bhə-*, cp. Armen. *ba-na-m* § 601 p. 144, Gr. *φαίνω* for **φα-νι̯ω* § 611 p. 150. O.H.G. *spa-nnu* 'I stretch, widen, spread, I am anxious and excited', ground-form **spə-nu̯-ō*, √ *spē- spə-*, cp. O.H.G. *spa-nu* 'I entice, charm' (§ 614 p. 152) and O.H.G. *sp-innu* (see below). The preterites *bian spian* follow *hialt* : *haltu* and such like forms.

Containing the suffix *-enu̯o-* (§ 596. 3 p. 138). O.H.G. *sp-innu* 'I spin': Avest. *spēnva-þ*, see § 650 p. 186; a variant form is *spannu* = **spə-nu̯ō*, for which see just above. O.H.G. *tr-innu* 'I separate from, part, depart from' ground-form **dr-enu̯ō*, √ *der-* 'split' (Skr. *dṛ-ṇá-ti*).

The existence of the two variants *-nu̯o-* and *-enu̯o-* in Germanic raises a question as to how Goth. *rinna* 'I run' and *brinna* O.H.G. *brinnu* are to be disposed of. Instead of deriving *rinna* from **r-i-nu̯ō*, and identifying it with Skr. *riṇva-ti* (§ 650 p. 186), we may assume **r-enu̯ō* for its original form, which would bring it closer to Skr. *ṛ-ṇv-á-ti*. *brinna* may come from **bhr-enu̯ō*, as it is akin to Lat. *fer-mentu-m ferveō* O.Ir. *ber-baim* 'I cook, boil'; but it may be for **bhr-i-nu̯ō* with an *i*-determinative, cp. O.Icel. *br-ī-me* 'fire' A.S. *br-ī-w* O.H.G. *br-ī-o* 'broth'. The first derivation, from **r-enu̯ō* **bhr-enu̯ō*, is supported by Goth. *r-un-s* 'a run, course' A.S. *br-yne* 'fire, conflagration'.

E. CLASSES XIX TO XXI.

PRESENT STEMS WITH *-s-*.[1])

§ **655.** A large number of verb classes have an *s* suffixed to the root. These are both thematic and non-thematic. (1) Non-Thematic Stems: Skr. *dvḗ-ṣ-ti* 'hates' (cp. Avest. *dvaę-þa* 'terror' Gr. Hom. *δέ-δδι-μεν* or *δέ-δϝι-μεν* 'we fear'), Skr. aor. 1[st] pl. *á-tą-s-mahi* (√ *ten-* 'stretch'), Skr. *v-ás-tē* 'dresses' (√ *eu̯-*, Lat. *ex-uō*), Gr. *ᾔδεα* i. e. *ἠ-ϝειδ-εσ-α* Idg. **es-m̥*, Skr. *á-vēd-iṣ-am*. (2) Thematic Stems: O.H.G. *din-su* 'I pull, tear', Skr. *á-ta-tą-sa-t* 'he tore, set in motion by force' (√ *ten-*), Skr. desid. *ji-gą̄-sa-ti* (√ *gem-* 'go'), Skr. *tr-ása-ti* 'trembles' (cp. *tar-alá-s* 'trembling, moving to and fro' Lat. *tr-emō*), Skr. desid. *jí-gam-iṣa-ti* (√ *gem-*). From these develope extensions of the *-s-* suffix, which themselves run through large groups: *-s-i̯o-* *-əs-i̯o-*, fut. Skr. *tą-syá-tē gam--iṣyá-ti*; *-s-ko-*, Lat. *(g)nō-scō* Gr. *γι-γνώ-σκω* (cp. Skr. desid. *ji-jñā-sa-tē*); and others more isolated, as Armen. *z-genum* Gr. *εἵνῦμι* (*ἕννῦμι*) for **u̯-es-neu̯-* (§ 639 p. 178, § 643 p. 182).

It cannot be definitely proved that in all these forms *s* has really the same origin. But the negative cannot even be made probable. The clearest indication of the identity of *s* in the aorist with *s* in verbs of Classes XIX and XX is given by Skr. *á-kr̥-ṣ-i* as compared with *kr̥-ṣ-ē*, *ā́k-ṣ-i* compared with *ak-ṣa-tē*, *á-mr̥k-ṣa-t* compared with *mr̥k-ṣa-ti*, see §§ 656, 659; compare too Lat. *vīs-ī* beside pres. *vīsō* (§ 662), Lat. *aux-ī* Lith. 1[st] and 2[nd] pl. injunct. (fut.) *áuks-me -te* beside Gr. *αὔξω* (§ 657). It should further be noticed that a close connexion is often formed with the noun suffix *-es-*, as in Skr. *bhy-ása-ti*

1) Compare Per Persson's new work (*Wurzelerweiterung*, etc.) pp. 77 ff., where the suffix or determinative *s* in assumed for other forms besides those which will here be cited. Amongst these are some in which we have regarded the *s* as part of the root itself; e. g. Skr. *várṣa-ti* 'it rains', which he derives from the root of Skr. *vā́ri* 'water, wetness'.

'is afraid' and *bhī-ṣ-aya-tē*, used as causal of *bi-bhē-ti*, beside *bhy-ás- bhiy-ás-* 'fear' instr. *bhīṣ-á* (§ 658), in Skr. *úk-ṣa-ti* 'grows strong' Gr. αὔξω beside Skr. *ój-as-* 'strength' (§ 657), and in Skr. indic. *á-jāi-ṣ-am* beside inf. *ji-ṣ-ē*, indic. *r̥ñj-as-ē* beside infin. *r̥ñj-ás-ē*, Gr. ἔδειξα beside infin. δεῖξαι, conj. *ferrem* beside inf. *ferre*, conj. *agerem* beside inf. *agere* (§ 824). We must not forget that no clear line can be drawn between primary *s*-verbs and verbs derived from *s*-nouns, any more than between primary verbs with *-ā-* and nouns having the same suffix: e. g. Gr. ἔ-σβ-εσ-ται ἔ-ξ-εσ-ται σβ-εσ-τό-ς ξ-εσ-τό-ς stand to τε-τέλεσ-ται ἥδεσ-ται αἰδ-εσ-τό-ς ἀ-κήδεσ-το-ς related in the some way as πέ-πλ-η-ται Dor. ἄ-πλ-ᾱ-το-ς to τε-τίμη-ται τῑμη-τό-ς.

In this section we take count only of present stems with *s* final, and those which have a thematic vowel after the *s*. The compound suffix *-s-ko-* fills Classes XXII and XXIII; and *-s-i̯o-* (the future suffix) will be found in the *i̯o*-class, §§ 747 ff. Stems like **u̯-es-neu̯-* (εἵνῡμι) are discussed under the heading *-neu̯-*, in §§ 639, 642, and 643.

Since the *s*-aorist in its common form adds the personal endings directly to *s*, its proper place is here, in Class XIX. It may, hewever, if preferred, be treated separately in the traditional way, for the reasons given above in § 485, pp. 38 f. See §§ 810 ff.

Class XIX.

Root + *-s-*, *-es-*, or *-əs-* forming the Present Stem.

§ **656.** Very few additional forms belong to this class besides the preterites which will be discussed in §§ 810 ff.; such, I mean, as Skr. *á-ta-s-mahi* Gr. ᾔδ-ε-α Skr. *á-vēd-iṣ-am*. Some of them carry the *s*-element right through the verb system.

Skr. *dvē-ṣ-ṭi* 'hates' 3rd pl. *dvi-ṣ-ánti*, Avest. *dᵃbiš-entī*, beside Avest. *dvaę-þa* 'terror' Gr. δϝει- 'to fear'; — thematic,

Skr. *dvi-ṣa-ti.* Skr. 3rd pl. *á-tvi-ṣ-ur* 'they were excited, amazed' beside Avest. *þwyant-* 'terrifying' *þwyā-* 'terror'; — thematic, Skr. *á-tvi-ṣa-ta*, Gr. partic. *σιών* for **σι-σων* pres. *σείω* instead of **σει-σω* (cp. *σέ-σεισ-ται* etc.), see § 657.

Skr. *v-ás-tē* 'dresses, clothes himself' Avest. *vas-tę*, Gr. *ἐπί-‑εσ-ται* 2nd sing. *ἕσ-σαι* from √*eu-* Lat. *ex-uō* Lith. *au-nù.*

Avest. *y-ās-ti* 'girds' Lith. *j-ů's-mi* 'I gird' (Att. *ζώννῡμι* instead of **ζωσ-νῡ-μι*, § 643 p. 182), Idg. **j-ōs-ti*, beside Skr. *y-āú-ti y-uvá-ti* 'binds up', like Skr. *r-āsa-ti* 'bellows, howls' beside *r-āu-ti r-uvá-ti.*

Here come a certain number of Vedic middle forms with *-s-* in the present, those which Grassmann has called "double stems": 1st and 3rd sing. *-s-ē* partic. *-s-āna-*. 1st sing. *kṛ-ṣ-ē* from *kár-ti* 'makes'. 1st sing. *hi-ṣ-ē* from *hi-nṓ-ti* 'drives on' partic. *hiy-āná-s.* 1st and 3rd sing. *stu-ṣ-ḗ* from *stāú-ti* 'praises' mid. *stu-tē.* 1st sing. *arcas-ē* from *árca-ti* 'praises'. 1st sing. *yajas-ē* from *yája-ti* 'honours, offers'. 1st sing. *ṛñjas-ē* partic. *ṛñjas-āná-s* from *ṛñjá-ti*, √*reĝ-* 'stretch, reach' (Class XVI § 628 p. 165). 1st sing. *pu-nī-ṣ-ḗ* from *pu-ná-ti* 'purifies' mid. *pu-nī-tē.* 1st sing. *gā-yi-ṣ-ē* from *gā́-ya-ti* 'sings'. A similar Avestic form is 1st sing. *rå̄hahh-ōi* from *rās-* 'to grant'.

Class XX.

Root + *-so-* or *-eso-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 657. The *s*-suffix mostly runs through all parts of the verb.

Pr. Idg. From √*ten-* 'stretch, lengthen out': Skr. *tą-sa-ti* 'tears, sets moving by force' (not actually found), aor. *á-ta-sa-t* for **tn̥-se-* (redupl. *á-ta-tą-sa-t*), Goth. *at-þinsa* 'I draw towards me', cp. Lith. *tę̃s-iù* 'I lengthen, stretch' (infin. *tę̃s-ti*), *už-tę̃sa-s* 'a shroud', Lat. *tōn-sa*; cp. aor. Skr. *á-tą̄-s-am* 3rd sing. *á-tān*, Gr. *ἔτεινα* for **ἐ-τεν-σα.* From √*bhel-* 'shriek, cry, bellow, bleat, low' (O.C.Sl. *blě-ją*): Skr. *bhā́ṣa-ti* 'bellows' (I § 259 p. 211), O.H.G. *billu* 'I bellow' (*-ll-* = *-lz-*, I § 582 p. 436),

cp. Lith. *bal̃-sa-s* 'voice, tone'. From √*tu̯ei̯-* (Avest. *þwyant-*): Skr. *tvē-ṣa-ti* 'is in violent motion, is amazed' (not actually found), pret. *á-tvi-ṣ-ata*, Gr. σείω 'I shake, shatter, agitate, molest' for *σει-σω (cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 98), σιών for *σι-σών; cp. Skr. *á-tvi-ṣ-ur* § 656. From √*preu̯-* (Lat. *pruīna*): Skr. *plō-ṣa-ti* 'burns, singes', O.H.G. *friu-su* 'I freeze, am cold', cp. Lat. *prūr-iō.* From √*leq-* (Gr. ἀλ-αλκ-εῖν 'ward off'): Skr. *rák-ṣa-ti* 'guards, saves', Gr. ἀλέξω 'I ward off, help'. Connected with Skr. *vājáya-ti* 'strengthens' *ōjas-* 'strength, power, might' Lat. *augeō*: Skr. *úk-ṣa-ti* 'grows strong, increases' partic. *uk-ṣá-māṇa-s* (perf. *vavákṣa*) Avest. *vax-ša-iti* 'makes grow', Gr. ἀ(ϝ)έξω αὔξω 'I make grow, increase', cp. Lat. *aux-iliu-m*,[1]) Gall. *Uxello-dūnu-m* 'High-town' O.Ir. *ōs uas* 'above' (I § 517 p. 377), O.H.G. *wah-su* Goth. *vah-s-ja* 'I grow' (pret. *vōhs*), Lith. *áuksz-ta-s* 'high'.[2]) Gr. ἕψω 'I boil', which, along with Armen. *epem* 'I boil' (I § 561 p. 417), we may assign to the root of ἕπω 'I see about, make right, arrange' (Il. 11. 776 ἀμφὶ βοὸς ἕπετον κρέα) Skr. *sáp-a-ti* 'makes a fuss about, carries on, sees about something'.

From √*ter-* (Skr. *tar-alá-s* 'moving to and fro, trembling' Gr. τρ-έμω Lat. *tr-emō* § 488 p. 45): Skr. *tr-ása-ti* 'trembles' (also *tar-ása-ti* § 659), Gr. τρ-έ(σ)ω 'I tremble, flee', O.C.Sl. *tręsą* 'I shake, shatter' perhaps a re-formate instead of **tresą* (§ 636 p. 174); with *-s-*, Lat. *terreō* for **ter-s-* (cp. Gr. ἔτερσεν· ἐφόβησεν Hesych.). Compare Skr. *gr-asa-ti hr-asa-ti bhy-ása-ti* Avest. *v-aŋha-itē* § 659, Gr. ξ-έ(σ)ω βδ-έ(σ)ω § 661, Lat. *qu-ero-r* § 662.

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1) According to Bréal's convincing explanation, Umbr. *orer ose* 'his (donis) macte' will fall in this place too. *ose* = pr. Ital. **aukse* may be a vocative, which would make it necessary to start from an adj. **aukso-s* meaning 'auctus'; it may also be an imperative like Gr. αὖξε (cp. Lat. *auxim*). The first view is supported by Lat. *macte*, a vocative (F. D. Allen, Am. Journ. Phil., i 135 ff.). Pauli's explanation of *ose* (Alt. Stud. v 123) does not seem right to me.

2) On the relation between *u̯eg- au̯g- au̯eg-*, see Per Persson, *Wurz.*, 228.

§ **658.** In § 655 it was pointed out that these *s*-suffixes are probably connected with the noun suffixes *-es-* *-əs-* *-s-* (§§ 131 ff.). A few more examples of this may be given:

Skr. *tą-sa-ti*: Skr. *tánas-* Lat. *tenor*. Skr. *úk-ṣa-ti* Gr. *αὔξω*: Skr. *ṓjas-*. Skr. *śrṓ-ṣa-māṇa-s* O.C.Sl. *slu-chŭ* (§ 659): Skr. *śrávas-* Gr. *κλέ(ϝ)ος*. Skr. *bhū́-ṣa-ti* (§ 659): Skr. *bhavas-* *bhúvas-*. Skr. *dák-ṣa-ti* (§ 659): Skr. *daśas-ya-ti* Lat. *decus*. Skr. *sák-ṣa-nt-* (§ 659): Skr. *sáhas-*. O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* (§ 659), Skr. *ī́k-ṣa-tē* (§ 667): O.C.Sl. *oko* gen. *očes-e*. Avest. *vax-ša-itę* (§ 659): Skr. *vácas-*. Armen. *luçi* (§ 660): Skr. *-rōcas-* *rōcíṣ-* *ruciṣ-ya-s*. Lat. *vīsō* (§ 662): Skr. *vḗdas-* Gr. *εἶδος* *ϝίσϝος* *ἴσο-ς* for *ϝιτσ-ϝο-ς* (p. XIII). O.Icel. inf. *hrjōsa* (§ 664): Skr. *kravíṣ-* Gr. *κρέ(ϝ)ας*. Compare also Skr. *bhartsa-ti* (beside *bhartsaya-ti*) 'attacks sharply, rates, scolds', akin to Lat. *fer-iō*, Lith. *bar-iù* 'I scold', and so doubtless derived from some such stem as **bhar-tas-* (cp. *srṓ-tas-* 'stream') or **bhar-dhas-* (cp. *rā́-dhas-* 'grace, gift'). The nouns *-tąsa-* *dakṣá-* *sakṣa-* *vax-ša-* which are connected with *tąsa-ti* *dákṣa-ti* *sákṣa-nt-* *vaxša-itę* were therefore related to *tánas-* **dáśas-* (*daśas-ya-ti*) *sáhas-* *vácas-* in the same way as *vat-sá-* to Gr. *ϝέτος*, Skr. *śīr-ṣá-* to *śíras-*, *hō-ṣá-* to *havíṣ-*, and so forth (II § 132 p. 190).

Skr. *bhā́sa-ti* (§ 659): *bhā́s-* Lat. *fās*.

Skr. *hr-asa-ti* (§ 659): *háras-*. Skr. *yaj-as-ē* (§ 656): Skr. *yajás-*. These are like *bhy-ása-ti* beside *bhyás-* *bhiyás-* (already mentioned in § 655, page 190).

§ **659.** Aryan. Skr. *tą-sa-ti* *á-ta-sa-t*, *bhā́ṣa-ti*, *tvē-ṣa-ti* *á-tvi-ṣa-ta* (*tvē-ṣá-s* 'boisterous' Avest. *þwaę-ša-* 'terror'), *plō-ṣa-ti*, *rák-ṣa-ti*, *úk-ṣa-ti* *uk-ṣá-māṇa-s*, Avest. *vax-ša-iti* see § 657. Skr. *ár-ṣa-ti* *ṛ-ṣá-ti* 'moves quickly, flows quickly', from *ar-* 'begin to move' (*ṛ-ṇṓ-ti*). Skr. *i-ṣa-tē* 'sets in motion, sends forth' Avest. *aęšemna-* *išaiti*, from *i-* 'to send' (*i-nṓ-ti*). Skr. *śrē-ṣa-ti* 'hangs to something, clasps' *á-śli-ṣa-t*, Avest. *sraęšemna-*, √*k̂lei̯-* 'lean' (Lat. *-clī-nō*). Skr. *śrṓ-ṣa-ti* 'hears' (redupl. *śú-śrū-ṣa-tē* § 667) Avest. *sraošemna-*, √*k̂leu̯-* (2nd sing.

śrṓ-ṣi), cp. O.Ir. *cluas* 'ear' (I § 516 p. 377) O.Sax. *hlus-t* 'hearing' O.C.Sl. *sluchŭ* 'hearing, faculty of hearing'. Skr. *ghṓ-ṣa-ti* 'cries out, proclaims aloud' (*ghṓṣa-s* 'confused noise, roar of a storm, cry of woe'), beside Goth. *gáu-nōn* 'to cry for woe'. Skr. *bhū́-ṣa-ti* 'applies himself to, takes trouble about', √ *bheu̯-* (Skr. *bháva-ti*). Skr. *sūrk-ṣa-ti* 'is anxious about something, takes thought for it, or account of it', beside Goth. *saúrg-a* 'care', which must be connected with O.Ir. *serc* 'love' or with Lith. *sérg-iu* 'I protect'. Skr. *mrak-ṣa-ti mṛk-ṣa-ti* 'rubs, strokes', beside *mā́rṣ-ṭi* 3rd pl. *mṛj-ánti*. Skr. *akṣa-tē* ground-form **n̥k̑-se-tai̯* beside *aś-nṓ-ti* 'reaches' (§ 640 p. 179); from the same root, *nák-ṣa-ti* 'reaches' beside *náś-a-ti* Lith. *nesz-ù*; with these must also be connected Goth. *bi-niuhs-ja* 'I search out *niuhs-ein-s* 'visitation, affliction', which come from **nuχ-s-* = Idg. **n̥k̑-s-* (cp. *gi-naúhan* 'to suffice'). Skr. *mṓk-ṣa-tē* 'gets free from something' (redupl. *mú-muk-ṣa-ti* § 667), beside *muc-á-ti muñc-á-ti*. Skr. *bhak-ṣa-ti* 'enjoys, eats, devours', Avest. *bax-ša-iti* 'divides, receives for share', beside Skr. *bháj-a-ti*. Skr. *dák-ṣa-ti* 'acts so as to suit or satisfy somebody' mid. 'plunges, dips, ducks, is dexterous' (*dakṣá-s* 'dexterous') beside *daśas-ya-ti* 'is at one's service, shows respect'. Skr. *lak-ṣa-tē* 'marks', from *lag-* 'fasten on'. Skr. *sák-ṣa-nt-* 'overpowering', from *sah-* 'to overpower'. Skr. injunct. *ap-sa-nta* 'they sought to get', beside *āp-nṓ-ti* (§ 600 p. 144), cp. the reduplicated *īpsa-ti* (§ 667). O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* 'I inspect', beside Skr. *ák-ṣ-i* 'eye' O.C.Sl. *oko* (gen. *očes-e*) 'eye', cp. the reduplicated Skr. *īk-ṣa-tē* (§ 667) and the Gr. imper. aor. *ὄψεσθε*. Avest. *vax-ša-itē̦* 'speaks', from *vac-* 'speak'. Avest. *tax-ša-iti* 'makes run' beside *tac-a-iti* 'runs' Skr. *ták-a-ti*. Avest. *sax-ša-iti* 'learns', beside *sācaye̦-iti* 'teaches' Skr. *śak-nṓ-ti* 'is able', cp. the reduplicated Skr. *śíkṣa-tē* Avest. *a-sixša-nt-* (§ 667).

The preterite type belonging to this class is productive in Sanskrit, where, with roots which made final *kṣ* when *s* was added to them, it was used for the aorist; specially frequent when the root had *r̥*, *i*, or *u*. Examples: *á-mṛk-ṣa-t* cp. above, *mṛk-ṣa-ti* from *marj-*, *á-spṛk-ṣa-t* from *sparś-* 'touch', *á-vṛk-ṣa-t*

from *varh-* 'tear, tear out', *á-dik-ṣa-t* from *diś-* 'show', *á-lik-ṣa-t* from *lih-* 'lick', *á-dhuk-ṣat* and *á-duk-ṣat* (the latter an ad-formate of the type *áduhat*, cp. Gr. ἔπεισα instead of *ἔφεισα following πείθω etc., I § 496 p. 364) from *duh-* 'milk'. The forms *dhukṣá-n dhukṣá-nta*, and others like them, are remarkable as having the accent upon the thematic vowel. The aor. *á-mṛk-ṣa-t* it related to the pres. *mṛk-ṣa-ti* not otherwise than the aor. *á-kṛ-ṣ-i* to the pres. *kṛ-ṣ-ē* (§ 656 p. 191). O.Pers. *niy-apišam* 'I wrote', with *š* = *k̑s*, √*peik̑-* (I § 401 p. 297), seems to belong to the same class; as no other persons are preserved, it is possible to assume that this is non-thematic, but the root-vowel is in favour of believing it to be thematic. The aorist use in all these forms is due to the weak grade of root syllable, just as with *á-sic-a-t* and the like (§ 513 pp. 78 f.). But the imperfect meaning was not excluded either with this type without *s* or with the *s*-preterite which we are now dealing with: *ádhukṣa-t* is imperfect as well as aorist (Whitney, Am. Journ. Phil. VI 281). On this aorist type in general see § 833.

Skr. *bhā́sa-ti* 'appears, shines', beside *bhā́-ti*. Skr. *rā́sa-tē* 'bestows, affords', Avest. 1st sing. *rā̊ṇhę̄* beside Skr. *rā-tḗ*. Skr. *hā́sa-tē* 'runs in a match', from *hā-* 'go' *ud hā-* 'to start up'. *rāsa-ti* 'roars, bellows' beside *rā́ya-ti*; as regards *rāsa-ti* compare further § 656 p. 191.

Skr. *tr-ása-ti* 'trembles', also *tar-ása-ti* (partic. *tarásantī* Rig-V.): Gr. τρ-έ(σ)ω, see § 657 p. 192. Skr. *gr-asa-ti* 'swallows, devours', beside *gir-á-ti* (Class II, § 523 p. 86) √*ger-*; akin to Gr. γράω 'esse', perhaps for **gṛ-sō*? Skr. *hr-asa-ti* 'takes away, diminishes, grows less', beside *hár-a-ti* 'takes, takes away'. Skr. *bhy-ása-ti* 'fears' (caus. *bhī-ṣaya-tē*) beside *bi-bhḗ-ti*, cp. § 655 p. 190. Avest. *v-aṇha-itę̄* beside *v-as-tę̄* 'dresses' § 656 p. 191. We should doubtless add *vasa-ti* 'bellows' beside *rāsa-ti* and *rāu-ti*, see § 656 p. 191.

§ 660. Armenian. Besides *epem* 'I boil' (see § 657 p. 192) may be named the aor. *luçi* 'I kindled' for **leuk-so-* (pres. *luçanem*), √*leuq-* 'lucere', cp. Skr. *ruk-ṣá-s* 'shining',

śrṓ-ṣi), cp. O.Ir. *cluas* 'ear' (I § 516 p. 377) O.Sax. *hlus-t* 'hearing' O.C.Sl. *sluchŭ* 'hearing, faculty of hearing'. Skr. *ghṓ-ṣa-ti* 'cries out, proclaims aloud' (*ghṓṣa-s* 'confused noise, roar of a storm, cry of woe'), beside Goth. *gáu-nōn* 'to cry for woe'. Skr. *bhū́-ṣa-ti* 'applies himself to, takes trouble about', √ *bheu̯-* (Skr. *bháva-ti*). Skr. *sū́rk-ṣa-ti* 'is anxious about something, takes thought for it, or account of it', beside Goth. *saúrg-a* 'care', which must be connected with O.Ir. *serc* 'love' or with Lith. *sérg-iu* 'I protect'. Skr. *mrak-ṣa-ti mṛk-ṣa-ti* 'rubs, strokes', beside *mā́rṣ-ṭi* 3rd pl. *mṛj-ánti*. Skr. *akṣa-tē* ground-form **n̥k̑-se-tai̯* beside *aś-nṓ-ti* 'reaches' (§ 640 p. 179); from the same root, *nák-ṣa-ti* 'reaches' beside *náś-a-ti* Lith. *nesz-ù*; with these must also be connected Goth. *bi-niuhs-ja* 'I search out *niuhs-ein-s* 'visitation, affliction', which come from **nuχ-s-* = Idg. **n̥k̑-s-* (cp. *gi-naúhan* 'to suffice'). Skr. *mṓk-ṣa-tē* 'gets free from something' (redupl. *mú-muk-ṣa-ti* § 667), beside *muc-á-ti muñc-á-ti*. Skr. *bhak-ṣa-ti* 'enjoys, eats, devours', Avest. *bax-ša-iti* 'divides, receives for share', beside Skr. *bhā́j-a-ti*. Skr. *dák-ṣa-ti* 'acts so as to suit or satisfy somebody' mid. 'plunges, dips, ducks, is dexterous' (*dakṣá-s* 'dexterous') beside *daśas-ya-ti* 'is at one's service, shows respect'. Skr. *lak-ṣa-tē* 'marks', from *lag-* 'fasten on'. Skr. *sák-ṣa-nt-* 'overpowering', from *sah-* 'to overpower'. Skr. injunct. *ap-sa-nta* 'they sought to get', beside *āp-nṓ-ti* (§ 600 p. 144), cp. the reduplicated *ī́psa-ti* (§ 667). O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* 'I inspect', beside Skr. *ák-ṣ-i* 'eye' O.C.Sl. *oko* (gen. *očes-e*) 'eye', cp. the reduplicated Skr. *ī́k-ṣa-tē* (§ 667) and the Gr. imper. aor. *ὄψεσθε*. Avest. *vax-ša-itē̦* 'speaks', from *vac-* 'speak'. Avest. *tax-ša-iti* 'makes run' beside *tac-a-iti* 'runs' Skr. *ták-a-ti*. Avest. *sax-ša-iti* 'learns', beside *sācaye̦-iti* 'teaches' Skr. *śak-nṓ-ti* 'i[illegible] cp. the reduplicated Skr. *śíkṣa-tē* Avest. *a-sixša-nt-* [illegible]

The preterite type belonging to this class i[illegible] Sanskrit, where, with roots which made fir[illegible] [illegible]nts added to them, it was used for the ao[illegible] [illegible]quent when the root had *r̥*, *i*, or *u*. F[illegible] *mṛk-ṣa-ti* from *marj-*, *á-spr̥k-ṣ*[illegible]

from *varh-* 'tear, tear out', *á-[illegible]* from [illegible], *á-lik-ṣa-t* from *lih-* 'lick', [illegible] and [illegible] the latter an ad-formate of the type [illegible] [illegible] of *[illegible] following [illegible] etc., I § [illegible] p. [illegible] from *duh-* 'milk'. The forms [illegible], and others like them, are remarkable as having the accent upon the thematic vowel. The aor. [illegible] is related to the pres. *mṛk-ṣa-ti* not otherwise than the aor. [illegible] to the pres. [illegible] (§ 656 p. 191). O.Pers. [illegible] 'I wrote', with [illegible] √ *peiḱ-* (I § 401 p. 297), seems to belong to the same class; as no other persons are preserved, it is possible to assume that this is non-thematic, but the root-vowel is in favour of believing it to be thematic. The aorist [illegible] is due to the weak grade of root syllable [illegible] and the like (§ 513 pp. 76 f.). But the [illegible] not excluded either with this type [illegible] *s*-preterite which we are now dealing [illegible] imperfect as well as aorist (Whitney [illegible]). On this aorist type in general see § [illegible].

Skr. *bhāsa-ti* 'appears, shines' [illegible] 'bestows, affords', Avest. [illegible] Skr. *bhasa-ti* 'runs in a mad [illegible] up'. *rāsa-ti* 'roars, bellows' [illegible] compare further § 656 p. [illegible]

Skr. *tr-ása-ti* [illegible] Rig-V.); Gr. [illegible] 'swallows, devours' [illegible] √ *ger-*; also [illegible] -*ti* [illegible]

[illegible]

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Goth. [illegible] *l + sō* [illegible] Unt. [illegible] *oī*) for [illegible] *ī*) from [illegible] d with [illegible] bewail, [illegible] O.H.G.

[illegible] he forms [illegible] t person [illegible] *s*-aorist [illegible] 'sits', see

[illegible] Goth. *at-* [illegible] ll, tear', [illegible] *fra-liusa* [illegible] *lū-n-s* f. [illegible] adder' inf. [illegible] gruesome, [illegible] -*s-ta* and [illegible] O.H.G. [illegible] btless for [illegible] XXIV. [illegible] 'I blow', [illegible] -*s-t* A.S. [illegible] *flōreō*. [illegible] lengthen' [illegible] p. 191. [illegible] ived from [illegible] p. 192;

[illegible] ected with [illegible] ycomb' to

Lat. *illūstri-s* for **in-louc-s-tri-*, A.S. *līxan lȳxan* 'shine' = Goth. **liuhs-ja-n* (cp. II § 66 p. 140).

§ **661**. Greek. σείω, ἀλέξω ἀέξω αὔξω, ἕψω see § 657 p. 192. κλάω 'I break, break off' for *κλα-σω ground-form **kl̥-sō*, cp. κέ-κλασ-ται, Skr. *śr̥-ṇā́-ti* 'breaks to pieces'; parallel stems κλ-ᾱ- in partic. ἀπο-κλᾱ́ς (Class X, § 582 p. 123), and κλα-δ-. γράω 'esse' for **gr̥-sō* connected with Skr. *gr-asa-ti*? see § 659 p. 195. ὀδάξω ὀδάξομαι 'I bite, itch, sting', beside δάκ-νω, √*deñk-*, cp. ὀδάζω ὀδαγμό-ς. δέψω beside δέφω 'I knead, soften' (Lat. *depsō* is a loan word). σπάω 'I pull' for *σπα-σω (cp. ἔ-σπασ-ται), possibly = **spə-sō*, cp. O.H.G. *spa-nu spa-nnu* § 614 p. 152, § 654 p. 188.

τρ-έ(σ)ω 'I tremble, flee': Skr. *tr-ása-ti*, see § 657 p. 192. ξ-έ(σ)ω 'I shave, smooth' beside ξ-ύω from √*qes-* O.C.Sl. *čes-*-*ati* 'to comb, curry' Lith. *kas-ýti* 'to scratch' (cp. II § 8 Rem. 2 p. 20). βδ-έ(σ)ω 'pedo' for *βζδ-εσω from √*pezd-* Slov. *pezdē-ti* 'pedere' (I § 594 p. 450).

That some of the trisyllabic presents in -εω making aorist in -εσσα etc., such as καλέω (κάλεσσα) ἀλέω (ἄλεσσαν) στερέω (στερέσαι), had originally the ending -εσω (cp. Skr. *tarása-ti* § 659 p. 195, *arcas-ē* § 656 p. 191), is not improbable; καλέ(σ)ω : κάλεσσα = τρέ(σ)ω : τρέσσα. Compare § 842.

In Greek this *-s-* is not only found with ἔδειξα and like aorists, but elsewhere too it is a favourite tense suffix. Compare ἐ-σκεδά-σ-θην ἐ-σκέδα-σ-σα, κε-κέρα-σ-ται ἐ-κέρα-σ-σα, ὀμ-ώμο-σ-ται ὤμο-σ-σα, ξυ-σ-τό-ς ἐ-ξύ-σ-θην, εἴρυ-σ-ται ἐρυ-σ-τό-ς ἔρυ-σ-σα. No clear distinction can be made between "Primary" and "Denominative" verbs (cp. τε-τέλεσ-ται beside τέλος, αἰδεσ-τό-ς beside αἰδώς, ἐ-γελάσ-θην beside γέλως, ἐ-μεθύσ-θην beside Skr. *mádhuṣ-*), because *s* in these verbal stems is the same as *s* in the stems of the cognate nouns, as has already once been said (§ 655 pp. 189 f.).

Compare further the use of the suffixes -εσ- and -η- in stems of the same group, σβ-εσ-τό-ς ἔ-σβ-εσ-σα : ἔ-σβ-η-ν ἔ-σβ-η-κα, ἐ-κάλ-εσ-σα : καλ-ή-τωρ κέ-κλ-η-κα, κε-κόρ-εσ-ται ἐ-κόρ-εσ-σα : κε-κόρ-η-μαι ἀ-κόρ-η-το-ς.

§ **662.** Italic. Lat. *vīsō* (perf. *vīsī*), near kin to Goth. *ga-veisō* 'I look after some one, I visit', doubtless for **u̯ei̯d + sō* (not **u̯īd+tō*, Class XXIV, as Osthoff will have it, Morph. Unt. IV 77), cp. Skr. *vi-vit-sa-ti* § 667. *quaesō* (perf. *quaesīvī*) for **quai̯s-sō*, beside *quaer-ō*. *in-cessō ar-cessō* (perf. *-cessīvī*) from *cēd-ō cessī*. *ac-cersō* for **-cers-sō* doubtless connected with *currō* for **cors-ō kr̥s-ō*.[1])

queror ques-tu-s) for **qu-esō(-r)* beside Gr. *κω-κύω* 'I bewail, cry, shriek' Mid.H.G. *hiuweln* 'to howl, lament, cry' O.H.G. *hūwila hiuwila* 'owl'. Compare § 657 p. 192.

§ **663.** Keltic. No *s*-presents seem to occur. The forms which Windisch (Wtb., p. 593 *b*) assign to a first person *gessim* 'I beg' are more probably conjunctive of the *s*-aorist of *guidim* (§ 826). On *seiss* 'placed itself, sat' and 'sits', see § 833.

§ **664.** Germanic. O.H.G. *billu* 'I bellow', Goth. *at-þinsa* 'I draw towards me' O.H.G. *dinsu* 'I pull, tear', O.H.G. *friusu* 'I freeze', see § 657 p. 191. Goth. *fra-liusa* O.H.G. *vir-liusu* 'I lose' (*vir-lus-t* 'loss'), beside Goth. *lū-n-s* f. 'ransom' Gr. *λύ-ω* Lat. *so-lvō* etc. O.Icel. *hrȳs* 'I shudder' inf. *hrjōsa*, from √*qreu̯-* Skr. *krū-rá-s* 'coarse, horrible, gruesome, bloody', cp. Gr. *κρυ-σ-ταίνω* 'I cause to freeze' Lat. *cru-s-ta* and Osc. krustatar ('cruentetur' according to Bücheler). O.H.G. *wīsu* 'I avoid, eschew, shun' beside Lat. *vītō*, doubtless for **u̯ei̯t-sō* (**u̯īt-sō*), not for **u̯eit + tō* (**u̯īt + tō*) Class XXIV.

Goth. *uf-blēsa* 'I inflate, blow out' O.H.G. *blāsu* 'I blow', beside O.H.G. *blāu* i. e. **bhlē-i̯ō*, cp. Mid.H.G. *bluo-s-t* A.S. *blō-s-tma* beside Germ. **blō-i̯ō* 'I bloom' and Lat. *flōs flōreō*.

§ **665.** Balto-Slavonic. Lith. *tęs-iù* 'I lengthen' containing **tęs-u* = Skr. *tą-sa-ti* etc., see § 657 p. 191. Lith. *tres-iù* 'I am in heat', said of bitches, derived from **tr-es-e-ti* = Skr. *tr-ása-ti* 'trembles' etc., see § 657 p. 192;

1) If Germ. **χrussa-* 'horse' (O.Sax. O.Icel. *hross*) is connected with *currō*, it stands to *ac-cersō* as Skr. *mr̥k-šá-s* 'comb, currycomb' to *mrak-ša-ti*.

add Slav. *tręsetŭ* 'shakes, shatters' with a nasal infix, unless it is really **trem+sō-* (cp. Lith. *trimu* Lat. *tremō*), see § 636 p. 174.

The same *s* is sometimes found also with transformed and derivative verbs, and in nouns; as O.C.Sl. *ą-cha-ti* 'to smell' (cp. Lat. *(h)ālō* for **an-s-lo-*, I § 208 pp. 175 f., § 588 Rem. 2 p. 444), *ja-cha-ti* 'vehi' (cp. *ja-dą* 'vehor' § 701), Lith. *bal̃-sa-s* 'voice, sound, tone' (cp. § 657 p. 192), O.C.Sl. *slu-chŭ* 'hearing, faculty of hearing' (cp. § 659 p. 194), O.C.Sl. *gla-sŭ* 'sound, voice' (I § 585 p. 441).

Class XXI.

Root + *-so-* *-əso-*, with reduplication ending in *-ĭ* (*-ŭ*) forming the Present Stem.

§ **666.** This class is represented by the Aryan Desideratives, many of which have little or nothing of the desiderative in their meaning (e. g. Skr. *īkṣa-tē* 'sees' from √ *oq-*, from which a desiderative stem *īc-ikṣ-iṣa-* is made anew), and by an Irish future series. The Homeric future *διδώ-σω* and Attic conjunctive aorist and future *διδάξω* can hardly have a direct connexion with these formations.

Very rare indeed are non-thematic forms with reduplication, such as Skr. partic. mid. *dí-dhiṣ-āṇa-s* beside *dí-dhiṣa-ti* from √ *dhē-* 'set, lay'.

§ **667.** Aryan. The Desiderative type is very prolific in Sanskrit.

√ *ster-* 'sternere' Skr. *ti-stīr-ṣa-tē.* √ *u̯en-* 'win, like' Skr. *ví-vā-sa-ti*, where *-vā-* = **-vn̥̄-*; in *jí-ghą̄-sa-ti* (√ *ghen-* 'strike') *mī-mą̄-sa-tē* (√ *men-* 'to think') and some other words the nasal came in afterwards by analogy, as it did in *vāñcha-ti* instead of **vācha-ti* § 671. √ *gei̯-* 'compel, subdue' Skr. *jí-gī-ṣā-ti.* √ *k̑leu̯-* 'hear' *śú-śrū-ṣa-tē*, cp. *śrṓ-ṣa-ti* § 659 p. 193. √ *ĝheu̯-* 'pour, offer' Skr. *ju-hū-ṣa-ti.* √ *derk̑-* 'see'

Skr. *dí-dṛk-ṣa-tē.* √*u̯eid-* 'see, know' Skr. *vi-vit-sa-ti,* cp. Lat. *vīsō* § 662 p. 197. √*meu̯q-* 'loose, set free' Skr. *mú-muk-ṣa-ti*, cp. *mṓk-ṣa-tē* § 659 p. 194. √*dhegh-* 'burn' Skr. *di-dhak-ṣa-ti. bādh-* 'press' Skr. *bī-bhat-sa-tē.* √*dō-* 'give' Skr. *dí-t-sa-ti dí-dā-sa-nt-.* √*dhē-* 'place, lay' Skr. *dhí-t-sa-ti dí-dhi-ṣa-ti.* From *ĝnē- ĝnō-* 'noscere' √*ĝen-* (§ 587 p. 128) Skr. *ji-jñā-sa-te* Avest. *zī-šnå̄əhemna-* (as regards *-šn-* see I § 403 p. 298).

On the reduplication of Skr. *ī́kṣa-tē* (unreduplicated O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* 'I inspect'), *ī́psa-ti* 'tries to reach' (unreduplicated *apsa-nta*), *ī́rtsa-ti* 'wishes to advance or promote', see § 473 p. 17. Ved. *íyakṣa-ti* 'wishes to honour' may be regarded as regular for **yi-yakṣa-*, since *i̯i-* doubtless became *i-* as *u̯u-* became *u-* (I § 157 p. 141); the forms *yi-yakṣa-ti yi-yąsa-ti* are reformates following *si-saṁkṣa-ti* etc., just as beside the regular *ur-āṇá-s* we find the re-formate *vur-ī-ta.*[1]) The form *ín-akṣa-ti* 'seeks to gain' is peculiar, cf. perf. *ān-ą́ś-a.*

Roots beginning and ending in a consonant, and containing no *i*, *u*, liquid, or nasal, drop the initial consonant after the reduplicator if the root does not form a syllable by itself (cp. Lat. *discō* for **di-tc-scō* § 678). Skr. *śíkṣatē* 'learns' Avest. *a-sixšant-* 'not learning' for pr. Ar. **śi-śk-ša-* beside Skr. *śak-nṓ-ti* 'is able'; for the loss of the sibilant cp. aor. *vṛkṣi* for **vṛšk-ṣi* and the fut. *vrakṣyá-nt-* for **vrask-śya-nt-* (beside *vṛścá-ti* 'tears to pieces' *pra-vrask-a-s* 'slice, cut' O.C.Sl. *vraska* 'wrinkle'). Similarly *dípsa-ti dhīpsa-ti* Avest. *diwža-idyāi* beside Skr. *dábh-a-ti* 'injures', Skr. *bhíkṣa-tē* 'begs' beside Skr. *bháj-a-ti, lípsa-tē līpsa-tē* beside *labh-a-tē* 'seizes, grasps' and others of the same sort. Some of these forms are certainly irregular. Instead of Skr. *pitsa-ti*, for example (from *pat-* 'fly, fall') we should expect **pipsa-ti*, to judge from Avest. *nafšu* for **naptsu* (I § 471 p. 348).

On the analogy of the forms here mentioned arose Skr.

1) The *i-* of *í-yakṣa-ti* is different from that of *i-yā́ja*, see § 851.

hį̄sa-ti 'injures, hurts' from *han-* (*ghen-*), whose 3[rd] pl. *hį̄santi* caused the coining of a sing. *hinás-ti* following Class XV (the 3[rd] sing. *hį̄s-tē* is perhaps like *dídhiṣ-āṇa-s* § 660), and further perf. *ji-hį̄s-a* etc.

Instead of *-sa-* after roots with final consonant, the Sanskrit has often *-iṣa-* (*-əso-*). √ *qel-* 'to move' *ci-cariṣa-ti* (beside *cicarṣa-ti*). √ *ĝen-* 'gignere' *ji-janiṣa-tē*. √ *meld-* 'crush' *mi-mardiṣa-ti*. *vi-vidiṣa-ti* beside *vivitsa-ti* (see above). *bi-bādhiṣa-tē* beside *bī-bhatṣa-tē* (see above).

The productive power of this desiderative type in Sanskrit is especially clear in forms like *ti-tarpayiṣa-ti pi-pāyayiṣa-ti* from the causals *tarpáya-ti* (from *tr̥p-ṇṓ-ti* 'satisfies itself') *pā-yáya-ti* (from *pā-ti* 'drinks').

The desiderative formation was itself often the foundation for a comprehensive verb structure; thus from *bhíkṣa-tē* were formed perf. *bi-bhikṣē* fut. *bhikṣ-iṣya-tē* caus. *bhikṣ-aya-ti*, and from *mī-mą̄-sa-tē* were formed aor. *á-mīmą̄s-iṣṭa* pass *mīmą̄s-yá-tē*.

§ 668. Keltic. O.Ir. *nō-gigius* 'I will pray or ask' for **gi-get-sō* beside *gess-* from *-guidiu*, § 663 p. 197. *fo-lilus-*[*s*]*a* from *fo-long-* 'bear, endure'. Compare Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 128.

F. Classes XXII and XXIII.

Present stems with *-sko-*.

§ 669. The *-s-* of *-sko-* I regard as the same element which we have discussed under Classes XIX—XXI; and *-s-ko-* I believe to be an extension like *-s-i̯o-*. Compare **mei̯k̑-sk-* Lat. *misceō* and **mei̯k̑-s-* Skr. *mēkṣaya-ti* perf. *mi-mikṣé* from √ *mei̯k̑-* 'mix'; Lat. *dis-pescō* for **-perc-scō* and Skr. *pr̥k-ṣ-* (see Grassmann, Wtb., s. v.); Gr. *δι-δά(κ)-σκω* 'I teach' and Avest. *dax-ša-t* 'he taught'; Skr. *r̥-cchá-ti* 'reaches, hits, attains', and *r̥-ṣá-ti ár-ṣ̌ı-ti* 'moves quickly'

Avest. *yā-sa-iti* 'goes, goes on' and O.C.Sl. *ja-cha-ti* 'vehi'; Mid.H.G. *lū-sche* 'I lurk, watch for' (O.H.G. **hlū-skē-n*)[1]) and O.H.G. *lū-s-trē-n* 'I listen, obey' *hlo-sē-n* 'I attend, listen to' Skr. *śrṓ-ṣa-ti śú-śrū-ṣa-tē* from √*k̑leu̯-* 'hear'; Armen. *ba-çi* 'I opened' Gr. *φά-σκω* 'I make known, say' and Skr. *bhā́sa-ti*; Gr. *γνώ-σκω γι-γνώ-σκω* Lat. *(g)nō-scō* and Lat. *gnō-ri-tur* 'cognitum sive compertum est' (Stolz, Lat. Gr.² p. 375) Skr. *ji-jñā-sa-tē* from *ĝnē- ĝnō-* 'learn', and others. In view of these, we may derive Lat. *mix-tu-s mis-tu-s* beside *misceō*, *dis-pes-tu-s* beside *dis-pescō*, *pos-tulō* Osc. pes-tlú-m 'templum' beside *poscō poposcī* and doubtless Skr. *pṛṣ-ṭá-s prā́ṣ-ṭum* beside *pṛcchá-ti papracha* from stems with no other extending suffix but *-s-*, **mei̯k̑-s-* and so forth; and we need not regard Avest. *terᵉsa-iti* 'is afraid' Lith. *triszu* 'I tremble, shudder' as being **tṛ-s* + *sko-* (cp. Skr. *tr-ása-ti* etc., § 657 p. 192), but must regard it as **tṛ-s-ko-*. The compound suffix *-esko-* in O.Pers. *a-r-asa-m* 'I came, arrived at' beside Skr. *ṛ-cchá-ti*, in Avest. *iš-asa-iti* 'wishes' beside Skr. *icchá-ti*, in Gr. *ἀρέσκω* 'I please' *φεύγεσκο-ν* 'I fled' corresponds to *-eso-* in Skr. *tr-ása-ti tar-ása-ti* and others (§ 655 p. 189, § 657 p. 192, § 659 p. 195).

-k- or *-kh-* (see below), without *-s-* preceding, seems often to occur in Greek words. The parallel diminutive suffixes Boeot. *-ιχο-ς* and Att. *-ισκο-ς*, and a comparison of *πτώ-ξ πτω-κ-ός*, *πτω-χό-ς* (*πτώσσω*), with *πτω-σκ-άζω*[2]), and of *γλί-χο-μαι* 'I stick, adhere' with *γλί-σχ-ρο-ς*, justifies our assuming *-kho-* to be the suffix of *γλί-χο-μαι*, of *νή-χω* 'I swim', of *σμή-χω* 'I rub, stroke, wipe off', and *σμώ-χω* 'I rub or grind to powder', for *ψή-χω* 'I stroke, curry' and *ψώ-χω* 'I grind to powder', for *τρύ-χω* 'I rub away, wear out', and for *στεν-άχω* 'I groan' (cp. *πελάθω* and such like words, § 694). In the

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1) Connected, as it would seem, with Armen. *lsem* 'I hear' for **k̑lu-sk̑o-*. See Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. I 33; Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr., II 41.

2) Compare Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 39 f., on Armen. *tak̑-nu-m* 'I hide myself', which is in any case a cognate word.

parallel group come verbs in *-σσω* such as *πτή-σσω ἐγρή-σσω ὀνειρώ-σσω*; see § 763 Rem.

It appears that *-sko-* and *-skho-* were used as variants in the parent language. Sanskrit has only *-skho-* (unless perhaps *-sko-* is the suffix of *vṛścá-ti* 'tears to pieces'), but both of them seen to occur in Armenian and Greek. Armenian has *-sko-* in *lsem* 'I hear' (see p. 201 footnote), *-skho-* in *harçanem*; Greek has *-sko-* in *βά-σκε*, and *-skho-* perhaps in *πάσχω* (see § 673), *γλίσχ-ρο-ς* (cp. *γλί-χο-μαι* etc., above).

The *k*-sound was sometimes palatal and sometimes velar in the original language. *-sk̑(h)o-* is pointed to by Avest. *terᵉsa-iti*, Lith. *triszu*, Armen. *lsem harçanem*; and *-sq(h)o-* by Skr. *mūrkhá-s* (beside *múrcha-ti*) Avest. *perᵉska* (beside *perᵉsa-iti*, cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr. II 49 f.), Armen. *aλačem*, Lith. *jëszkó-ti* O.C.Sl. *iska-ti*, Lith. *treszkù* O.C.Sl. *trěskŭ troska*; cp. Lith. *tvìska* 'it lightens' beside Skr. *tvíṣ-* 'beam, light' Avest. *þwis-ra-* 'sparkling'. The variation of guttural in *-k̑o-* and *-qo-* has already been touched upon in our discussion of Noun Morphology, II § 90 pp. 274 f. Compare however vol. I § 414 pp. 303 f., § 587 Rem. 2 p. 442, and Bartholomae, *op. cit.* 48 f.

On the difficult question of the original shape of the *sk*-suffix we have a new paper by Zubatý, in Kuhn's Zeitschr., XXXI 9 ff.

Class XXII.

Root + *-sko- -esko-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 670. Pr. Idg. In the following sections, I write the original forms always with *-sko-*, without distinguishing the variants *-sk̑o- -sqo- -sk̑ho- -sqho-* (see § 669).

Roots that are capable of vowel gradation generally have the weak grade before *-sko-*.

√*ter-* 'move to and fro, tremble' (§ 657 p. 192). **tṛ-ske-ti*: Avest. *terᵉsa-iti* O.Pers. *tarsa-tiy* 'is frightened', Lith. *triszu*

'I tremble, shudder', cp. § 669 p. 201. √ *gem-* 'go' **gm̥-ske-ti*: Skr. *gácha-ti*, Gr. imper. *βάσκε*. √ *prek-* 'precari' **pr̥k̂-ske-ti*: Skr. *pr̥chá-ti*, Armen. aor. *harçi*, Lat. *poscō* for **porc-scō*, cp. O.H.G. *forsca* 'question'. √ *ais-* 'desire, wish': Skr. *ichá-ti*, Umbr. *eiscurent* 'poposcerint, arcessierint', O.C.Sl. *iską* 'I seek, try', cp. Skr. *ichā́* 'a desire, wish' Armen. *aiç* 'attempt' O.H.G. *eisca* 'a demand, request' Lith. *jëszkó-ti* 'seek, try'. √ *es-* 'be': Gr. *ἔσκε* 'was', O.Lat. *escō*. √ *bhā-* 'show, make appear' (p. 56 footnote): Armen. *ba-çi* 'I opened', Gr. *φά-σκω* 'I make known, say, affirm'.

From **ĝn-ē-* *ĝn-ō-* 'noscere' √ *ĝen-* (§ 587 p. 128): O.Pers. *xšnā-sā-tiy* conj. 'noscat' (I § 403 p. 298), Gr. Epir. *γνώσκω* (cp. Att. *γι-γνώσκω*), Lat. *gnōscō* *nōscō*.

Of *-esko-* there no example in more than one language.

§ 671. Aryan. Skr. *r̥-chá-ti* *ar-cha-ti* 'hits, reaches, injures' (pluperf. *ānarcha-t* § 854) √ *er-*. Avest. *terᵉ-sa-iti* O.Pers. *tarsa-tiy* 'is afraid': Lith. *triszu*, see § 670. Skr. *mūrcha-ti* 'congeals, stiffens' (perf. *mumūrcha* etc.), beside partic. *mūrtá-s*. Skr. *hūr-cha-ti* 'slides, glides, falls' (caus. *hūrchaya-ti*), probably from *hvar-* 'lead astray, disturb' (2nd sing. mid. *ju-hūr-thās*). Skr. *gá-cha-ti* Avest. *jasa-iti* (*j-* instead of *g-*, see I § 451 Rem. p. 334): Gr. *βά-σκε*, √ *gem-* 'go', see § 670; Skr. *yá-cha-ti* beside *yam-a-ti* 'holds, directs', Avest. *yasaiti*[1]) and *yāsaitē̦* (the latter for **i̯m̥̄-*); as regards the change of accent in *gácha-ti* *yácha-ti* (instead of **gachá-ti* **yachá-ti*) see I § 672 p. 537, IV § 516 p. 82. Skr. *vāñcha-ti* 'wishes' (pass. *vāñch-ya-tē* etc.), which should regularly be **vā-cha-ti*, ground-form **u̯n̥̄-ske-ti* (cp. desid. *ví-vā-sa-ti*),[2]) √ *u̯en-* Skr. *ván-a-ti*, cp. O.H.G. *wun-sc* m. 'wish' (II § 90 p. 276). Skr. *yú-cha-ti* 'keeps afar, wards off' (with irregular accent, which should be

1) Connected perhaps with O.Pers. 3rd sing. mid. *ayasatā*, see Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIV 246 f.

2) The same analogical intrusive nasal in *ji-ghą̄-sa-ti*, see § 667 p. 198.

compared with that of *gírāmi* beside *girā́mi*, and its like, § 516 p. 82) beside *yu-yṓ-ti*. Avest. *šu-sa-iti šū-sa-iti* 'goes, hastens, rushes' ground-form **qi̯ŭ-ske-ti* beside Skr. *cyáv-a-tē* (cp. I § 448 p. 333, § 473. 4 p. 350). Skr. *pr̥chá-ti* (perf. *papracha* and so forth) Avest. *perᵉsaiti* 'asks' O.Pers. imper. *parsā*: Lat. *poscō*, see § 670. Avest. *nerᵉf-sa-iti* 'wanes, decreases' (of the moon). Skr. *ichá-ti* Avest. *isaiti* 'desires, wishes', √ *ai̯s-*, see § 670. Skr. *uchá-ti* Avest. *usaiti* 'shines, flashes up' from Ar. *u̯as-* 'shine', cp. Lith. *aũszo* 'it dawned' where *sz* = *sk̑*. Avest. *xwafsa-iti*; √ *su̯ep- sup-* 'sleep'; *tafsa-iti* √ *tep-* 'to warm', cp. Lat. *tepēscō*; for the *fs* in these two present stems cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XIII 74 f. Avest. *yāsa-iti* 'goes, begins' beside Skr. *yā́-ti*. O.Pers. *xšnāsā-tiy* conj. 'noscat': Gr. γνώ-σκω etc., see § 670. Avest. *xwīsaiti* 'sweats' for **xwitsa-* (I § 473. 2 p. 349) from √ *su̯ei̯d-* may be one of the same class of forms, or it may contain *-so-* like *vax-ša-iti*, § 659, p. 194.

-esko- (§ 669 pp. 200 f.) only in Iranian. O.Pers. *a-r-asa-m* I came, reached' conj. *ni-rasātiy* beside Skr. *r̥-chá-ti* √ *er-*. Avest. *iš-asa-iti* 'wishes' beside *isa-iti* Skr. *ichá-ti* √ *ai̯s-*; cp. acc. *išase-m* 'a wish'. Avest. *hīš-asa-iti* 'has authority over, arranges, understands', √ ar. *sai̯š-*.

§ 672. Armenian. Here it seems that Idg. **-sk̑h(o)-* has become *-ç-*, *-sk̑(o)-* has become *-s-*, and *-sq(o)-* or *-sqh(o)-* has become *-č̣-* (cp. § 669 p. 201).

(1.) *-ç-* in aorist and present both: *harçi* 'I asked' pres. *harçane-m* (§ 620 p. 157): Skr. *pr̥chá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203; it seems to me questionable whether Bugge is right in connecting *ançi* 'I went' (pres. *ançane-m*) with Skr. *gácha-ti* (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 33). Again, compounded aorists with *-ç-*, or *-aç- -eaç-*. *ba-çi* 'I opened' (pers. *ba-na-m* § 601 p. 144): Gr. φά-σκω, see § 670 p. 203. *mna-çi* 'remained, awaited' (pres. *mna-m* § 581 p. 122), stem. *mnā-* from √ *men-*: cp. Gr. μι-μνή-σκω. *l-çi* 'I filled' 3rd sing. *e-li-ç* (pres. *l-nu-m* § 642 p. 180), stem *li-* = **plē-* from √ *pel-*. *ke-çi* 'I lived' (pres. *kea-m* § 581 p. 122) from √ *gei̯-*: similarly Gr. ἀνα-βιώσκομαι 'I revive'. The aorist in *-açi*, as *gitaçi* 'I knew'

(pres. *gitem*), and *-eçi* (3[rd] sing. *-eaç*), as *lizeçi* 'I licked' (pres. *lizem*) seem to be of the same character as Lat. verbs in *-āscō -ēscō -īscō* and Greek in *-ασκω -εσκω*.

But it must be admitted that an explanation is to seek why this present suffix came to be used with the aorist, and as an aorist suffix became productive. Something of the same sort happened in Greek with the *to*-suffix; for *harçi* : *harçane-m* = ἔ-βλαστο-ν : βλαστ-άνω, see § 682. It would follow that first *harçi* as compared with *harçanem* got the aorist use; and afterwards *baçi* and others like it were used in the same way. But the problem must remain unsolved so long as the history of the Idg. *s*-aorist in Armenian has not been traced.

(2). *lsem* 'I hear' doubtless for **k̑lu-sk̑o-* cp. Mid.H.G. *lūsche* 'I lurk, listen, play eavesdropper', § 669 p. 201.

(3) *-č̣-* for *-sq-* or *-sqh-* in present stems with *-ač̣e-m*, as *aλač̣em* 'I beg, pray', and in other compound suffixes (Hübschmann, Arm. Stud. I 94).

§ 673. Greek. βά-σκε βά-σκε-τε 'go thou, go ye': Skr. *gá-cha-ti*, √ *gem-*, see § 670 p. 203. προ-βλώσκω 'I come forth' for **ml̥-skō*. ἀνα-βρώσκων· κατεσθίων (Hesych.) for **gr̥̄-skō* (cp. βιβρώσκω § 678); θρώ-σκω 'I leap' for pr. Gr. **thr̥̄-skō*; cp. Skr. *hūrcha-ti mūrcha-ti* § 671 p. 203. λάσκω 'I make a sound, cry out' for *λακ-σκω, beside ἔ-λακ-ο-ν. ἴσκω 'I make like, consider like' for *ϝικ-σκω, also redupl. ἐ-ίσκω § 678, beside ἔοικα, √ *u̯ei̯k-*. μίσγω 'I mix' instead of *μισκω for *μικ-σκω (γ instead of κ following μίγνῦμι ἐμίγην), √ *mei̯k̑-mei̯ĝ-*: cp. Lat. *misceō*, O.Ir. *con-mescatar* 'miscentur'. ἐν-θύσκω· ἐντυγχάνω Hesych. for *θυκ-σκω, cp. fut. συν-θύξει· συναντήσει Hesych., beside ἔ-τυχ-ο-ν (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 304 f.). El. πάσκω 'I suffer, experience' i. e. *πα(θ)-σκω beside ἔ-παθ-ο-ν πένθ-ος; Att. etc. πάσχω, which seems to be built up with *-skho-* (§ 669 p. 202).

φά-σκω 'I make known, assert, say': Armen. *ba-çi*, √ *bhā-*, see § 670 p. 203. χά-σκω 'I gape, yawn', beside ἔ-χαν-ο-ν χή-μη, see § 611 p. 150. βό-σκω 'I feed, pasture' beside βώ-τωρ.

Epir. *γν-ώ-σκω* (Att. *γι-γνώ-σκω*) 'I get to know, learn': O.Pers. *xšnā-sā-tiy* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *ῥή-σκο-μαι* 'I say' stem *u̯rē-*, √ *u̯er-*. *θρ-ή-σκω· νοῶ, θρᾱ́-σκειν· ἀναμιμνήσκειν* Hesych., cp. Curtius Gr. Etym.[5] 257. In *θνή-σκω* Dor. *θνᾱ́-σκω* 'I die' there is doubtless not really an *ā*-suffix, as it may come from √ *ghen-* by way of **gh͡n̥-skō* = **φᾱ-σκω* (Osthoff, *op. cit.* 366 f.).

Att. *θρῴσκω*, *θρῄσκω* Aeol. *θναίσκω* Ion. *χρηΐσκομαι* have altered slightly in form by analogy of *-ισκω* (*εὑρ-ίσκω* etc.), from which they get *ι*; the same may be said of Att. *μιμνῄσκω* Aeol. *μιμναίσκω* (§ 678).

ἀρέσκω 'I please'. *κορέσκω* 'I satisfy'. *γηράσκω* 'I grow old'. *γενειάσκω* 'I grow a beard'. *μεθύσκω* 'I make drunk'.

Ionic iterative preterite: *φεύγεσκον* from *φεύγω* 'I flee', *ἐρίζεσκον* from *ἐρίζω* 'I strive', *βοσκεσκόμην* from *βοσκω* 'I pasture', *εἴπεσκον* from *εἶπον* 'I said', *αὐδήσασκον* beside *αὔδησα* 'I spoke, said', *φάνεσκον* beside *ἐφάνην* 'I appeared'. As a possible course of the developement I suggest the following. The first step was, on the analogy of *φη-μὶ* : *φά-σκω φά-σκον* to form *ἵστασκον* from *ἵστημι*; again *ἤρεσα* : *ἀρέσκω ἄρεσκον* produced *καλεσκόμην* beside *ἐκάλεσα*; and *γενειάζω* : *γενειάσκω γενείασκον* gave rise to *ῥίπτασκον* from *ῥιπτάζω*, and so forth. Each of these has its direct analogue; the next step was to form similar iterative preterites from stems which offered no such analogue among forms with *-σκο-*.

The origin of *-ισκω* in forms like *εὑρίσκω* 'I find' *ἁλίσκομαι* 'I am caught' is not quite clear; compare the reduplicated *ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω* 'I join'. I now offer a new conjecture, and give up that which was suggested in vol. II § 90 p. 275. My present view is that *ι* is the same in this suffix as in *ὀρί-ννω ὀρῑ́νω ἀγῑ́νω* (§§ 650, 652 p. 186), that is to say, it is the "root determinative" *-i-*. Then we analyse *ἀραρίσκω* as *ἀρ-αρί-σκω*, and connect it directly with *ἀρι-θμό-ς νή-ρι-το-ς* O.H.G. *r-ī-m* 'row, series, number'. See further in § 841, on *αἴσθω* 'I breathe', for **ἀϝ-ι-σ-θω*, and others of the same kind.

§ **674.** Italic. Lat. *hī-scō* (beside *hiā-scō*), beside *hi-ā-re* O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* O.Icel. *gī-n* (§ 605 p. 146, § 608 p. 147). *glī-scō*, beside Skr. *jráy-a-ti* (I § 402 p. 297). *scī-scō*, beside *sciō*. *nāscor* for **gnā-scō(r)*, ground-form **ĝṇ̄-scō*, √ *ĝen-* (I § 253 p. 206). *poscō* for **porc-scō*: Skr. *pṛchá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *com-pescō dis-pescō* for **perc-scō* or **parc-scō*, Osc. *com-parascuster* 'consultus erit' beside O.Lat. *comperce* 'compesce' (Paul. D.) Osc. kú]m-parakineís 'consilii' or 'convocatae contionis', doubtless connected with Skr. *parc-* 'mix, blend, unite, give in fullness' (*sam-parc-* 'communicare quid cum quo').[1]) *misceō* is doubtless derived from **miscō* (§ 802) Gr. *μίσγω*, see § 673 p. 205. Umbr. *eiscurent* 'poposcerint, arcessierint': Skr. *ichá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *vescōr* for **vē-ēscōr* i. e. *ēd+scō(r)*, √ *ed-*, cp. *vēscu-s* and *ēsca* (II § 90 pp. 275 f., G. Meyer in the Lit. Centralbl. 1890, col. 1513). *pō-scō* 'I drink' Cic. Verr. II 1. 66 (Stowasser, Wiener Stud. XII 326 f.), cp. *pō-sca*. *pā-scō*, perf. *pā-vī*.

In *pos-tulāre* Osc. pes-tlúm 'templum' Umbr. pes-klum 'supplicationem, sacrum' (*-klo-* for *-tlo-*, I § 367 p. 278),[2]) *dis--pes-tu-s*, *mix-tu-s mis-tu-s*, and *pās-tu-s*, the group *-st-* need not be derived from *-sk-t-*. Compare O.H.G. *lū-s-trē-n* as compared with Mid.H.G. *lū-sche* etc., § 669 p. 201. This guides us in our view of Umbr. persnimu imper. 'supplicato', derived from an abstract *persni- (§ 777) made with the suffix *-ni-* (II § 95 p. 286).

gn-ō-scō nō-scō, pf. *(g)nō-vī*: O.Pers. *xšnā-sā-tiy* etc., see § 670 p. 203. *cr-ē-scō*, pf. *crē-vī*. *qui-ē-scō*, pf. *quiē-vī*, cp. Avest. *šyę̄-iti-š* O.Pers. *šiyā-ti-š* II § 100 p. 297. *vi-ē-scō*, part. *viē-tu-s*, cp. Skr. *jyā-ní-ṣ* 'frailty, frailness, weakness of old age' (not so Per Persson, Stud. Lehr. Wurzelerw., 79).

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1) *dis-pescō* was merely coined to express the opposite of *com-pescō*, as *dis-jungō* as the opposite of *con-jungō*. Compare the Author, Idg. Forsch. I 175. — Is Osc. *parak-* for **prak-* = **pṛk-* or for **prāk-* **pṝk-*? See a new treatment by Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Spr., 140.

2) Umbr.-Osc. *perk-* is a contamination of *pork-* and *prek-* (Lat. *po(r)scō* and *precārī*).

rub-ē-scō beside *rub-ē-s* O.C.Sl. *rŭd-ě-ti*, *con-tic-ē-scō* beside *tac-ē-s* O.H.G. *dag-ē-s*, and others, see § 590 p. 132. *hi-ā-scō* beside *hi-ā-s hi-ā-tu-s* Lith. *ži-ó-ju* 'I open my mouth', cp. *hī-scō* above.

A large number of new forms, the Inchoative or Inceptive Verbs, were produced by the analogy of *scī-scō* : *sciō*, *rubē-scō* : *rubeō*, *hiā-scō* : *hiō* and similar parallel stems from one root. Examples of these are *obdormīscō* from *dormiō*, *flāvēscō* from *flāveō*, *amāscō* from *amō*. By degrees the endings *-īscō -ēscō -āscō* grew quite independent of the character of the stem to which they were affixed, and we get such forms as *conticīscō mītēscō*. The inceptive meaning was probably not due to anything in the suffix *-sco-*, but arose from the fact that certain verbs which had it, *crēscō ad-olēscō* to wit, of necessity implied an inceptive meaning. These verbs suggested a distinction, which was carried on into others, and the inceptive type arose; hence *caelum rubēscit* was distinguished from *caelum rubet*, and so forth. In late Latin these verbs had a causal meaning, e. g. *innotēscō* 'I become known', later 'I make known'. On this see Sittl, Arch. Lat. Lexicogr., I 516 ff.

Remark. It is very doubtful whether the Italic branch had forms with Idg. *-eskō* or forms like Gr. *εὑρίσκω*. See Sittl, *op. cit.*, pp. 490 ff., Osthoff, Perf. 157, 257 f.

§ 675. Keltic. Only a few present stems have *-sko-*. O.Ir. *nascim* 'I bind' perf. *ro nenasc-sa*, beside *nasc* 'ring' O.H.G. *nuscia* 'clasp, buckle, brooch', √*nedh-*, ground-form **n̥dh+sko-* (see Osthoff, M. U. v p. vi). *faiscim* (which has adopted *i̯o*-flexion) Mod.Cymr. *gwasgaf* 'I press, squeeze', possibly akin to Skr. *vāh-a-tē* 'presses, squeezes'. With *ā*-flexion *con-mescatur* 'miscentur' (inf. *do mescad*), beside Gr. *μίσγω* √*mei̯k̑-*, § 673 p. 205.

§ 676. Germanic. Only a few present stems have *-sko-*. O.H.G. *ir-lisku* 'I am extinguished', originally probably 'I lay

myself down', ground-form **legh+skō*, beside Goth. *ligu* 'I lie'.[1]) Mid.H.G. *krīsche* 'I shriek' pr. Germ. **krīt-skō*, beside Mid.H.G. *krīʒe* 'I shriek'. O.H.G. *wascu* 'I wash' probably pr. Germ. **u̯at-skō*, beside Skr. *unád-mi* 'I wet' Goth. *vatō* O.Ir. *usce* 'water'. Less certain is Goth. *þriska* O.H.G. *driscu* 'I thresh, thrash', which is compared sometimes with Lith. *treszkù* 'I crackle, crack, crash' O.C.Sl. *trěskŭ* 'noise, crash' *troska* 'thunder-clap', and sometimes with Gr. *τρίβω* 'I rub' (Idg. **tr̥gō* according to Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 352). If we connect *þriska* with Lat. *terō* (Benfey, Gr. Wurzel-lex., II 263), it might be derived from **tr-eskō* and compared with O.Pers. *a-r-asa-m* Gr. *ἀρ-έ-σκω* etc. (§ 669 p. 201). Lastly, it seems we must place here Goth. *ga-vrisqa* 'I bear fruit, τελεσφορῶ', which Diefenbach connects with A.S. *wrīdan* 'to grow' and Skr. *vardh-* 'to grow' (Vergl. Wörterb. der Got. Spr., I 241).

Many present stems with *-sko-* have weak inflexion, and apparently were derived from *sko*-nouns. O.H.G. *wunsc(i)u* 'I wish' from *wunsc* 'a wish': Skr. *vāñcha-ti*, see § 671 p. 203. O.H.G. *zusc(i)u* Mid.H.G. *züsche* 'exuro, oburo', beside Skr. *du-nṓ-ti* 'burns'. Mid.H.G. *lūsche* 'I lurk, play eavesdropper' beside O.H.G. *lū-s-trē-n* 'I listen, obey', √*k̂leu̯-* 'hear' (cp. § 669 p. 201). O.H.G. *forscō-n* 'I ask' beside *forsca* 'enquiry, question': Skr. *pr̥chá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. O.H.G. *eiscō-n* 'I ask, demand' beside *eisca* 'request, demand': Skr. *ichá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203. Mid.H.G. *rūsche* 'I rush, roar', beside A.S. *hrūte* 'I rush, roar, snore'. Mod.H.G. *haschen* 'to snatch' = Goth. **haf-skōn* from *haf-* 'capere'. Very uncertain is the comparison of Goth. *and-hruska* 'I investigate, attempt, essay' 3rd sing. *-hruskái-þ* with Lat. *scrūtārī*; see I § 527 p. 383, and Fick, Bezz. Beitr. VII 95 (Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 352 f.).

§ 677. Balto-Slavonic. Here too this class of present stems has quite fallen into the background. We find sometimes

1) According to Osthoff (Wiener Stud. x 174) for **les-skō*, akin to Mid.H.G. *er-leswen* 'to grow weak'.

Lith. *-sz-* O.C.Sl. *-s-* = Idg. *-sk̑-*, and sometimes Lith. *-sk-* (*-szk-*) O.C.Sl. *-sk-* = Idg. *-sq-*, see § 669 pp. 201 f.

Lith. *tvìska* 'flickers, lightens', cp. Avest. *þwisra-* 'gleaming, shining'. Lith. *treszkù* 'I crackle', cp. § 676. O.C.Sl. *iską* 'I try': Skr. *ichá-ti* etc., see § 670 p. 203, cp. Lith. *jëszkaũ* 'I try' inf. *jëszkó-ti* (like O.H.G. *eiscōn*) and O.C.Sl. *ištą* 'I try' for **īsk-i̯ą* (I § 147 pp. 133 f.).

In addition, compare Lith. *aũszo* 'it dawned' (pres. *aũsz-ta*), beside Skr. *uchá-ti*, § 671 p. 204; *gaiszaũ* 'I loitered, tarried' (pres. *gaisz-tù*), beside Lat. *haereō*; *driskaũ* 'I am torn in pieces' possibly from the √ *der-* whence *nu-dirta-s* 'flayed' Gr. δέρω.

It is impossible to decide whether the sibilant in Lith. *su-miszaũ* 'I meddled, mixed myself with, got into confusion' (pres. *su-misztù*), *maiszý-ti* O.C.Sl. *měsi-ti* 'to mix') from √ *mei̯k̑-*) represents Idg. *-k̑-* or *-k̑-s-* (cp. Skr. *mēkṣaya-ti*) or *-k̑-sk̑-* (cp. Lat. *misceō* etc.).

Class XXIII.

Reduplicated Root + *-sko-* forming the Present Stem.

§ **678.** This type is demonstrable only in Greek and Italic. Gr. διδάσκω 'I teach' for **δι-δακ-σκω* cp. perf. δε-δίδαχ-α δε-δίδαγ-μαι, Lat. *discō* for **di-tc-scō* cp. perf. *didic-ī*, cp. Avest. *dax-ša-t* 'I taught' § 669 p. 201. In *discō* the root syllable is treated exactly as it is in Sanskrit desideratives of the type *śíkṣatē*, see § 667 p. 199. For the α of διδάσκω cp. Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xvii 121.

Lat. *discō* is isolated in Italic; but Greek gives a number of reduplicated forms besides διδάσκω.

With *i* as the reduplicating vowel: τι-τύσκομαι 'I make, prepare' (τε-τύσκετο Hesych.) for *τι-τυκ-σκο-, beside τύκ-ο-ς 'hammer, pick' Skr. *tŏ́k-man-* 'shoot, sprout'. βι-βρώ-σκω 'I eat, swallow', cp. βρώ-σκω for **g̑r̄-scō* § 673 p. 205. γι-γνώ-σκω 'nosco', cp. Epir. γνώ-σκω § 673 p. 206. μι-μνή-σκω 'I remind,

mention' beside Armen. *mna-çi* § 672 p. 204. *δι-δρᾱ́-σκω* Ion. *δι-δρή-σκω* 'I run'. On the iota of Att. *μιμνῄσκω* Aeol. *μιμναίσκω* see § 673 p. 206.

Reduplicated with *ε*: *τε-τύσκετο* beside *τι-τύσκομαι*, see above. *ἐ-ίσκω* 'I make like' for **ϝε-ϝι(κ)-σκω* beside *ἴσκω* § 673 p. 205. *δε-δί-σκομαι* 'I fear, am terrified' from √ *duei̯-* (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 388 ff.).

ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω 'I join', like *εὑρ-ίσκω* § 673 p. 206.

G. CLASS XXIV.

ROOT + *-to-* (*-t-*) FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ **679.** The suffix *-to-* in verbs is often just as clearly the same as the noun suffix (II §§ 79 ff. pp. 218 ff.) as we found to be the case with *-no-*, *-so-*, and *-sko-*. Compare Gr. *ἔ-βλασ-το-ν* with *βλασ-τό-ς βλάσ-τη*.

Non-thematic forms are very rare, and only Aryan, so that I cannot set apart a class for this group alone. Skr. *dyu-t-āná-s* beside *dyṓ-ta-tē* 'shines', *á-cē-t-i cí-t-āna-s* beside *cḗ-ta-ti* 'takes notice of, observes', *yá-t-āna-s ya-t-āná-s* beside *yá-ta-te* 'joins itself, strives'. Compare the nouns *dyá-t- cí-t-ya-t-*, which belong to the same kind as *rí-t- hrú-t-* II § 123 p. 391; the connexion of the noun suffixes *-t-* and *-to-* is obvious.

-to- is confined to the present stem only in Greek, Italic, and Baltic, and there not always.

§ **680.** Pr. Idg.[1]) **sp(h)l̥-tó *sp(h)l̥̄-tó* from √ *sp(h)el-* 'burst, split' (Skr. *phál-a-ti* 'bursts, splits in two'): Skr. *sphuṭa-ti* (secondary form *sphṓṭa-ti*) 'bursts' (cp. *sphāṭita-s* partic. 'split, burst'), O.H.G. *spaltu* 'I split' (cp. Goth. *spilda* 'writing tablet'

1) In Per Persson's work on Wurzelerweiterung, pp. 28 ff., the determinative *t* is assumed for many instances not here given; amongst others, for those in which we have held that *t* is part of the root proper: e. g. Skr. *karta-ti* 'cuts' Lith. *kertù* 'I hew, cut', which are derived from the root of Gr. *κείρω*; and Skr. *várta-tē* 'vertitur' Lat. *vertō*, which are derived from the root of Lat. *ver-mi-s*.

Mid.H.G. *spelte* 'lance splinter'). From √*qei̯-* (Skr. *ci-nṓ-ti* 'ranges side by side, puts in layers, directs one's notice towards'): Skr. *cḗ-ta-ti* 'takes note of, observes', O.C.Sl. *čĭ-te-tŭ* 'counts, reads, honours', cp. Skr. *cí-t-āna-s* § 679. Lat. *plec-tō* 'I twist, twine' beside *plicō*, O.H.G. *flih-tu* 'I twist' (cp. Goth. *flah-ta* 'a braid, twist'), cp. Gr. πλεκ-τό-ς 'woven, twisted' πλεκ-τή 'rope, net'; the stem *plek-* which runs through these is itself an extension of a √*pa*ᵊ*l-*, see below. From √*peḱ-* (Gr. πέκ-ω 'I comb' Lith. *pesz-ù* 'I pluck off, tear off, pull out'): Gr. πέκτω (and πεκτέω § 801) 'I comb, shear, pluck, pull', Lat. *pec-tō* 'I comb, hackle, hack the ground with a mattock', O.H.G. *fih-tu* 'I fight, do battle' (*fehta* 'a fight').[1]) O.H.G. *bristu* O.Icel. *brest* 'I break, tear, burst' is very nearly akin to the O.Ir. weak verb *brissim* 'I break' (*-ss-* for *-st-*, I § 516 p. 376), and both must be connected either with Gr. πέρθω or with Goth. *brika* (cp. Stokes, Mém. Soc. Ling., v 419 ff., Per Persson, Wurzelerweiterung 19, 38, and 45); whether *brissim* originally belonged to the first conjugation and then passed into the third, or whether it was originally denominative, is a doubtful point.

In a few words, *-e-* is interposed between the root and *-to-*; cp. Gr. -σχ-ε-το-ς ἑρπ-ε-τό-ν Skr. *darś-a-tá-s* and the like, II § 79 p. 199; further, Gr. ἄ(ϝ)-ε-τ-μα ἀ(ϝ)-ε-τ-μό-ν from *u̯-ē- *u̯-ō- 'blow'. *m-e-tō (beside Gr. ἀμάω 'I mow, gather' ἄν-τλο-ν 'bilge-water', O.H.G. *mā-t* 'math, mowing', Skr. *ám-a-tra-m* 'vessel, jug'): Lat. *metō* (*messuī messum*), O.C.Sl. *mete-tŭ* 'turns, verrit' (inf. *mesti*, *sŭ-metĭ* 'dung, manure, ordure'), cp. Mod.Cymr. Mod.Bret. *medi* 'to reap' Mid.Ir. *methel* 'a party of reapers' O.Corn. *midil* 'messor'. O.C.Sl. *pl-e-te-tŭ* 'twines,

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1) For the meaning 'fight' compare O.H.G. *roufen* 'pull, pluck', reflex. 'wrestle, fight, cut one's way'. Kluge's view, given in his Dictionary, that *fihtu* is connected with Lat. *pūg-nus pūg-nāre*, that from the pl. pret. *fuhtum*, which was regarded as a similar form to *fluhtum*, **fuhtu* was changed to *fihtu* by analogy of *flihtu*, does not convince my judgement. On the contrary, I regard *fuhtum* as an adformate of *fluhtum*. On O.H.G. *fūst*, cited by Kluge, see II § 101 p. 306, III § 164 p. 3.

plaits, braids' (inf. *plesti*) beside Goth. *fal-þa* 'I fold' ground-form **pḷ-tō*, beside Gr. *δί-παλ-το-ς* Skr. *puṭa-m* 'a fold' and Gr. *ἁ-πλό-ς* (III § 182 p. 50), from the same root as *plek-* Lat. *plicō plectō* (see above). If this view of *pletą* is not accepted we must take refuge in the explanation suggested in vol. I § 545 p. 399. For it is impossible, in my opinion, to derive *pletą* from **plektą*, notwithstanding the arguments of Jagić and Miklosich to the contrary (Jagić, Arch. slav. Phil. x 196, and Miklosich, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, 88); compare Kluge, Etym. Wört.[5] s. v. *falten*, and Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 193.

§ 681. Aryan. Skr. *sphuṭa-ti*, *cḗ-ta-ti*, see § 680. *naṭa-ti* 'dances, plays' Ved. *nṛ-tá-māna-s* (compare *nṛ́tya-ti*), beside *nar-má-s nar-man-* n. 'joke, sport'. *kuṭa-ti* 'curls, twists itself', akin to Lat. *cur-vo-s*. *yá-ta-tē* 'unites with, strives', beside *ya-tá-s* part. of. *yam-a-ti*, cp. *yátāna-s* § 679 p. 211. *dyṓ-ta-tē* 'shines' *á-dyu-ta-t*, from *dyu- div-*, cp. *dyutāná-s* § 679 p. 211. *vēṣ-ṭa-tē* 'wraps itself up, clothes or shrouds itself' (*vēṣṭaya-ti viṣṭitá-s*) beside *veṣ-ṭa-s* 'band, cord, covering', which doubtless has nothing to do with *viś-* 'enter', but is connected with Lith. *výs-ta-s* 'woman's bodice, stays' *výstau* 'I swaddle or swathe' a child, from *u̯ei̯-* 'to wind'. *cḗṣ-ṭa-ti* 'is in motion' (perf. *cicēṣṭa*) beside *cēṣ-ṭa-m* 'motion'. *lṓṣ-ṭa-tē* 'heaps up' beside *lōṣ-ṭá-s lōṣ-ṭu-ṣ* 'clod or lump of earth'; if the same root is contained in another *-to*-form, Lith. *lúsz-tu* 'I break' intr. (pret. *lúž-an*), — compare Skr. *lēṣ-ṭu-ṣ* 'clod' from *riś- liś-* 'tear, break off' — *lṓṣṭatē* must be a derivative from the noun, or at least must have modified its meaning in association with (cp. § 794, on Skr. *mānáya-ti*).

§ 682. Greek. There are numerous forms in *-π-τω*, and a few which have *-τω* preceded by some other sound than *π*. We begin with the latter. *πέκ-τω* has been mentioned already, § 680 p. 212. *ἔμορτεν· ἀπέθανε* Hesych., cp. *μορ-τό-ς* 'mortal'. *φάρκ-το-μαι* beside *φράσσομαι* (= **φρακ-ι̯ο-μαι*) 'I shut myself in, fortify myself'. *ἔ-βλασ-το-ν*, pres. *βλασ-τάνω* 'I spring up, arise' (*βλασ-τό-ς* 'shoot, bud'), orig. probably 'I get high' (used

of buds and shoots), beside *βλωϑ-ρό-ς* 'springing high, grown high' (I § 306 p. 242); *ἤμαρ-το-ν* Lesb. inf. *ἀμβρότην* (for **ἀμβρατην*, I § 292 p. 233), pres. *ἁμαρτάνω* 'I miss, err', probably from *ἀ-μαρ-το- ἀ-μβρα-το-* 'having no share' (from the root of *μέρ-ος μόρ-ο-ς*), cp. *ἀμαρεῖν· ἁμαρτάνειν* Hesych. (Curtius, Verb II² 10 ff., and the Author, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. 160); on the present stems *βλαστάνω ἁμαρτάνω* see § 621 p. 158. Att. *ἀνύτω* beside *ἁ-νύω ἄ-νῡ-μι* 'I complete' (§ 639 p. 177) and partic. *ἀν-ήνυ-το-ς* 'that cannot be completed', and similarly Att. *ἀρύτω* beside *ἀρύω* 'I create'. [1])

Of the numerous Verbs in *-π-τω* (Curtius mentions 48 of them), as *τύπ-τω* 'I strike' *σκάπ-τω* 'I dig' *πέπ-τω* 'coquo', those whose root originally ended in a velar have the first claim to a place in our group; such stems are *πέπτω* from √*peq-*, *βλάπτω* beside Skr. *marc-*. However, it is possible to see the suffix *-i̯o-* (Class XXVI) in every single one; and indeed the denominatives *χαλέπτω* (from *χαλεπό-ς*) and *ἀστράπτω* (from *ἀστραπη*) in all probability come from **χαλεπ-i̯ω* and **ἀστραπ-i̯ω* (I § 131 p. 119).

Remark. I see no cogent reason for denying that *πi̯* may become *πτ* (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 436 f.). All that can be said against deriving *τύπ-τω* (cp. *τύπ-ο-ς*) from **τυπ-i̯ω* is that it may just as well contain the present suffix *-to-*. But we cannot derive from forms in *-i̯ω* those whose root ended in *φ*, as *κρύπτω*, which comes from the root of *κρύφα*; nor those whose root ended in *q* or *g*, as *πέπτω* beside older *πέσσω* (√ *peq-*), *νίπτομαι* beside older *νίζω* (√ *neig-*). Still, such forms as *κρύπτω* can easily be due to the analogy of *τύπτω*, the point of contact between the stems being *κρύψω τύψω* etc. (cp. new forms like *σφάττω* instead of *σφάζω*, following *φράττω*, § 714); and thus again, in view of *πέψω* etc., we have no proof that *πέπτω νίπτομαι* and all the rest are not simply adformates of *τύπτω*. It is also quite possible (in spite of Kretschmer's arguments, as cited, p. 437) that Hom. *ἐνίπτω* beside *ἐνίσσω* (*ἐνίσσω*?), and beside *ἠνίπαπον ἐνένιπον*, was also an adformate of *τύπτω*, although in this verb there is no *ἐνίψω* (for *ἐνίψω* in Il. 2 137 etc. is not from this stem), and this as far as it goes is in favour of a stem with orig. *-το-*.

§ 683. Italic. Lat. *plec-tō*, *pec-tō*, *me-tō*, see § 680 p. 212. *oitor ūtor* (cp. Osc. úíttiuf 'usio, usus', Pelig. *oisa*

1) *τίκτω* does not come in this group; see § 552, page 107.

abl. 'usa, consumpta') perhaps akin to Gr. *οἶ-το-ς* 'fate, lot' from √ *ei̯-* 'go' (Danielsson, Pauli's Alt. Stud. III 198 f.). *flec-tō* perhaps from the root of *falx*. *plec-to-r* 'I am struck, punished', either to be set beside *plāga plangō*, in which case we must assume that it came from **plactor* when used in compounds, without an accent (cp. *plicō*, I § 65 Rem. 2 p. 53); or akin to Lith. *plė́sz-iu* 'I tear, snatch' (cp. Gr. *δέρω* 'I flay' and 'cudgel'), in which case it must be pronounced *plēctor*. *nectō* belongs to √ *nedh-* 'bind', and in its ending probably imitated *plectō*; see Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, p. 236 foot-note 2. With *plexu-s* i. e. **plect+to-*, and *ūsus* i. e. **oi̯-t+to-*, we naturally compare *fassu-s* i. e. **fa-t+to-*, from *fa-teor* Gr. *-φα-το-ς* 'said'. Uncertain: Osc. krustatar conj. 'cruentetur' according to Bücheler, akin to Gr. *κρυσ-τ-αίνω*, § 664 p. 197.

§ 684. Keltic. It is doubtful whether *brissim* 'I break' originally belongs to this class, see § 680 p. 212.

Remark. The so-called *t*-preterite, which came out of the 3rd sing. mid. in *-to*, does not belong to this class. See § 516, page 82.

§ 685. Germanic. O.H.G. *spal-tu*, *flih-tu*, *fih-tu*, *bris-tu*, Goth. *falþa* O.H.G. *faltu* see § 680 pp. 212 f. Goth. *ga-vida* 'I bind up' O.H.G. *witu* 'I bind' doubtless for **u̯i-tṓ*, cp. O.H.G. *wi-d* 'line, cord' *wī-da* 'withe, willow' [Eng. *withy*] Skr. *vī-tá-s* 'enfolded, enveloped' Lith. *vej-ù* 'I twist a string'; as the present got into the company of *giba -gita* and suchlike, there were formed Goth. *ga-vaþ* O.H.G. *wat*; cp. below, Goth. *vinda*. O.H.G. *līdu* 'I suffer' (O.H.G. *leid* O.Icel *leið-r* 'painful, paining, hated') probably orig. (pr. Germ.) **lī-þō* and connected with O.H.G. *lēwes* 'alas' (stem **lai̯-wa-*). Goth. *hal-da* 'I protect, guard' O.H.G. *haltu* 'I hold, guard' ground-form **kl̥-tṓ*, cp. Gr. *βου-κόλο-ς* 'cowherd'. Goth. *fra-gilda* 'I repay' O.H.G. *giltu* 'I pay back, give equivalent, offer', pr. Germ. **ʒel-þō* (if we follow the indications given by O.Swed. *gialla* as compared with O.Icel. *gjalda*, we must accent the root), akin to Gr. *ὤ-φελο-ν ὀ-φλεῖν*, √ *ghel-*. Goth. *us-alþan-s* 'obsolete' and O.Icel. *aldenn* 'grown old' point to *al-þa-* as the verbal stem,

cp. O.H.G. *al-t* 'old', beside Goth. *a-la* 'I grow up'. The ending of a few onomatopoeic verbs, as Goth. *kriusta* 'I crunch' (*krust-s* 'a crunching'), O.Icel. *gnest* 'I crack', seems to be of the same sort as that of O.H.G. *bristu* O.Icel. *brest* (O.H.G. *brastōn* 'to crack, crackle'); compare the Mid.H.G. weak verb *krīsten* 'groan with pain or exertion' beside *krīʒen* Mid.Dutch *crīten* 'groan, shriek' (*-st-* is *not* for *-tt-*).

Remark 1. O.H.G. *wīsu* 'I shun', which is connected with Lat. *vītō*, and which Kluge assign to this class (Paul-Braune's Beitr. IX 152), seems more likely to be of the *so*-class. See § 664 p. 197.

Extended by an *i̯*-suffix: Goth. *faúrh-tja* O.H.G. *furiht(i)u* 'I fear' (pret. *forah-ta*), whence the adj., originally participle, *faúrh-t-s* O.H.G. *foraht* 'afeared, afraid'.

The suffixal ending *-ntō* is common in Germanic: Goth. *standa* O.H.G. *stantu* 'I stand' √ *stā-*, Goth. *vinda* O.H.G. *wintu* 'I wind or twist' √ *u̯ei̯-*, O.H.G. *swintu* 'I disappear' beside O.H.G. *swī-nu*. The forms pret. *stōþ* and pres. *gavida* make it probable that the nasal is due to the analogy of Class XVI. For the word *swintu*, but for no others, we have some ground for assuming that a *no*-present (Class XIII) has been extended by *-to-*. See § 634 p. 172, and compare Lith. *siuncziù* § 686, O.C.Sl. *ob-ręštą* § 687.

Remark 2. Osthoff's view is that the Idg. had a *simple* suffix *-net-* *-nt-*, which is preserved in the above named Germanic words and in others. This to my mind carries no conviction with it. (See, for Osthoff's arguments, Zeitschr. deutsch. Phil., XXIV 215 ff., and Anzeiger für idg. Spr. und Altertumskunde, I 83.)

§ 686.[1]) Balto-Slavonic. In Lithuanian (and Lettic) are numerous present stems in *-stu* and *-sztu* with intransitive and inchoative meaning. *-stu* arose in roots or stems ending in a

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1) The Lithuanian and Lettic verbs in *-tu* are very neatly explained by Johansson (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 507 ff.) as derived from middle forms of the 3rd sing. in *-s-to*; e. g. 3rd sing. *rìmsta* for **rm̥-s-to*, cp. Skr. *s*-aor. *á-ra-s-ta*; perhaps also forms with no *s*, as *virsta* = **u̯r̥t+to*, cp. Skr. *á-vr̥t-ran*. When the injunctive *rìmsta virsta* had come to be looked on as parallel to *bėga sùka* (see § 999. 2), the forms *rìmstu virstù* were coined on the analogy of *bėgu sukù*, and so forth.

dental explosive or *s*, and *-sztu* in roots with final palatal explosive. *virs-tù* 'I fall down', pret. *virt-aũ*. *blį̃s-ta* 'evening draws on', pret. *blind-o*. *girs-tù* 'I get to hear' pret. *gird-aũ*. *ges-tù* 'I am quenched, go out', pret. *ges-aũ*.[1]) *tį̃s-tù* 'I stretch, lengthen myself', pret. *tį̃s-aũ* (cp. *tę̃-s-iù* § 657 p. 191, § 665 p. 197). *lúsz-tu* 'I break' intr., pret. *lúž-au*. *-sztu* may also come from *-stu* by the influence of preceding *r*, as in *mirsztù* 'I forget' pret. *mirsz-aũ*, beside Skr. *marṣ-* (I § 587. 1 p. 442).

Verbs in *-stu* were the starting point for many new formations, as *kìl-stu* 'I raise myself', pret. *kìl-aũ*; *styr-stù* 'I stiffen', pret. *styr-aũ*; *pa-žį́-stu* 'I know', pret. *pa-žinaũ*; *rúk-stu* 'I grow sour, ferment', pret. *rúg-au*; *džiú-stu* 'I grow dry, wither', pret. *džiúv-au* inf. *džiú-ti*. New forms in *-sztu*; *mìr-sztu* 'I die', pret. *mir-iaũ*, cp. Gr. ἔ-μορ-τεν § 682 p. 213.

Often the stems which serve as groundwork for these words already have present formative suffixes; e. g. *tvį́-stu* 'I swell out' (pret. *tvin-aũ*) derived from **tv-inu*, see § 624 p. 161; *jùnk-stu* 'I grow accustomed' (pret. *jùnkau*) from **junku* akin to Skr. *uc-ya-ti*, *vį̃s-tù* 'I increase, grow larger' from **vinsu* cp. pret. *vis-aũ*, see § 635 p. 173; *aũsz-ta* 'day dawns' from a *sk̑o*-present **ausza* connected with Skr. *uchá-ti*, see § 677 p. 210.

Denominatives too were formed in this class. *gelstù* 'I grow yellow' pret. *geltaũ* from *gel̃ta-s* 'yellow', *karstù* 'I grow bitter' pret. *kartaũ* from *kartù-s* 'bitter', *brankstù* 'I grow dear' pret. *brangaũ* from *brangù-s* 'dear', *žũstu* 'I fish' pret. *žuvaũ* from *žuv-ì-s* 'a fish'. Compare § 793.

Remark 1. Bezzenberger (Beitr. IX 336) and Wiedemann (Lit. Prät., 60) deny that the Lithuanian *to*-present series is connected with those of the other Idg. languages. It certainly is queer that only one Lith. *to*-present has cognates in other languages, namely *mìrsztu* 'I die', which comes from the same root as Gr. ἔ-μορτε-ν; and this comparison is a very precarious foundation for any theory.

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1) Parallel stem, dial. *gistu*. The *i* in this and similar forms (see Wiedemann, Lit. Prät., 8) I regard as a re-formation on the analogy of Lith. roots such as *gris-* *glib-* (beside *gres-* *gleb-*) with *ri li* = *r̥ l̥*. Similarly O.C.Sl. *tĭci* etc. following *rĭci*, § 534 p. 96.

siuncziù 'I send' (inf. *siųsti*) doubtless instead of **siuntu* like *jùng-iu* instead of **jung-u* etc.; and if this word be connected with Skr. *sáv-a-ti suv-á-ti* 'sets in motion, drives, sends' (Wiedemann, Lit. Prät., 84) we should have in **su-n-tō* a present like Goth. *vi-n-da* § 685 p. 216.

Remark 2. The 3rd sing. *eĩ-t(i)* 'goes' *lẽkt-(i)* 'remains' *mẽk-t(i)* 'sleeps' *sẽs-t(i)* 'sits' (§ 511, pp. 76 f.), gave rise to the dialectic forms Lith. *eitù eitì eĩtam eĩtat, lěktù měktù sěstu*, and so forth, and similarly, in Lettic, 1st pl. *ĩtam* follows *ĩ-t* 'goes' (Bezzenberger in his Beitr. IX 334 ff.). This re-formation, which has an exact parallel in Keltic (§ 506 p. 72), was in some degree due to the *to*-present stems: *-t(i)* and *-t(a)* were regarded as the same in structure.

§ 687. O.C.Sl. *čĭ-tą, m-e-tą, pl-e-tą*, see § 680 p. 212. *rastą* 'I grow' inf. *rasti* (*rastŭ* 'growth', *rastĭ* 'usury, interest') for **rād + tą*, cp. *rodŭ* 'birth'. Mention should also be made of *ob-rětŭ* 'I found', if this is to be connected with *rěją* 'I knock'; to this the present *-ręštą* (§ 636 p. 174) would have just the same kind of relation as Goth. *sta-n-da* to *stōþ* (§ 685 p. 216).

H. CLASS XXV.

Root + *-dho-* and *-do-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 688. Although under certain circumstances *dh* could become *d* in the parent language (I § 469. 8 p.), that is not the reason why I class *-dho-* and *-do-* together now. It is not that I regard them as being always variants of the same suffix; but simply because in some languages *dh* and *d* ran together and became indistinguishable, which makes it often quite impossible to say which of the two is used with a given form.

The *dh*-suffix which we see in forms like Gr. *βρῖ-θω πύ-θω πλή-θω φλεγέ-θω* has often been derived from $\sqrt{}$ *dhē-* 'place, do' (Skr. *dádhā-ti* etc.), this being deduced from other compounds of this root, both old and new, about which there can be no doubt, as **sue-dhē- *suē-dhē- *suō-dhē-* 'make one's own' in Skr. *sva-dhá* 'custom, wont' Gr. *ἔ-θ-ων* 'consuetus' *ἔ-θ-ος ἦ-θ-*

-ος *εἴω-θ-α*, Skr. *śrád-dadhāmi* 'I believe, trust' Lat. *crēdō* O.Ir. *cretim* (II § 4 p. 9, § 160. 1 p. 479), Avest. *yaož-dāiti yaož-dadāiti* 'makes something right, purifies' from *yaoš* = Skr. *yṓṣ* 'weal, luck, happiness'. This may indeed be the real origin of all such stems. The consonant which began the second part of the compound stem became practically the 'root-ending' in *βρίθω βέβριθα*, very much in the same way as the *p* in *gōp-a-ti ju-gōp-a gōp-sya-ti* etc. from *gō-pā́- gō-p-á-*.

Just so the suffix *-d-* may sometimes be the √*dō-*, which in addition to its meaning 'give' had other meanings like those of *dhē-* (Osthoff, Perf. p. 237), cp. I § 404 pp. 298 f., on Skr. *mṛḍá-ti* pr. Ar. **mṛž-da-ti*.

The thematic stems in *-o-* (*-dho-*, *-do-*) were originally not the only ones which contained these additional suffixes. But although not the only stems, thematic stems were commonest of all in this connexion, and without doubt this was generally true in the original language. We shall have occasion to point this out when we find other stems parallel to those in *-o-*.

§ 689. Pr. Idg. *-dho-*.[1]) √*u̯el-* 'to wish, rule' (Lat. *vel-le* O.Ir. *flaith* 'lordship'): Goth. *val-da* 'I have power, rule', O.C.Sl. *vla-dą* 'I have power, rule' (for **vol-dą*), both for *u̯l̥-dh-*, cp. Lith. *val-d-aũ*; parallel stem Lith. *vel-du* 'I rule' *pa-vel̃du* 'I inherit' (Pruss. *weldūnai* pl. 'heritages'). From **sqer-dh-*, beside Lith. *skir̃-ti* 'to sever, part': O.H.G. *scrintu* 'I burst, am shattered' by transfer to Class XVI (§ 634 p. 171), Lith. *skérdžiu* 'I burst, or blow up', which is derived from a form **sker-du* (§ 765). From the root of Skr. *yu-* 'to mix, stir, disturb': Skr. *yō-dha-ti* 'gets in motion' (*yúdh-ya-tē*,

1) Per Persson, in his *Wurzelerw.*, pages 35 ff., sees the determinative *dh* and *d* in many instances besides those for which they are here assumed. Some of these are words in which *dh* or *d* is taken in this book to be part of the root proper; e. g. Skr. *gṛ́dh-ya-ti*, which he derives from the root of O.H.G. *ger* 'desiring', and Gr. *μέθω* Goth. *mita*, which he derives from √ *mē-* 'measure'. For a new discussion of forms with determinative *d* see Johansson, Idg. Forsch. II 42 ff., and 46 ff.

2[nd] sing. *yṓt-si*), Lith. *ju-dù* 'I move trembling', *jundù* 'I get into a trembling movement, into uproar' (pret. *judaũ* inf. *jùsti*) by transfer to Class XVI (§ 635 p. 172), compare Gr. *ὑσμῖν-η* 'battle' i. e. **ὐϑ+σμīν-* (II § 115 p. 359), Lat. *juba jubeō* (Bugge, Bezz. Beitr. XIV 58 f.).[1]) From *rē-* (Lat. *reor rē-rī*): Skr. *á-rā-dha-t* 'brought to a happy conclusion, set right' (*rā́dh-ya-tē rādh-nō-ti*), Goth. *ga-rēda* 'I consider, I bestir myself' *ur-rēda* 'I give judgement, decide' O.H.G. *rātu* 'I advise, think of, conjecture, prepare carefully', cp. O.C.Sl. *raditi* 'to consider, care for'. From the same root as Lith. *klṓ-ju* 'I spread abroad': A.S. *hla-de* 'I load, cover with portable things' (ground-form **qlə-dhō*), O.C.Sl. *kla-dą* 'I invite, lay down' (cp. Kluge, Etym. Wört. s. v. *laden*).

Two other forms, which others with less reason regard as reduplicated, will also come in here: Skr. partic. *dṓdhat-* 'shaking, violent, storming' (*dúdh-i-ṣ* 'violent') and Gr. *ϑύσσομαι* (for **ϑυϑ-ι̯ο-μαι*) 'I shake or stir myself', both connected with Skr. *dhū-* 'to shake'.

§ 690. Pr. Idg. *-dō-*. √*(s)qer-* (Gr. *σκαίρω* 'I leap, jump, dance'): Skr. *kūr-da-ti* 'jumps, leaps', cp. Gr. *κραδ-άω* 'I swing, brandish' *κόρδ-āξ* a kind of dance, Mid.H.G. *scherze schirze* (weak verb) 'I jump in a lively way'. √*mel-* (Lat. *molō*, Skr. *mlā-ti* 'grows soft, slackens' O.Ir. *mlāith* 'soft, slack', see § 580 p. 122): Skr. *vi-mrada-ti* 'softens', A.S. *mel-te* 'I melt, grow soft' (Goth. *ga-maltein-s* 'loosening, solution'), cp. Skr. *mṛdú-ṣ* 'soft' compar. *mrádīyas-*, Gr. *ἀμαλδύνω* 'I soften, weaken' *βλαδ-αρό-ς* 'slack, loose, loosened', Lat. *molli-s* for **mold-u̯-i-s*; Skr. *mrad-* = **ml-e-d-* with the same intermediate vowel *e* which is seen in Gr. *ἔ-σχ-ε-ϑο-ν* § 694 Lat. *m-e-tō* § 680 p. 212; from the same root we have a stem **mel-dh-* Skr. *márdha-ti* 'slackens, gets lazy or sluggish' Gr. *μαλϑακό-ς* 'soft, tender' (beside *μαλακό-ς*) *μάλϑων* (gen. *-ων-ος*) 'weakling'

1) Another, but hardly better explanation of *jubeō* may be seen in Bezzenberger's Beiträge, XVI 216 (Froehde).

O.Sax. *mildi* 'mild, gracious, gentle', so that it is impossible to decide whether *-dh-* or *-d-* is contained in O.Ir. *meldach* 'acceptus, gratus', Lith. *meldžiù* 'I beg', O.C.Sl. *mladŭ* 'tender'. Connected with Lat. *sāl sal-is*: Lat. *sallō* for **sal-dō* (I § 369 p. 280), Goth. *sal-ta* 'I salt'. √ *ĝheu̯-* 'pour' (Gr. χέω χύ-τρᾱ): Lat. *fundō* (perf. *fūdī*) conjugated in Class XVI (§ 632 p. 169),[1]) Goth. *giuta* O.H.G. *giuʒu* 'I pour'. √ *pleu̯-* 'float, swim' (Gr. πλέ(ϝ)ω): O.H.G. *fliuʒu* O.Icel. *flȳt* 'I flow', Lith. *plaudžiu* 'I wash, purify' (inf. *plausti*), *pludžiu* 'I chatter' (inf. *plusti*), *plústu* 'I begin to swim, get swimming' (pret. *plúdau*), cp. O.Ir. *do-lod-sa* 'ivi' 3rd sing. *do-luid* § 697. √ *spreu̯-* (Lett. *sprau-jū-s* 'I rise, spring up', of seed): Mid.H.G. *spriuʒe* A.S. *sprūte* 'I sprout' (A.S. *spreót* 'stalk, shaft' O.H.G. *spriuʒa* 'prop, pillar' O.H.G. *sproʒʒo* 'sprout'), Lith. *spráudžiu* 'I push forcibly into a narrow space, press' (inf. *spráusti*) *sprústu* 'I push my way out of a holdfast or fix, get out' (pret. *sprúdau*). With Lat. *clāv-i-s*: *clau-dō*, compare O.Fris. *slūte* (for **sklūt-*) 'I close' (O.H.G. *sliuʒu* is doubtless **slūʒu* transformed by analogy).

Following the same lines of reasoming, I derive Skr. *svắda-tē* Gr. ἥδε-ται from **su̯ā-de-tai̯* 'enjoys with gusto', and Skr. *sváda-ti* Gr. ἑδανό-ς 'suavis' from **su̯-e-de-ti* (cp. Skr. *mr-a-da-ti* above); these forms are obviously akin, and I can see no other way of bringing them together.

§ 691. Aryan. (1.) *-dho-*. Skr. *yō-dha-ti*, *á-rā-dha-t*, *dṓ-dhat-*, see § 689. Skr. *á-kru-dha-t* 'got angry' (*krúdh-ya-ti*), Avest. *xrao-da-itī* 'is anxious', √ *qreu̯-* Skr. *krū-rá-s* 'coarse, rough, terrible, gruesome'. Avest. *a-rao-đa-þ* 'flowed' (*raođaye-iti*) from *sreu̯-* Skr. *sráv-a-ti* (*r-* = **sr-*, cp. O.Pers. *rauta-* I § 558. 3 p. 414), cp. Skr. *vi-srúh-* 'stream, body of water' (*-h-* = *-dh-*, I § 480 p. 354), Gr. ῥυθ-μό-ς. Skr. *srḗ-dha-ti* 'he goes wrong', beside *a-srēmán-* 'without error, faultless'. Skr. *sā́dha-ti* 'gets to the goal, puts in order' may be derived from √ *sē-* (Skr. *sā-* 'to bring to an end, conclude' *vy-ava-sāmi*

1) For *f* in *fundō*, see Buck, Am. Journ. Phil. XI 215 f.

a-sā-t, Lat. *sē-ru-s*, O.Ir. *sī-r* 'lasting long or for ever' Umbr. *sevom* Osc. *sivom* 'omnino' = **sē-u̯o-m*).

§ **692.** (2.) *-do-*. Skr. *kūr-da-ti*, *mr-a-da-ti*, *svá-da-tē* *sv-á-da-ti*, see § 690 p. 220. Skr. *tar-da-ti* (gramm.) 'pierces, splits, opens' (*tr̥ṇát-ti*), akin to *tár-a-ti* 'traverses', cp. Lith. *tréndu* 'I am eaten of worms or moths' § 637 p. 174 and *trìdē* 'diarrhoea' *pra-trýstu* 'I fall ill of diarrhoea' (pret. *-trýdau*).[1]) Skr. *khā́-da-ti* 'bites to pieces, chews' beside *khán-a-ti* 'digs, grubs'. Skr. *mr̥ḍá-ti* 'is gracious, pardons' for **mr̥ẓ-ḍa-*,[2]) cp. Avest. *merᵉždika-* n. 'grace, pardon', either from the root of *merǵ-* 'wipe off' Skr. *mr̥já-ti* 'wipes off, purifies of guilt', or from that of Skr. *mŕṣ-ya-tē* 'forgets' Lith. *miřsz-ti* 'to forget' (cp. Lith. *už-mirsz-dinu -miržd̃inu* 'I cause to forget'). Skr. *īḍa-tē* 'honours, praises, prays to' (*ī́ṭ-ṭē*) for **iẓ-ḍa-tai̯*, either connected with *yáj-a-ti* 'honours, reverences, offers' partic. *iṣ-ṭá-s* Gr. ἅγ-ιο-ς 'honourable, sacred', or with Lat. *aes-tumāre* Goth. *áis-tan* weak verb 'to revere, observe, have regard for' O.H.G. *ēr-a* 'honour'; it should be remarked that the Gothic verb may be derived from Idg. **ai̯z-d-* or from Idg. **ai̯s-t-*, either one or the other. Avest. *xraož-da-iti* 'hardens' (*xružd-ra-* 'hard') beside Gr. κρυσ-ταίνω 'I make to freeze', in which *s* is itself an extension (§ 664 p. 197); perhaps from the same root, Skr. *krūḍaya-ti* 'makes thick' *krōḍá-s* 'breast, boar'. Lastly, we are doubtless right to add Skr. *hēḍa-māna-s hīḍa-māna-s* 'being angry with some one, hostile' Avest. *zōižda-* 'ugly, disagreable, αἰσχρός'.[3])

§ **693.** 3. *-dho-* or *-do-*, uncertain which. To this place belong Avestic verbs. *syaz-da-iti* 'gives place, disappears', cp.

1) *y* in *-trýstu* is not original. By analogy of *i*-roots were formed *trēdžiu* 'I have diarrhoea' *traidinù* 'I excite diarrhoea'.

2) More exactly *mr̥̄ḍá-ti*, answering to *līḍhá-* for **liẓḍhá-* (I § 404 pp. 298 f.). The long *r̥̄* is certain from the metre; see Benfey, Vedica und Verwandtes, pp. 1 ff., Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda, I 477.

3) The unextended root is not really contained in Lith. *pa-žeida* 'insult, wound' (cp. Zubatý, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 327); this is against the known laws, see I § 476 p. 351 f., and Burg in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 363.

siždyę-iti sīždyę-iti 'drives away', seems to be akin to Skr. *śiṣ-* 'to be over, left behind' (*śinás-ti śēṣ-aya-ti*). *vōiž-da-iti* 'hurls, throws against something', perhaps connected with O.C.Sl. *vich-rŭ* 'whirlwind' Russ. *vichatĭ* 'shatter, agitate'.[1]) *avaϑuhab-da-itę* 'falls asleep', from Ar. *suap-* 'to sleep' (I § 159 pp. 141 f.). *snā-đa-iti* 'washes', beside Skr. *snā́-ti.*

§ 694. Greek. (1.) *-dho-*. ἔ-δρα-θο-ν ἔ-δαρ-θο-ν 'I slept' (pres. δαρ-θ-άνω § 621 p. 158), beside Lat. *dor-miō* Skr. *dr-ā-ti.* Hom. opt. βε-βρώθοι-ς 'comedas' (Od. 4. 35) from βι-βρώ-σκω √ *ger-*: cp. Lith. *gìr-d-inu gér-d-inu* I give to drink' (*ger-iù* 'I drink'). ἤλυ-θο-ν 'I came', beside προσ-ήλυ-το-ς perf. 2nd pl. ἐλήλυ-τε. ἐρέχ-θω 'I pull to and fro, tear, hurl', doubtless akin to O.H.G. *ruc* 'jerk, jolt, sudden change of place'. ἔσθω 'esse' (ἐσθ-ίω §§ 713, 765) beside ἔδ-ω. ἄχ-θο-μαι 'I am galled or wearied by burdens', beside ἄχ-νυ-μαι. πλή-θω 'I am full', beside πίμ-πλη-μι. κνή-θω 'I shave, rub, scratch', beside κνῆ (§ 737). πύ-θω 'I make rot' (perf. πέπῡθα), beside πύο-ν 'pus': Lith. *pú-d-inu pú-d-au* 'I make rot' Lett. *pa-pú-d-e* 'fallow field' beside *pūv-ù* 'I make rotten'. βρί-θω 'I weigh, press hard upon' (perf. βέβρῑθα), beside βριαρό-ς βαρ-ύ-ς.

ἔ-σχ-ε-θο-ν 'I held', beside ἔ-σχ-ε-ς √ *seĝh-*. κατα-βλ-έ-θει· καταπίνει Hesych., beside O.Ir. *gelid* 'consumit' O.H.G. *chela* 'throat'. φλεγ-έ-θω 'I burn', beside φλέγ-ω. νεμ-έ-θο-μαι 'I pasture', beside νέμ-ο-μαι. τελ-έ-θω 'I am', beside τέλλω.

-α-θω = *-ə-dhō. πελ-ά-θω 'I draw near', beside πέλα-ς πελά-σσαι. διωκ-ά-θω 'I pursue', beside διώκ-ω. ἀμῡνά-θω 'I ward off', beside ἀμύνω. μετα-κι-ά-θω 'I go after, pursue', beside κίω 'I go'. Here perhaps should come γήθομαι Dor. γᾱθομαι (perf. γέγηθα γέγᾱθα) and γηθέω 'I enjoy, am pleased', for *γᾱϝ-α-θ-, beside γαίω 'I take pleasure' for *γαϝ-ιω and γαῦ-ρο-ς 'proud': Lat. *gaudeō* for **gāvideō* (I § 612 p. 462), — observe that *gāvīsus* seems to imitate *vīsu-s*, which would show

1) Still more uncertain is Bartholomae's comparison of the word with Skr. *vīḍu-* in *vīḍu-pátman-* (Bezz. Beitr. XIII 87).

it to have been formed at some time when there was a present **gāvideō* still in use; as regards the ending *-εω -eō*, see § 801.

μι-νύ-θω 'minuo' beside Skr. *mi-nṓ-mi*, *φθι-νύ-θω* 'I destroy' beside *φθίνω φθίνω* for **φθι-νϝ-ω* Skr. *kṣi-ṇṓ-mi,* see § 639 p. 177, § 652 p. 186.

βαρύ-θω 'I am weighted' beside *βαρύνω βαρύ-ς*, cp. end of § 611.

§ **695.** (2.) *-do-*. *ἔλ-δο-μαι* Hom. *ἐέλδομαι* 'I wish, desire' for **ϝελ-δο-*, beside Lat. *vel-le*; cp. Goth. *val-da* O.C.Sl. *vla-dą* Lith. *vel-du* with *-dho-* § 689 p. 219. *ἔ-φλα-δο-ν* 'I popped, burst', beside Skr. *phal-a-ti* 'bursts' or beside *φλ-αίνω* § 621 p. 158. *ἔ-φλι-δε-ν· διέρρεεν* Hesych. (*φλιδ-άνει* Hesych., *φλιδή* 'superfluity, abundance') beside *Φλίᾱς* (Curtius, Gr. Etym.[5] 301). *τένδω* 'I gnaw', doubtless for **τεμ-δω* and connected with *τέμ-νω*; cp. Lat. *tondeō.*

-δ- is very common in other formations, both in verbs and nouns. We may mention further *κρα-δ-άω κόρ-δ-ᾱξ* and *ἀμαλ-δ-ύνω βλα-δ-αρό-ς* § 690 p. 220. Other examples: *κλα-δ-άσαι· σεῖσαι* Hesych., beside *ἀπο-κλάς κλῆ-ρο-ς* 'lot' (a chip or piece of wood, or other substance, broken off): Lat. *per-cellō* for **-cel-d-ō* § 696. *ἐ-ρρά-δ-αται, ῥάσσατε* for **ῥάδ+σα-τε,* beside *ῥαίνω* 'I sprinkle' § 621 p. 159. *κε-χλιδ-ότ-α· ἀνθοῦντα* Hesych., *χλιδή* 'softness, luxuriance, wantonness', *δια-κεχλοιδώς· διαρρέων ὑπὸ τρυφῆς*, from *χλίω* 'I am soft, effeminate'. *μει-δ-άω* 'I smile' *φιλο-μμειδής,* akin to Skr. *smáy-a-tē*: cp. Lett. *smai-da* 'a smile' *smî-diná-t smi-diná-t* 'to make laugh'. *κλύζω* 'I flood' for **κλυ-δ-ιω*, *κλύ-δ-ων* 'wave': Goth. *hlū-t-r-s* 'pure, clean', connected with O.Lat. *cluere* 'purgare' and *cloāca.* *ἐκ-φλύζω* 'I break out' (of a sore or abscess) for **φλυ-δ-ιω*, beside *ἐκ-φλύω.*

§ **696.** Italic. (1.) *-dh-* in Lat. *ju-b-eō,* see § 689 p. 220, and probably *gaudeō* for **gāvideō*, see § 694 p. 223.

(2.) *-d-* in *sallō* for **sal-dō, fundō fūdī, clau-dō*, see § 690 p. 221. *per-cellō* for **-cel-dō* from the same root as *clād-ēs* (I § 306 p. 243), and connected with Gr. *κλα-δ- κλᾱ-*, see § 695.

cū-dō, once also **cau-dō* (Conway, Verner's Law in Italy, p. 72), connected with Lith. *káu-ju* 'I strike, forge, fight' O.C.Sl. *kov-ą* 'I forge'.

(3.) *-dho-* or *-do-* (doubtful). *frendō* beside *fremō* (cf. Osthoff, M. U. v 94 f.), perhaps for **fremidō*. *caedō*, according to Holthausen, P.-B. Beitr. xi 554 f., connected with Mid.Dutch *heie* 'hammering block' *heien* 'to strike, ram, stamp' Mid.H.G. *heie* f. 'mallet, wooden hammer'. Other possible forms are *tendō* from √*ten-*, see § 564 p. 111, and *dē-fendō of-fendō*, which may be connected with Gr. *θείνω*, and come from √*ghen-* (is *fēnu-m* 'hay' for **fen-sno-* or **fend+sno-*, meaning 'something cut'?) 1)

§ 697. Keltic. *-d-* is perhaps the suffix of *do-lod-sa* 'ivi' beside *luath luad* 'quick, fleeting', beside O.H.G. *fliuz-u* § 690 p. 221 (so Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 215 f.).

§ 698. Germanic. (1.) *-dho-*. Goth. *val-da* O.H.G. *waltu* 'I rule, hold sway', O.H.G. *scrintu* 'I burst, blow up', Goth. *ga-rēda* 'I reflect upon, meditate' O.H.G. *rā-tu* 'I advise', A.S. *hla-de* 'I load', see § 689 p. 220. O.Icel. *bregđ* 'I set moving quickly, I swing' A.S. *breȝde* 'I swing, throb' O.H.G. *brittu* 'I swing, throb' (for *-tt-* see Braune, Ahd. Gr.[2] § 164 Anm. 2 p. 135) doubtless for **bhreĝ- -dhō*, beside O.C.Sl. *brĭz-ŭ* 'quick' *brĭz-ati* 'to run quickly'; in Kluge's view of the treatment of pr. Idg. med. asp. + tenuis (Paul-Braune's Beitr. ix 152 f., Paul's Grundr. i 327), another possible ground-form would be **bhreĝh+to* (Class XXIV).

§ 699. (2.) *-do-*. Mid.H.G. *scherze* 'I jump quickly about', A.S. *mel-te* 'I grow soft', Goth. *sal-ta* O.H.G. *salzu* 'I salt', Goth. *giu-ta* O.H.G. *giuzu* 'I pour', O.H.G. *fliu-zu* 'I flow', Mid.H.G. *spriu-ze* A.S. *sprū-te* 'I sprout', O.Fris. *slū-te* O.H.G.

1) If *-fendō* should be connected with Skr. *bādha-tē* 'compels, oppresses', the latter must be kept distinct from Skr. *vadh-* Avest. *vađ-* (Gr. *ὠθέω*). *-fendō*, which may have once been **-fandō*, would then belong to Class XVI § 632. Yet another explanation is given by Fick, Wtb. i[4] 463, who compares O.Icel. *detta* 'to fall down'. Conway, Class. Review v 297, explains *tendo -fendō* as being for **ten-i̯ō* **ghen-i̯ō* = Gr. *τείνω θείνω*.

sliuʒu 'I shut', see § 690 pp. 220 f. O.Sax. *wrītu* O.H.G. *rīʒu* 'I tear, wound, write', cp. Gr. *ῥῑ-νη* 'file, rasp' *ῥῑ-νό-ς* 'hide still on the body' (but *δέρμα* from *δέρω*). O.Icel. *vel-t* 'I roll' trans. O.H.G. *walzu* 'I roll, turn myself', the latter for **u̯l̥-dō*, beside Lith. *vél-ti* 'to full, mill' Lett. *wel-t* 'to roll, full, mill', compare Lith. *vél-d-inu* 'I have something fulled or milled'. Goth. *svil-ta* 'I die slowly away', O.H.G. *swilzu* 'I am devoured by fire, I spend myself *in coitu*, pine away', O.Icel. *svelt* 'I hunger', beside A.S. *swelan* 'to smoulder, burn slowly and glow': cp. Lith. *svìl-d-inu* 'I get something singed'. O.H.G. *sciu-ʒu* O.Icel. *skȳt* 'I shoot': Lith. *szau-d-ỹ-klė* 'shuttle' *száu-d-au* 'I shoot or move again and again' *száu-d-inu* (causal of the last) Lett. *schau-d-e-kli-s* 'spoolor bobbin' *schau-d-r-s* 'hasty, hot', beside Lith. *száu-ju* 'I shoot'. O.H.G. *glī-ʒu* O.Sax. *glītu* 'I gleam, shine', akin to O.Sax. *glī-mo* 'a gleam or sheen, a brightness'. O.H.G. *wā-ʒu* 'I blow' ground-form **u̯ē-dō*, connected with O.H.G. *wā-u* 'I blow' Skr. *vā́-ti*: cp. Lith. *vė-d-inù* 'I expose to the air, I air'. According Fick Wtb. I[4] 539 f., O.H.G. *lāʒu* Goth. *lēta* 'I let', with which we have connected Gr. *ληδεῖν* (§ 521 p. 85), would come froma √ *lē-*.

§ 700. Balto-Slavonic. When Balto-Slavonic *-do-* comes from Idg. *-dh-o*, and when from Idg. *-do-*, can only be made out by help of the cognate languages.

(1.) *-dho-*. Lith. *vel-du* 'I rule' O.C.Sl. *vla-dą* 'I rule, hold sway', Lith. *skérdžiu* 'I burst' instead of earlier **sker-du*, Lith. *ju-dù* 'I move trembling' *jundù* 'I begin to move all a-tremble', O.C.Sl. *ra-d-iti* 'to meditate or reflect upon', see § 689 p. 219. Lith. *gìr-d-inu gér-d-inu gìr-d-au* 'I give to drink', *pú-d-inu pú-d-au* 'I cause to rot' Lett. *pa-púde* 'fallow land', see § 694 p. 223. With Lith. *į-stó-d-in-ti* 'to give admittance to' Lett. *stá-d-i-t* 'to set, place, plant' *stá-d-s* 'a plant' we may compare Gr. *στα-θ-ερό-ς* 'standing firmly' *στα-θ-μό-ς* 'standing place'. O.C.Sl. *i-dą* 'I go' (inf. *i-ti*) may be closely connected with Gr. *ἴ-θ-μα* 'course, way, step'.

(2.) *-do-*. Lith. *plau-d-žiu* 'I wash, purify' *plu-d-žiu* 'I chatter' *plústu* 'I begin to swim' *pláu-d-in-ti* 'I cause to be

rinsed' Lett. *plú-d-iná-t* 'I make overflow', Lith. *spráu-d-žiu* 'I compel' *sprústu* 'I rush out of a narrow place', see § 690 p. 221. Lett. *smai-da* 'a smile' *smî-d-iná-t* 'to make laugh', see § 695 p. 224. Lith. *vél-d-inu* 'I cause to be milled or fulled', *svìl-dinu* 'I cause to be singed', *szau-d-ȳ-klė* 'shuttle' Lett. *schau-d-r-s* 'hot, hasty', Lith. *vė́-d-inù* 'I air', see § 699 p. 226.

Some of these distinctions between orig. *-dh-* and *-d-*, made by help of other languages, are naturally very little to be trusted. As *-d-ina-* was a very fertile suffix in both Lettic and Lithuanian, there need be no very real connexion between such endings as those of *svìl-dinu* and Goth. *svil-ta.*

§ 701. (3.) In many instances it is quite impossible to distinguish between orig. *-dho-* and *-do-*.

On the doubtful points in the explanation of Lith. *mel-d-žiù* 'I beg' O.C.Sl. *mla-dŭ* 'tender', see § 690, p. 220.

Lith. *vér-du* 'I boil' pret. *vir-iaũ* inf. *vìr-ti.* *mér-d-žiu* and *mér-d-mi* 'I lie a-dying' (inf. *mér-d-ė-ti*), from *mir̃-ti* 'to die' (Lat. *morbu-s* for **mor-dho-s?*). Lett. *e'r/chu* 'I separate' for **er-d-i̯u* (pret. *e'rdu* inf. *e'rst*), beside Lith. *yr-ù* 'I separate, myself, set myself free'. Lith. *skél-du* and *skél-d-žiu* 'I split, burst' intrans. (inf. *skél-d-ė-ti*), *skél-d-in-ti* 'to make or cause to be split', from *skelù*, i. e. **skel-i̯ù* 'I split' (inf. *skél-ti*).[1]) Lith. *grimstù* 'I sink' pret. *grimzdaũ* inf. *grim̃sti*, beside Lett. *gri'mstu grimu gri'mt*, points to a pres. **grem-du* or **grim-du*; and Lett. *gi'nstu* 'I perish' pret. *gi'ndu* inf. *gi'n-t* to a present **gin-du.* Lith. *sru-d-žiu* 'I make bloody' (inf. *srusti*) beside *pa-srùv-o* 3rd sing. 'flowed'. Lith. *gë́-du* 'I sing' and *gë́-d-mi* (3rd sing. *gë́sti*), cp. *gaĩda-s* 'singer' *gaidȳ-s* 'cock', akin to Skr. *gā́ya-ti* 'sings' *gē-ṣṇú-ṣ gē-ṣṇa-s* 'singer' (cp. Per Persson, *op. cit.*, 117, 197).

From the series containing *-dho-* and *-do-* were formed a large class of Lith.-Lett. Causals and Frequentatives, ending in (Lith.) *-d-inu* inf. *-d-inti*, and in (Lith.) *-d-au* inf. *-d-y-ti.* Many

1) Per Persson (Wurzelerweiterung, 38) connects *skéldėti* with Gr. κλαδάσαι, Lat. *per-cellō* (§ 695 p. 224). If so, its *d* would come from Idg. *d.*

of these howe been cited already. With *-d-inu* compare Gr. δαρ-θ-άνω beside ἔ-δαρ-θο-ν (§ 694 p. 223), φλι-δ-άνει beside ἔ-φλι-δε-ν (§ 695 p. 224). The verbs in *-d-au -d-y-ti*, with frequentative meaning, often show a root syllable of the second strong grade (see § 790), as *skál-dyti* 'to split again and again' from *skė̃l-du* 'I split myself' *skė́l-dinu* 'I cause to be split'.

To the same dental group belongs the partic. II. pres. act. in *-dama-s*; here the *m*-suffix is the same as in *vė̃ža-ma-s* fut. *vèszi-ma-s* etc. (II § 72 p. 166), and had the original middle meaning. Therefore the form *skė́l-dama-s*, for example, which is now attached to the verb *skelù*, originally belonged to *skė́l-du skė́l-d-žiu* just as *skė́l-dinu* did.

O.C.Sl. *ja-dą* 'I ride, vehor'[1]) beside inf. *ja-ch-a-ti* (§ 665 p. 198).[2]) *bądą* 'fio' may be derived from √*bheu̯-*, by assuming **bhu̯-ā-dhō* **bhu̯-ā-dō* (cp. Lat. *-bam* for **bhu̯-ā-m*) or **bhū-dhō* **bhū-dō*, which got a nasal in Class XVI (§ 637 Rem., p. 176); or even if we suppose that a present **boną* for **bhu̯-onō* (Class XIV, § 624 p. 162) was extended by *-dhō* or *-dō* (cp. Lith. *kaĩtin-drinu* 'to cause to be heated' derived from *kaĩt-inu* 'I heat').

I. CLASSES XXVI TO XXXI.

PRESENT STEMS WITH *-i̯o-*.

§ **702.** This suffix appears in the forms *-i̯o- -i̯e-* or *-ii̯o- -ii̯e-*. Examples of *-i̯o-* are Skr. *hár-ya-ti*, Gr. χαίρω for *χαρ-ι̯ω, Goth. *vaúrk-ja*, Lith. *spir-iù sė̃-ju* O.C.Sl. *sě-ją*. Of *-ii̯o-*: Skr. *mr-iyá-tē* Gr. ἐσθ-ίω, Lat. *suf-fio* (for **dhu̯-ii̯ō*) *farc-iō*, O.Ir. *b-iu* (for **bhu̯-ii̯ō*), A.S. *beó* (also for **bhu̯-ii̯ō*). We are reminded of *-no-* : *-nn̥o-* (§ 596 p. 138); and the same double forms reappear in the noun-suffix *-i̯o-* (I § 117 pp. 109 f., § 120 pp. 111 ff., II § 63 pp. 122 ff., III § 194 p. 74)

1) For the initial, cp. Zubatý, Archiv für slav. Phil., XIII 623.

2) The derivation of Ved. *yā́da-māna-s yā́dura-s* from *yā-* 'go' (Grassmann, Wörtb., s. v. *yād*) is extremely doubtful.

which must be the same suffix as this of the verbs (compare such stems as Skr. *pū́-ya-ti* 'stinks' *pū́-ya-m* 'ill-smelling discharge, matter', § 487 pp. 41 f.).

Another point in common between the two suffixes is this. In some forms of the verb-system we find a weak grade, *-i-*, or *-ī-*. Examples are: *-i-*, Lat. 2nd sing. *cap-i-s* [1]) from *cap-iō*, O.H.G. 2nd sing. *hev-i-s* from *heffu* (= Goth. *haf-ja*), Lith. 2nd pl. *tìk-i-te* from *tik-iù*; examples of *-ī-*, Lat. 2nd sing. *farc-ī-s* from *farc-iō*, O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. *vel-i-ši* from *vel-ją*.[2]) This *-ĭ-* is not found in the present system of Aryan or Greek; and it is more than chance that these very languages have discarded the weak forms of the same sort from their declension of noun stems with *-i̯o-*.

Details as to the Indicative Present will now be given.

Aryan and Greek as a rule have only *-i̯o-* and *-i̯e-* interchanged, as in the other thematic classes. E. g. Skr. *hár-yā-mi hár-ya-si hár-ya-ti* etc., like *bhár-ā-mi bhár-a-si bhár-a-ti*;[3]) Gr. *χαίρω χαίρεις χαίρει* etc. like *φέρω φέρεις*, and so forth.

Latin keeps only *-i̯o-* and *-ĭ-*; e. g. *cap-iō -i-s -i-t -i-mus -i-tis -iu-nt*, *farc-iō -ī-s -i-t* (for *-ī-t*); parallel to *farcīs* is Umbr. heris 'vis'.

In Keltic the inflexions are not all quite clear. With *-i̯o-* we have nothing but the 1st sing. (O.Ir. *-lēciu*) for certain; and *-ĭ-* can be shown in one or two persons (besides the isolated forms Mod.Cymr. imper. *bit bint*, see § 719); thus no doubt can be felt that there once existed a series of forms with *-i̯o- : -ĭ-*. We see *-i-* or *-ī-* in 2nd sing. imper. O.Ir. *lēic*, 3rd pl. O.Cymr. *scamnhegint* 'levant' *nertheïnt* 'they strengthen' (= O.Ir. **nertaigit*), cp. 3rd sing. *istlinnit* 'he makes known'

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1) The view that *cap-i-t* comes from **cap-i̯e-ti* (I § 135 p. 122) must be given up.

2) Goth. *vaúrkeis* (1st sing. *vaúrkja*) can hardly be compared with such forms as Lat. *farcīs* O.C.Sl. *veliši*; it is formed on the analogy of *fra-vardeis* = Skr. *vartaya-si* and the like (§ 781. 2).

3) Forms like Avest. *irišinti* as contrasted with Skr. *riš-ya-nti* prove nothing for Idg. *-i-* in Avestic. See Bartholomae, Handb. § 95 *a* Anm. 1 p. 41, and § 290 p. 126.

(O.Ir. *sluindid*) Mid.Cymr. *chwareïd* 'plays'. Also O.Ir. 3rd pl. *-lēcet* may be *-*ĭnt*- (-**ĭnto*), and the 1st pl. *-lēcem* may be **-ĭmo(s)*; the 3rd sing. *-lēci* may be derived from *-*ī-t* or *-*ii̯e-t*. The 1st sing. *lēicim* is a re-formate, like O.C.Sl. *bimĭ* Serv. *hvalim* (cp. *scaraim caraim*).

The same variation, *-i̯o-* : *-i-* (see above), is seen in Germanic. But here not only the 1st sing. and 3rd pl. have *-i̯o-*, but the 1st pl. as well (O.H.G. *heffe-mēs* Goth. *hafja-m*). We should therefore assume as the proethnic scheme in this branch, *-i̯ō -i-zi -i-đi -i̯a-m -i-đi -i̯a-ndi*. The Gothic forms *haf-ji-s haf-ji-þ* are in all probability instead of **haf-i-s* **haf-i-þ*, on the analogy of *hafja hafjam hafjand* on the one hand, and *satja satjis* etc. on other; this view is supported by *liga ligis* etc. found instead of **lig-ja* **lig-i-s* (cp. O.H.G. *liggu ligis*).1) Thus it cannot be shewn that Germanic once had the same inflexion as Aryan and Greek.

This variation is found again in Balto-Slavonic; Lith. *lěž-iù lěž-ì lěž-ia lěž-ia-me lěž-ia-te* like *sukù sukì sùka sùka-me sùka-te*, O.C.Sl. *bor-ją bor-je-ši bor-je-tŭ bor-je-mŭ bor-je-te bor-jątŭ* like *berą bere-ši bere-tŭ bere-mŭ* etc. Also the variation *ĭ*, and here Lith. has regularly *-ĭ-* while Slavonic has regularly *ī*; Lith. *smìrd-žiu smìrd-i smìrd-(i) smìrd-i-me smìrd-i-te* O.C.Sl. *smrĭždą smrĭd-i-ši smrĭd-i-tŭ smrĭd-i-mŭ smrĭd-i-te smrĭd-ętŭ* (§ 637 Rem. p. 176).

Lastly, in Armenian *-i-* (= Idg. *-i-* or *-ī-*) runs through all the persons, as *xaus-i-m* 'loquor' *-i-s -i* pl. *-i-mk̔ -ik̔ -i-n*.

In view of these facts it is likely that the parent speech had a twofold inflexion. Some of the *i̯o*-presents had *-i̯o-* : *-i̯e-* analogous to the variation between *-o-* : *-e-*, and others had *-i̯o-* : *-ĭ-*. The latter was found, if we may trust the evidence of the Balto-Slavonic group, in such *i̯o*-verbs as had an *ē*-stem as well as a *i̯o*-stem, as O.C.Sl. *mĭnją mĭně-ti*; and if this be

1) The same levelling in late Old High German, *ligu* instead of *liggu* following *ligis*, *bitu* instead of *bittu* (Goth. *bidja*) following *bitis* (cp. Goth. *us-bida*).

so, -*i̯o*- : -*ī*- must be assumed for Greek stems like *μαίνο-μαι* (aor. *ἐμάνην*), cp. §§ 708, 727. As regards the question, which persons took -*i̯o*- and which took -*ī*-, two points may be considered certain. (1) The 1st sing. had -*i̯ō* or -*ii̯ō*, and the 3rd pl. -*i̯o-nt(i)* or -*ii̯o-nt(i)*.[1] (2) -*ī*- was used with the 2nd and 3rd sing. and the 2nd pl., as also in the 2nd sing. imperative (Lat. *cape* for **capi*, *farcī*, O.Ir. *lēic*, O.H.G. *ligi*). The 1st plural seems to have had -*i̯o*-. Further details may be sought below.

§ 703. There is none of the formative suffixes of the present stem which is added so often as -*i̯o*- to stems which have some other suffix already. Compare Skr. *sn-ā-ya-tē* Lat. *nō* (for **snā-(i̯)ō*) beside Skr. *sn-á-ti* Lat. *n-ā-s*, Skr. *jñ-ā-yá-tē* O.H.G. *kn-āu* (ground-form **ĝn-ē-i̯ō*) O.C.Sl. *zn-a-je-tŭ* (ground-form **ĝn-ō-i̯e-t(u)*) beside Gr. *ἔ-γν-ω-ν*, Lat. *taceō* (for **tac-ē-i̯ō*) Goth. *þahái-þ* (for **tak-ē-i̯e-ti*) beside Lat. *tac-ē-s* O.H.G. *dag-ē-s* (Class X §§ 578 ff.); Lesb. *κλίννω* (for **κλι-ν-ι̯ω*) beside O.Sax. *hli-nō-n* etc. (Classes XII, XIII § 611); Skr. *iṣ-aṇ-yá-ti*, Gr. *ἰαίνω* (for **ἰ(σ)-αν-ι̯ω*) beside Skr. *iṣ-aṇa-t*, Gr. *ὀλισθ-αίνω* beside *ὀλισθ-άνω*, O.H.G. *gi-wah-annu* beside Goth. *af-lif-na* (Class XIV §§ 616 ff.); Greek *πτίσσω* (instead of **πτινσ-ι̯ω*) Lat. *pīns-iō* beside Lat. *pīns-ō*, Lith. *jùng-iu* beside Lat. *jung-ō* (Class XVI §§ 627 ff.); Skr. *i-ṣ-ya-ti* beside *i-ṣa-ti*, Goth. *vah-s-ja* beside Avest. *vax-ša-iti*, Lith. *tę̃-s-iù* beside Skr. *tą-sa-ti* Goth. -*þin-sa*, Skr. *tr-as-ya-ti* Lith. *tr-es-iù* beside Skr. *tr-ása-ti* Gr. *τρ-έ(σ)ω* (Class XX §§ 657 ff.), with which is associated the future of which we have examples in Skr. *dā-s-yá-ti* and Lith. *dū́-s-iu* (§§ 747 ff.); O.C.Sl. *ištą* (for **īsk-i̯ą*) beside *iską* (Class XXIII § 677), O.C.Sl. *ob-ręštą* beside -*rē-tŭ*? (Class XXIV § 687); Skr. *yú-dh-ya-tē* beside *yō-dha-ti* Lith. *ju-dù*, Skr. *rā́-dh-ya-tē* beside *á-rā-dha-t*, Gr. *ἰσ-θ-ίω* beside *ἔσ-θω*, *κλύ-ζω* for **κλυ-δ-ι̯ω* as contrasted with *ἔ-κλι-δο-ν*, Lith. *spráu-d-żiu* beside Mid.H.G. *sprie-ze*, Lith. *skél-d-żiu* beside *skél-du* (Class XXV §§ 688 ff.).

1) I consider Lat. *fīunt* to represent the old inflexion, and not Osc. fiiet fi[ii]et. The Oscan form took the ending of verbs in -*mi*, as did *censazet*. Cp. § 1022.

As a secondary suffix *-i̯o-* originally bore the chief accent, which is usually kept in Sanskrit; *jñ-ā-yá-ti trā-yá-tē gṛbhā--yá-ti* (§§ 734, 736); *iṣ-aṇ-yá-ti*; fut. *dā-s-yá-ti*. Thus too the intensive Skr. *dē-diś-yá-tē* is a secondary form as contrasted with *dḗ-diṣ-ṭē*.

This puts in the right light the present formation of later denominatives, which generally have *-i̯o-*, and that too with its original chief accent; e. g. Skr. *namas-yá-ti arāti-yá-ti pṛtanā--yá-ti gōpā-yá-ti* Gr. τελέω for *τελεσ-i̯ω etc. We thus see that denominatives had originally no special set of inflexions; their present system was the same as that of the Primary classes. Forms like 1st pl. Armen. *ǰana-mḱ* Gr. Aeol. τί̄μᾱ-μεν Lat. *plantā-mus* O.Ir. *no chara-m* Goth. *salbō-m* Lith. *jū́sto-me* were originally on the same level as Skr. *dr-ā-mas* Gr. ἔ-δρ̥-ᾱ--μεν Lat. *in-trā-mus*; and presents like Skr. *jī́va-ti* Lat. *vīvi-t* O.C.Sl. *žive-tŭ* (from *jī-vá-s* etc.) were the same in principle as Skr. *ája-ti* Lat. *agi-t*. And to these such *i̯o*-forms as Skr. *pṛtanā-yá-ti dēva-yá-ti* Gr. τῑμάω φιλέω bore the same relation as Skr. *trā-yá-tē* to *trā́-tē* (*trā́-sva*), *dēdiś-yá-tē* to *dḗdiṣ-ṭē* etc.

§ 704. So involved and so intricate are these questions, that it is practically impossible to present the history of the verbal *i̯o*-suffix in such a way that it shall be clear in every point, and all the needs of the student be met at once. Such an attempt would make it necessary to treat the same material again and again from different sides; and for this we have not the space. Be it then expressly understood that the classification here given has been made with a view to giving a general grip of the subject; and many important principles have not been made so prominent as might be wished.

We classify Present Stems + secondary suffix *-i̯o-* (§ 703) according to the original stems; and we count as separate Present Classes (viz. nos. XXVII to XXX) those in which the *i̯o*-suffix, together with the particular kind of stem it may be attacht to, has become a type for forms of some particular

kind. This is not the case with the *-i̯o-* extension of present stems in *-sko-*, *-to-*, or *-dho- -do-*; wherefore the said stems are only mentioned in an excursus (§§ 762 ff.).

Class XXVI.

Root + *-io- -i̯io-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 705. This Class falls into two divisions, in one of which the root-syllable, and in the other the thematic vowel carries the word accent. The root-syllable when accented has a strong grade of vowel (1st strong grade in the *e*-series), when unaccented is weak. (A) Accent on Root-Syllable: **ǵhér-i̯o-* (Skr. *hár-ya-ti* Umbr. fut. *heriest*); (B) Accent on Thematic Vowel: **ǵhṛ-i̯ó-* (Gr. *χαίρω*). Further examples of (A) are Skr. *tán-ya-ti* = Gr. *στείνω*, *pác-ya-tē*, *mā́d-ya-ti* (also Goth. *hafja* O.H.G. *heffu* 'I lift' pr. Germ. **χáf-i̯ō* = Lat. *cap-iō*?); and of (B), Skr. *mr-iyá-tē dṛś-yá-tē tud-yá-tē ś-yá-ti* (on the obliteration of this orig. difference of accent in Sanskrit, see § 710). A similar double series is seen in Class II, as Skr. *kárṣ-a-ti* and *kṛṣ-á-ti*, and in Class XIII, as O.H.G. *willu* and *wallu* (§ 513 pp. 78 f., § 607 p. 148).

§ 706. Proethnic Idg. — Type *A*., **ǵhér-i̯o-*.

√ *ǵher-*: Skr. *hár-ya-ti* 'takes pleasure in, desires', Umbr. heris 'vis' *heriest* fut. 'volet' Osc. heriiad 'velit' (like fakiiad 'faciat'); cp. Gr. *χαίρω* 'I rejoice', type *B*. √ *u̯er-* 'hide, cover': Lat. *op-(v)eriō ap-(v)eriō* (*v* dropt after the labial as in *piu-s* for **pu̯-ī̯i̯o-s*, *suf-fīo -bō -bam*, see I § 170 pp. 149 f.),[1]) Lith. *ùž-veriu* 'I close, shut' *àt-veriu* 'I open' (cp. Osc. veru 'portam' Umbr. *verof-e* 'in portam' and Lith. *vaȓ-tai* pl. 'door'). √ *sten-ten-*: Gr. *στείνω* (beside *στένω*) 'I groan' Aeol. *τέννει· στένει, βρύχεται* Hesych., O.C.Sl. *sten-ją* 'I groan, lament' (inf. *stena-ti*); the Skr. *tán-ya-ti* 'groans, roars' (cp. *stanayitnú-* beside *tanayitnú-* 'roaring, thundering') may come from **ten-i̯o-* or

1) Another but less probable derivation of these Latin verbs is given in vol. I § 499 p. 366.

tṇ-i̯o-. √ *u̯erĝ-* 'work': Gr. ἔρδω for *ϝεργ-ι̯ω (the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] § 59 p. 71), O.H.G. *wirk-(i)u*; parallel stem Idg. **u̯ṛĝ-*-*i̯ó-*, see § 707. √ *leu̯q-* 'lucere': Gr. λεύσσω 'I see' for *λευκ-ι̯ω, Lith. *láuk-iu* 'I wait, wait for'. √ *reg-* 'colour, dye': Skr. *raj-ya-ti* 'grows coloured, reddens', Gr. ῥέζω 'I colour' for *ῥεγ-ι̯ω. √ *ghedh-*: Avest. *jaid̄yeiti* 'prays' O.Pers. *jadīyāmīy* 'I pray', Gr. θέσσεσθαι· αἰτεῖν, ἱκετεύειν (Hesych.) for θεθ-ι̯ε- (I § 429 *b* p. 317). √ *peq-* 'cook': Skr. *pác-ya-tē* intr. 'cooks, ripens' pass. *pac-yá-tē* (see § 710), Gr. πέσσω 'I cook, soften' for *πεκ^u-ι̯ω. √ *spek̑-* 'spy, see': Skr. *páš-ya-ti* Avest. *spas-*-*yė-iti*, Lat. *spec-iō cōn-spiciō*. √ *i̯aĝ-* 'honour': Avest. pass. part. *yęzimna-* (= Skr. **yajyamāna-*), Gr. mid. ἅζομαι for *ἁγ-ι̯ο-; cp. Skr. pass. *ij-ya-tē*, type *B*. √ *plāq-*: Gr. πλήσσω 'I strike, smite', O.C.Sl. *plačą* 'I cry, lament' for **plāk-i̯ą*. Gr. κρώζω 'I caw' for *κρωγ-ι̯ω, Lat. *crōc-iō*, Lith. *krok-iù krog-iù* 'I rattle in the throat, grunt' Lett. *krázu* 'I snore, croak, groan' (for **krāk-i̯u*).[1]) √ *spē-* (*spə-*, Lat. *spa-tiu-m*): Skr. *sphā-ya-tē* 'grows, increases' (not actually found), Lith. *spė́-ju* 'I have leisure, room, space' O.C.Sl. *spě-ją* 'I have successful issue'. √ *sē-* (*sə-*, Lat. *sa-tu-s*): Goth. *saia* O.H.G. *sāu* 'I sow' pr. Germ. **sē-i̯ō* (I § 142 p. 126), Lith. *sė́-ju* O.C.Sl. *sě-ją* 'I sow'. √ *dō-* (*də-*, Lat. *da-tu-s*) 'give': Skr. mid. *ā-dāya-māna-s*, O.C.Sl. *da-ją*; variant stem Skr. pass. *dī-yá-tē*, type *B*. √ *stā-* (*stə-*, Lat. *sta-tiō*) 'stare': Avest. *ā-stāyā* 'I place myself' O.Pers. *niy-aštāya* 'he commanded', Lat. *stō* for **stā-i̯ō* Umbr. *stahu* 'sto', O.Ir. *-tau -tō* 'I am' 2nd sing. *-tai*, Lith. *stó-*-*jů-s* 'I place myself, take my place' O.C.Sl. *sta-ją* 'I place myself'; following type *B* we have the parallel stems Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē*, O.C.Sl. *sto-ją* 'I stand', and probably O.H.G. [illegible] (§ 708); cp. § 505 p. 71, § 584 Rem. p. 126. [illegible] Gr. φα-μὲν) 'cause to appear, make [illegible]lic, m[illegible] *for* for **fā-(i̯)ō-r*, Lith. *bó-ju* 'I [illegible] *ba-ją* 'fabulor'; still, these verbs [illegible]

1) Why, Idg. ō in Lith.-L[illegible] (Lith. ō) is unknown.

(cp. Skr. pass. *bhā-ya-tē*, not found in our texts), and their structure be the same as **tr-ā-i̯ō* (§ 735), compare § 495 p. 55.

§ 707. Type *B*: **ĝhṛ-i̯ó-*.

√ *mer-* 'die' **mr-ii̯o-* and **mṛ-i̯o-*: Skr. *mr-iyá-tē* Avest. *mereˢ-yę-iti*, Lat. *mor-ior* (I § 120 p. 112), cp. below **bhu̯-ii̯o-* **bhu-i̯o-*. √ *der-* 'tear, flay: Skr. *dīr-yá-tē* for **dṝ-i̯e-*, Lith. *dir-iù*; type *A*, Gr. δείρω Lesb. δέρρω. √ *sper-*: Gr. σπαίρω 'I pant, struggle', Lith. *spir-iù* 'I strike with my foot, kick'. √ *sqel-*: Gr. σκάλλω 'I scrape, hack' for **σκαλ-i̯ω*, Lith. *skilù* (for **skil-i̯ù*) 'I strike a light, kindle'. √ *men-* 'think of, meditate': Gr. μαίνομαι 'I am wild, enravished, mad', O.Ir. *do muiniur* 'I think or believe' (for **man-i̯o-* **mn̥-i̯o-*), O.C.Sl. *mĭn-ją* 'I think'; to either (*A*) or (*B*) may belong Skr. *mán-ya-tē* 'thinks' Avest. 1st sing. *man-ya* O.Pers. 2nd sing. conj. *maniyāhy* (I § 125 p. 116). √ *ghen-*: Skr. *han-yá-tē* 'is struck' instead of **ghan-yá-tē* (I § 454 Rem. p. 335), O.C.Sl. *žĭn-ją* 'I cut off, reap'; of type *A* from this root we have Gr. θείνω. √ *gem-* 'go': Skr. *-gam-yá-tē*, Gr. βαίνω, Lat. *ven-iō* (I § 204 p. 170, § 208 p. 174); *veniō* might also if we wished be classed as an example of type *A*. √ *bheu̯-* 'become, be' **bhu̯-ii̯o-* and **bhŭ-i̯o-* (so above we had **mr-ii̯o-* and **mṛ-i̯o-*): Gr. **φ(ϝ)-ίω* implied by φῖ-τυ (§ 713), Lat. *fīō* instead of **f(u̯)-iō* with *ī* following *fīs* etc. (§ 717), O.Ir. *b-iu*, A.S. *b-eó* (cp. § 722),[1]) Skr. pass. *-bhū-ya-tē*, Gr. Lesb. φυίω (on Ion. Att. φύω φῡω see § 523 p. 87, § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.); from the same root come Lat. *fī-liu-s* and Alban. *bin* 'I bud' (see G. Meyer, Alban. Stud. III 33, who however, as I think wrongly, assumes *bhī-* as a variant 'root' as well as *bhū-*). √ *dheu̯-* 'shake, stir

1) A different explanation of these verbs is given by Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr., II 189 ff., where we see **bhu̯īi̯ō* **bhu̯īsi* **bhu̯īti* 3rd pl. **bhu̯īi̯onti* given as the proethnic forms. This does not agree either with the *ĭ* of A.S. and O.H.G. *bis* (§ 722), nor with the *ĭ* of Lith. *bi-ti* *-bi-me* etc. (§ 727); obviously the relation of Lith. *-bi-me* and O.C.Sl. *bi-mŭ* is the same as that of *smìrdi-me* and *smrĭdi-mŭ*.

up': Lat. *suf-fiō* for **-fu̯-iō*, Skr. pass. *dhū-yá-tē* 'is shaken', Gr. Lesb. *θυίω* 'I storm, roar' (*θύω θῦω* like *φύω φῦω*, see above), O.Icel. *dȳ* 'I shake' (inf. *dȳ-ja*). √ *qei̯-*: Skr. *cī-ya-tē* 'is tried, respected', connected probably with Gr. *τίω* 'I pay' (parallel form *τῖω*, cp. § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.); Arcad. *τείω* either for **τει-i̯ω* (*A*), or more probably an ad-formate of *τείσω ἔτεισα.* Skr. *kṣī-yá-tē* 'is destroyed' *kṣī́-ya-tē* 'exhausts itself, disappears'; from the same root is probably Gr. Hom. *φθίω* 'I am destroyed'. Skr. *pī́-ya-ti* 'abuses, thinks little of', partic. Goth. *fijands* O.H.G. *fīent* ('foe'). √ *u̯erĝ-* 'work': Avest. *verᵉz-ye-iti*, Gr. *ῥέζω* instead of **ϝράζω *ϝραγ-i̯ω* (I § 299 p. 238), Goth. *vaúrk-ja*; Gr. *ἔρδω* O.H.G. *wirk(i)u* are of type *A*, § 706 p. 234. √ *gherd-* (Lith. *gerda-s* 'cry, message, news', Pruss. *po-gerdaut* 'to say'): Gr. *φράζω* 'I give to understand, announce', Lith. *gird-žiù* 'I apprehend, hear', ground-form **ghṛd-i̯ō.* √ *ghredh-* (Goth. *gridi-* 'step, grade'): Skr. *gṛ́dh-ya-ti* 'steps swiftly towards something', Lat. *grad-io-r* (cp. Osthoff, *M. U.* v p. III). √ *leiq-* 'linquere': Skr. *ríc-ya-tē* and pass. *ric-yá-tē*, Gr. *λίσσωμεν· ἐάσσωμεν* Hesych.; cp. p. 129 with the footnote about Latin *licet.* Skr. *chid-yá-tē* 'is cut off', Gr. *σχίζω* 'I split' for **σχιδ-i̯ω.* Skr. *kup-ya-ti* 'gets in motion, gets excited', Lat. *cup-iō*, O.C.Sl. *kyplją* 'I flow in waves, boil' for **kyp-ją.* Gr. **φύζω* 'I flee', implied by Hom. *πεφυζότες* (Curt. Verb I[2] 327), Lat. *fug-iō.* Skr. *śúṣ-ya-ti* 'dries up, withers' (tr.), O.C.Sl. *sŭšą* 'I dry' (intr.) for **sŭch-ią* (inf. *sŭcha-ti*); of type *A* we have Lith. *saus-iù* 'I dry' (intr.).

Gr. *κασσύω* 'I patch' for **κατ-σι̯ῡ-i̯ω*, Goth. *siu-ja* 'I sew', Lett. *schu-ja* O.C.Sl. *šiją* for **si̯ū-i̯ą* 'I sew' (I § 60 p. 47, § 131 p. 118, § 143 p. 128, § 147 p. 132), Skr. *sī́v-ya-ti* 'sews' (part. *syū-tá-s*). Gr. *πτύω* 'I spit, spew' for **(s)pi̯ū-i̯ō* (I § 131 p. 119), O.Icel. *spȳ* 'I spit, spew' (inf. *spȳ-ja*) for **spū-i̯ō*, Skr. *ṣṭhīv-ya-ti* 'spits, spews', not actually found (partic. *ṣṭhyū-tá-s*), instead of **sthīv-ya-ti* (*ṣ* came from forms like *tiṣṭhēva abhi-ṣṭhyū-ta-s*, and then spread all over the verb; Bartholomae,

Ar. Forsch. III 34);[1]) of type *A*, Lith. *spiáu-ju* O.C.Sl. *plju-ją* (I § 147 p. 132); Goth. *speiva* is either for **spīu̯ō* parallel to Skr. *ṣṭhīv-a-ti*, or for **spieu̯-ō* parallel to Lith. *spiáu-ju* (so Streitberg, Idg. Forsch. I 513 f.).

Remark. On these roots with the variants *i̯ū* and *īu̯*, see Bartholomae *loc. cit.*, Kretschmer in Kuhn's Ztschr. XXXI 386, Per Persson's Wurzelerweiterung 154 ff. As regards the variants **si̯ū-i̯ō* and **sīu̯-i̯ō*, **spi̯ū-i̯ō* and **spīu̯-i̯ō*, it seems most likely that the ending *-īu̯-i̯ō* is due to the analogy of those forms where *-īu̯-* preceded some sonant; to take an example, Skr. *ṣṭhīvya-ti* being modelled after the fashion of *ṣṭhīva-ti ṣṭhīvita-s*, and *sīvya-ti* following *sīvaya-ti sīvana-m*; so also *dīvya-ti* (beside *dyū-tá-s*) follows *-dīvan- dīvana-m* etc. (cp. Osthoff, *M. U.* IV 317); *vice versa*, Lith. *siūv-ù* instead of **sīu̯-ō* is due to the analogy of *siú-ti* etc.

√ *dhē-* (*dhə-*, cp. Lat. *ad-fa-tim*) 'suck' **dhə-i̯ō*: Skr. *dhá-ya-ti* 'sucks' (I § 109 p. 161), Goth. *da-ddja* 'I suckle' (I § 142 p. 127), O.C.Sl. *do-ją* 'I suckle'; parallel forms of type *A* are O.H.G. *tāu* 'I suckle' Lett. *dê-ju* 'I suck' common ground-form **dhē-i̯ō*, cp. Skr. *dhā-yú-ṣ* 'thirsty'. √ *dē-* (*də-*) 'bind': Skr. *d-ya-ti*, Gr. δέω for **δε-ι̯ω* instead of **δα-ι̯ω*, as δε-τό-ς for **δα-το-ς* = Skr. *di-tá-s*. √ *stā-* (*stə-*) 'stare': Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē* instead of **stha-ya-tē* (§ 498 p. 61), O.C.Sl. *sto-ją* 'I stand', probably also O.H.G. *stēt* (§ 708 p. 240); parallel *A*-forms, Avest. *ā-stā-yā* etc., § 706 p. 234.

With some roots ending in a vowel, the *i̯* of the present stem, being regarded as the root-final, was allowed to spread through other tenses. Side by side with Skr. *d-yá-ti* 'divides' (fut. *dā-sya-ti* etc.) is the bye-form *dá-ya-tē*, i. e. **də-i̯e-* (I § 109 *a*. p. 101), whence by analogy *dayi-ta-s day-aya-ti*; so too we notice *cha-ya-ti chayi-tvā chāy-aya-ti* beside *ch-ya-ti* 'cuts up' (partic. *chā-ta-s*). The pr. Greek form which answered to *dá-ya-tē*, to wit, **δα-ι̯ω*, regarded as made up thus **δαι̯-ω*, served as the starting point for δαί-σω δαι-τρό-ς δαί-νῡ-μι, and from these again we get δαί-ομαι, which became associated in

1) Why Sanskrit has *-t-*, and not *-p-* like the rest, is unknown. This may be one of those pairs of doublets, such as Skr. *skambh-* and *stambh-* 'support', which cannot be regularly derived from a single original form.

one group with *δάσσομαι δάσσασθαι*. *δα-ί-ο-μαι* may be compared with the Lith. *gu-i-jù* 'I hunt': from *gu-jù* (*gujaũ*) = Lett. *gu-ju* (bye-forms Lett. *gû-nu* Lith. *gáu-nu*, § 615 p. 153) sprang *guì-siu guì-ti*; from these again come the presents *gui-jù* and *gui-nù*. Similarly we find Lith. part. pret. *sĕ́j-ęs jój-ęs* from *sĕ́-ju jó-ju* (*sĕ́jau jójau*). The principle here exemplified throws light on such forms as Skr. *dhē-nú-ṣ* 'milking' beside Skr. *dhá-ya-ti* O.H.G. *tāu*. Compare Per Persson's further remarks on this matter, Wurzelerweiterung pp. 115 ff.

Pairs of forms like Skr. *d-yá-ti* : *dá-ya-tē* recal the two forms of the *i̯ē*-optative, seen for example in Idg. **dh-i̯ē-t* and **dhə-i̯ē-t*, § 939.

§ 708. A special class of verbs comprises those which have *-ē-* as parallel suffix to *-i̯o-*. Sometimes the *-ē-* is found only outside the present stem; sometimes both *-ē-* and *-i̯o-* are found in the present, in which case *-ē-i̯o-* occasionally takes the place of *-ē-*. The *-i̯o-* in Balto-Slavonic has regularly the ablaut *-ĭ-*; and I have already conjectured (§ 702 p. 230) that this ablaut is proethnic in this very class.

-i̯o- in the present with *-ē-* outside the present stem is seen in Greek and Balto-Slavonic. Take as examples: Gr. *μαίνομαι, ἐ-μάνη-ν μεμανη-ώς μεμάνη-μαι μανή-σομαι*, O.C.Sl. *mĭnją, mĭnĕ mĭnĕ-vŭ mĭnĕ-chŭ* (Lith. *minė miné-siu*, on the pres. *menù* see below). *χαίρω, ἐ-χάρη-ν κεχαρη-ώς κεχαρή-σω. καίω* (**καϝ-i̯ω*) *ἐ-κάη-ν*. Lith. *smìrdžiu smirdĕ́-ti* O.C.Sl. *smrĭždą smrĭdĕ-ti* 'to stink'. In Slavonic, beside *govlją govĕ-ti* 'venerari, vereri' (: Lat. *favēre*) we see also *govĕją*, a later re-formate.

In Germanic we have the much discussed class of which one is Gothic *haban* 'to have' (the 3rd Weak Conjugation).[1])

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1) See Sievers, *P.-B. Beitr.* VIII 90 ff.; Mahlow, Lang. Voc. *A, E, O*, pp. 12 f., 19 ff., and 148 f.; Kögel in *P.-B. B.* IX 504 ff.; Bremer, *ibid.* XI 46 ff.; Kluge, in Paul's Grundriss I 379 f.; Streitberg, Germ. Comp. auf *-ōz-*, in the University Calendar of Freiburg in Switzerland, 1890,

Its connexion with the Balt.-Slav. *i̯o* : *ē*-class is shown by such forms as O.H.G. *dolēm*: Lith. *tylěti*, O.H.G. *lebēm* : O.C.Sl. *-lĭpěti* (Gr. *ἀλιφῆ-ναι*), Goth. *muna mundis* : Lith. *minė́-ti* O.C.Sl. *mĭně-ti* (Gr. *μανῆ-ναι*), Goth. *vita vitáis* : Lith. *pa-vydė́ti* O.C.Sl. *viděti.* *i̯o*-structure is seen in forms like O.Sax. 1st sing. *hebbiu libbiu* pl. *hebbiad libbiad* A.S. *hæbbe libbe*; *libbiu* = O.C.Sl. *-lĭplją.* Then we find *-ē-* in such as O.H.G. *habē-m habē-s* etc., and *-ē-* + *-i̯o-* in Goth. 2nd sing. *habái-s* 3rd sing. 2nd pl. *-ái-þ* (I § 142 p. 126).

Besides these, we find in Germanic other forms which an impartial critic cannot but regard as forms of our Class II; such, for example, are Goth. 1st sing. *haba* 1st pl. *habam* 3rd pl. *haband*, O.H.G. *habu* A.S. *hafu.*[1]) It is true that the West-Germanic forms could easily be explained as due to the analogy of other verbal forms; but the Gothic ones are incomprehensible if so regarded.[2]) Now in Balto-Slavonic and Greek, forms of Class II are found associated with *ē*-forms, as Lith. *menù minė́ti* as contrasted with O.C.Sl. *mĭnją mĭněti*, O.C.Sl. part. *vidomŭ* beside *vidimŭ* from *viděti*, Gr. *ἐθέλω ἐθελήσω* (§ 727) — compare Umbr. neiřhabas 'ne adhibeant' beside habe 'habet' habetu 'habeto'. Another explanation is therefore possible, and to my mind more likely to be true. It is possible that in Germanic as well, some of the verbs in question had this form of the present stem, and that this *o*-type was made the rule for all verbs in Gothic. In that case, the relation of Goth. *haba* (O.H.G. *habu*) and O.Sax.

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pp. 15 f., 18 ff., and 32; Sievers, in Paul Braune and Sievers' Beitr. XVI 257 ff.; Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr. II 143 ff. Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 204; Streitberg, Zur Germ. Sprachgeschichte, pp. 73 ff.

1) The 2nd and 3rd sing. O.H.G. *hebis hebit* may be examples either of *o*-flexion or of *i̯o*-flexion. It is quite certain that *hebita* and *ge-hebit* are the latter.

2) O.H.G. *habu* A.S. *hafu* may be instead of (O.Sax.) *hebbiu*, as O.H.G. *ligu* instead of *ligg(i)u* following *ligis* etc. On the other hand, we have no right at all to put Goth. *haba* on the same level as *liga* instead of **ligja* following *ligis* etc.

hebbiu might be compared with O.C.Sl. *vidomŭ* and *vidimŭ*, or with Lith. 3rd sing. *smìrda* and *smìrdi*. There is yet another possibility. With Streitberg, we may derive *hab-and* from **-ēndi,*[1]) and assume that *haba habam* were formed on the analogy of *baíra baíram* : *baírand*. There is nothing at all to be said for Hirt's conjecture that 1st sing. *haba* comes from **-ē-m*, with secondary personal ending.

That pr. Germanic also knew the inflexion with *-ē-* + *-i̯o-* seems to follow from O.H.G. *rērēm* 'I bellow, bleat, roar'; this word is akin to Lith. *rė́-ju*, and points to pr. Germ. **rai̯-rē-i̯ō* (§ 741). Compare further § 548 p. 105, on Goth. *rei-ra* 'I tremble, quake' 2nd sing. *rei-rái-s*, which is connected with Skr. *lē-láy-a-ti*.

In this group falls also O.H.G. *stēm stām* 'I stand', which varies between *ā* and *ē* in all its persons. This must be due to an original series in which some persons had only *ē* and others only *ā*. *ā* comes from pr. Germ. *ē*, but *ē*, as the A.S. and O.Fris. *ā* shows, comes from pr. Germ. *ai̯*. The verb is intimately connected with O.C.Sl. *stoją stoja-ti* (for **stojě-ti*), in whose present stem *stoji-* (2nd sing. *stoji-ši* etc.) = Idg. *stə-i̯ī-*, the *i̯* is as regular as in *ladi-ji* Lith. *mō-ji-s* and the like (vol. II p. 122 footnote 2); compare Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē* instead of **stha-ya-tē* (§ 707 p. 237, § 709). The **stojě-* of the infinitive stem cannot be original, because this suffix *-ē-* which we are now treating was added to the Root (in its weak grade), not to the present stem. **stojě-* is then doubtless a contamination of **st-ě-* and **sto-jī-* (similarly *la-ją la-ja-ti* 'to bark, give tongue' as constrasted with orig. Lith. *ló-ju ló-ti*, and Gr. *χαιρήσω ἐχαίρησα* as contrasted with *χαίρω*, instead of **χαρ-i̯ω, ἐχάρην, χαρησοῦμαι*, and *κεχάρημαι*). The two stems, **stə-i̯o-* and **st-ē-*, are combined in the West Germanic present scheme, which before levelling ran something like *stām stēs stēt stāmēs stēt stānt* (see Bremer, as cited, p. 43), i. e. **st-ē-mi*

1) In view of *vind-s* for **u̯ē-nto-s*, Streitberg assumes that *ē* becomes *a* only in syllables not bearing the chief accent (p. 18).

**sta-ii-zi* etc. *stām stāmēs stānt* run parallel to *habēm habēmēs habēnt*, and *stēs stēt* to *hevis hevit* (1st sing. *heffu*).

The verb *gām gēm* 'I go' is the exact counterpart of *stām stēm* in every respect. As to the origin of this verb many different theories have been set forth. If our explanation of *stām stēm* is right, it is advisable to link *gām gēm* with Skr. *ja-hā-ti* 'deserts, gives up' pl. *ja-hi-mas* aor. *á-hā-t*, *jí-hī-tē* 'goes, yields', in which case we must assume the stems **ĝhə-io-* **ĝhə-iī-* and **ĝh-ē-*. The latter stem reappears in Gr. *κί-χ-η-μι κί-χ-η-μεν*, if this verb belongs to the same root (§ 594 p. 135).

In Latin, the whole present scheme has *ē-*, and the 1st sing., but this person only, has *-io-* in addition: *videō* for **-ē-iō*, 2nd sing. *vidē-s* etc.: Lith. *pa-výdžiu -vydė-ti* Goth. *vita vitái-þ*. Compare further *rubeō*: O.C.Sl. *rŭždą rŭdě-ti*, and *valeō*: Lith. *galù galė́ti*, and so forth, § 590 p. 132. Italic likewise had at one time forms with *-io-* (and without *-ē-*) in this group of verbs; this we see from Osc. staít 'stat' stahínt 'stant' Umbr. *stahitu* 'stato'. These imply a stem **sta-ē-* [1]), which must be regarded as for **stai-ē-* and compared with O.C.Sl. *stoja-ti*; that is, it is a contamination of **stə-io-* and **st-ē-*. Again, the *c* of *licet* beside *linquō* may perhaps justify our assuming an earlier **liciō* for **licu-iō* (Skr. *rícya-tē* Gr. *λίσσωμεν*); see p. 129 footnote. The *o*-present Umbr. -habas 'habeas' beside habe 'habet' has been spoken of already (pages 239 f.).

What conclusion is to be drawn from a comparison of the Greek and Balto-Slavonic with Germanic and Italic? It is natural to suppose that the two former divide *-io-* and *-ē-* amongst their forms more nearly as the original language did; and that the latter came to have *ē*-forms in their present on account of their final confusion of Imperfect-Present with Aorist-Present, and the loss of the augmented preterite as an independent tense. Lat. *vidē-s vidē-tis* may be called injunctive,

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1) For the proof that Osc. í must be orig. *ē*, and not orig. *ī*, I have to thank my pupil G. Bronisch.

and compared immediately with Lith. *mìnė mìnė-te* Gr. (*ἐ*)*μάνη-ς* (*ἐ*)*μάνη-τε*, the imperative *vidē* may be compared immediately with *minė-k*, which stood to *mìnė* just as *dů'-k* to Skr. *á-dā-t*; and the only difference between O.H.G. *habēm habēs* etc., or Lat. *videt vident*, and these Lithuanian and Greek preterites is that they have the primary personal endings. Compare too Lat. *tagit* beside *tangit*, and others of the kind (§ 583 p. 125); compare too *dat* with preterite sense (Veg. Aen. I 79, IX 266, XI 172) like *-bat* (§ 505 p. 71 with footnote 2). This state of things was partly due to the analogy of *ē*-verbs with non-syllabic root; these carried the *ē*-suffix right through the verb; for example, Lat. *-pleō* for **pl-ē-i̯ō* *-plēs* (Skr. *prā́-si á-prā-t* Gr. *πλῆ-το*), Goth. *vaia* for **u̯-ē-i̯ō* (O.C.Sl. *vě-ją*, Skr. *vā́-ti* Gr. *ἄη-σι*). If in these the present and preterite both had originally *ē*, the connexion of the two would be very close when the preterite ceased to form a distinct category; it would then be quite natural for *ē*-verbs with syllabic root to run the *ē* right through the present, and, given Lat. *vidērem* (cp. O.C.Sl. *viděchŭ* Lith. *pa-vidėsiu* Gr. Dor. *ἰδησῶ*, § 813) and Lat. *vidē-bam vidē-bō*, to form a present *videō vidēs* etc. on the analogy of *-pleō* beside *-plērem plē- -bam -bō*; or suppose we say, quite natural for existing injunctive forms such as *vidēs vidētis* to be treated as if they were the same in character as *-plēs -plētis*, and used for the present, soon to be followed up by *videō videt* etc. which filled the gaps in the system. This levelling and filling up of the gaps was completed in Latin by the beginning of the historical period; but in Germanic it never was completed at all. In Germanic all monosyllabic *ē*-stems, except two which crystallised, were absorbed by the *i̯o-* conjugation (§ 592); so the action of this principle can be clearly seen only with forms which contain *-ē-* + *-i̯o-*, as Goth. *vitáis vitáiþ*. The reason why Gothic chose to replace **vitaia *vitaiam *vitaiand* by *vita vitam vitand* to complete the tense lay in the number of syllables in these words.

Thus O.Sax. *libbiu libda* is a verb like Goth. *vaúrkja*

vaúrhta (§ 722). The reason why we find in parallel use O.H.G. *lebēt* and Goth. *libáiþ* etc. is simply that in these languages there once was a non-present stem **lip-ē-*, but no such *ē*-stem was ever connected with *vaúrkjan.*

We need not be surprised that it was *i̯o*-stems that became joined with *ē*-stems in one verbal system. Both these suffixes have at all periods been used by preference in making forms with intransitive meaning. Observe how *i̯o* is so used in the Aryan *ya*-passive (§ 710), and *ē* in the Greek aorist passive with *η* (§ 589 p. 130).

Lastly, I must foreguard against a misconception. In contrasting *i̯o* as a present suffix with *ē* in non-present stems, I must not be understood to mean that all non-present forms originally had *-ē-*. We have in Greek *κέκαυμαι καυτό-ς* beside *καίω*: *ἐκάην καήσομαι*, *μανοῦμαι μέμηνα* beside *μαίνομαι*: *ἐμάνην μεμάνημαι*; so in Latin, *vīdī vīsu-s* beside *videō*, *habui habitu-s* beside *habeō*, in Germanic pret. O.Sax. *habda* O.H.G. *hapta* O.Icel. *hafđa* partic. *hafđr* beside O.Sax. *hebbiu*: O.H.G. *habēm* etc. How this *ē* managed to spread in non-present stems (as *καήσομαι* beside *καύσω*, *μεμανηώς* beside *μέμηνα*, O.H.G. *habēta* beside *hapta*), is a question which need not concern us here.

Remark. In § 583, page 125, we assumed an *ā*-aorist beside the *ē*-aorist, and explained *-ā-* in Lat. *occupāre* on the same principle as *-ē-* in *vidēre*. It is particularly easy to see resemblance between *vidēre* and *arāre*. *arō arās*, *arārem*: O.C.Sl. *orją orachŭ* = *videō vidēs*, *vidērem*: O.C.Sl. *viždą viděchŭ*.

§ 709. Aryan. Type *A*. Skr. *hár-ya-ti*, *raj-ya-ti pác-ya-tē*, *sphā-ya-tē*, *ā-dāya-māna-s*, Avest. *jaiđyę-iti* O.Pers. *jadīyā-mīy*, Avest. *yęzimna-*, Avest. *ā-stāyā* O.Pers. *niy-aštāya*, Skr. *páś-ya-ti* Avest. *spas-yę-iti*, see § 706 pp. 233 f. Avest. *urvaęs-yę-iti* 'moves, proceeds' (*urv-* for *vr-*, I § 157 p. 141), parallel *B*-stem *urvis-yę-iti*. Skr. *náh-ya-ti* 'binds' √ *nedh-* (part. *naddhá-s*). Skr. *náś-ya-ti* Avest. *nas-yę-iti* 'disappears, is destroyed' √ *nek̑-*. Skr. *pád-ya-tē* 'goes, falls', Avest. *pađ-*

-yę-iti 'goes, gets somewhere' √ *ped-*. Skr. *mád-ya-ti* 'enjoys itself, carouses' beside 2nd sing. *mát-si* Class I.

Type *B*. Skr. *mr-iyá-tē* Avest. *mer*ᵉ*-yę-iti* (it is uncertain how we should read the O.Pers. 3rd sing. pret., whether as *amariyatā* = Idg. **e-mṛ-i̯e-to* or as *amriyatā* = Idg. **e-mr-ii̯e-to*, see I § 289 p. 231), Skr. *dīr-yá-tē, han-yá-tē, -gam-yá-tē, -bhū-ya-tē, dhū-yá-tē, cī-ya-tē, kṣī-yá-tē kṣí-ya-tē, pí-ya-ti,* Avest. *ver*ᵉ*z-yę-iti,* Skr. *gṛ́dh-ya-ti, ric-yá-tē ríc-ya-tē, chid-yá-tē, kup-ya-ti, śúṣ-ya-ti, sī́v-ya-ti, ṣṭhīv-ya-ti, dhá-ya-ti, d-ya-ti* 'binds', *sthī-ya-tē, d-yá-ti* 'divides' *dá-ya-tē*, see § 707 pp. 235 ff.

Other, forms which have not the passive meaning. Skr. *jī́r-ya-ti jū́r-ya-ti* 'falls into decay' beside *jár-a-ti* Class II *A* and *jur-á-ti* Class II *B*. *dā́m-ya-ti* 'tames, conquers' for **dm̥̄-i̯e-ti*. *tā́m-ya-ti* 'grows stupefied, faint' for **tm̥̄-i̯e-ti*. *mī́-ya-tē* 'grows less'. *pū́-ya-ti* 'stinks'. *ṛ́j-ya-ti* 'rushes on'. *hṛ́ṣ-ya-ti* 'is excited, or happy'. Avest. *pešyęinti* 'they fight' pr. Ar. **pṛ́t-i̯a-nti* (I § 260 p. 212). Skr. *drúh-ya-ti* 'tries to hurt', Avest. part. *drujint-* 'lying, deceiving' O.Pers. *adūrūjīya* (read *adurujya*) 'lied'. Skr. *pra-diśya-ti* 'points to', Avest. *dis-yę-iti* 'shows, teaches'. Skr. *ś-yá-ti* 'whets', Avest. *s-yę-iti* 'cuts', √ *k̂ō-*.

Passive. Skr. *kr-iyá-tē* Avest. *ker*ᵉ*-yę-tę̄* 'is made'. Skr. *str-iyá-tē stīr-ya-tē* 'sternitur', Avest. *strya-mna-* i. e. *striya-mna-*. Skr. *śīr-ya-tē* 'is broken to pieces', O.Pers. *asariyatā* 'was killed', common ground-form **k̂ṝ-i̯e-*. Skr. *bhr-iya-tē* Avest. *bairyętę̄* 'fertur', the Avestic form being for **bhṝ-i̯e-*. Skr. *yam-yá-tē* 'is held or inclined'. Skr. *śrū-yá-tē* 'is heard', Avest. *sru-yę-tę̄* 'is heard, heard of': cp. O.C.Sl. *po-slu-ją*, type *A*. Skr. *nī-yá-tē* 'is led, brought'. Skr. *dṛś-yá-tē* 'is seen'. Skr. *śas-yá-tē* 'is praised', O.Pers. 1st pl. *þah-yā-mahy* 'we are mentioned', √ *k̂ens-*. Skr. *yuj-yá-tē* 'is yoked or harnessed'. *uc-yá-tē* 'is spoken', √ *u̯eq-*. *bhid-yá-tē* 'is split' (*bhíd-ya-tē* 'splits, goes in two'). *idh-yá-tē* 'is kindled', √ *ai̯dh-*. *aj-yá-tē* 'is anointed' from *-añj-*. Avest. *da-yę-tę̄* 'is set, placed' ground-form **dhə-i̯e-tai̯*, √ *dhē-*; Skr. *dhī-yá-tē* like *sthī-ya-tē* (§ 707 p. 237) with the determinative *-ī-*.

§ 710. As a general rule, passive forms in Sanskrit accent *-i̯o-*, and non-passive forms the root. But this difference in accent had originally nothing to do with active or passive. It depended upon the grade of the root, strong or weak as the case might be. A few forms which are not passive still accent the suffix, as *ś-yá-ti mr-iyá-tē,* which is a relic of the former state of things. The retraction of accent in *dhá-ya-ti* (earlier **dhə-i̯é-ti*) *dá-ya-tē* (instead of **də-i̯é-tai̯*, § 707 p. 237) *gṛ́dh--ya-ti ríc-ya-tē* etc., which seems proved for proethnic Aryan by the evidence of Avest. *pešyęinti*, § 709 (I § 260 pp. 212 f.), may be compared with the retraction in *dáś-ya-ti gír-a-ti hí-nva-ti gá-cha-ti* and the like (§ 516 p. 82).

The reason why the Middle of this particular present class became a Passive system in Aryan, is that the greater number of the verbs in it were intransitive; so in Greek a passive system grew out of an intransitive, I mean the passive aorist in -ην, § 589 pp. 129 f. But not all the forms of the group can be called passive. To *mr-iyá-tē* 'dies', for instance, the term cannot be applied; nor can it to all aorists in -ην, ἐῤῥύη 'flowed' for example.

So constant a mark of the passive did an accentuated *-yá-* become, that the intransitive *pác-ya-tē ríc-ya-tē* were turned into passives by accenting them *pac-yá-tē ric-yá-tē*, and the language even tolerated *smar-yá-tē*, despite its strong root (cp. *hár-ya-ti*).

In Sanskrit, as in the two Iranian languages, passive forms occur with active personal endings, as well as middle; e. g. Skr. epic *dṛ̥ś-ya-ti* 'is seen' (Holtzmann, Gramm. aus dem MBh., 25 f.), Avest. *xwar-yę-iti* 'is eaten'. It is impossible to understand the forms till we know their accentuation.

Remark. It is sometimes said that the intr. active *dáhyati* 'burns up' as compared with the pass. *dahyátē* 'is burnt', since both practically mean the same thing, was the origin of the active forms with passive meaning, *dṛ̥śyati* and the like. This we could only venture to say if we knew for certain that the word was accented *dṛ̥́śyati.*

§ 711. Armenian. Verbs in *-im*, which originally had middle or passive meaning: *xausim* 'loquor', *erevim* 'I appear'. This *i*-suffix was put to the same use as *-yá-* in Sanskrit, for making the passive conjugation. Each active verb in *-em* became middle or passive by the simple change of *e* to *i*. This often resulted in *i* being added to stems which had already some other present sign: e. g. *aṙni-m* 'I am made, I become' from *aṙ-ne-m* 'I make'. The endings *-anim* and *-anem* are used side by side, as in Greek *-αινω* beside *-ανω*; thus *meṙ-ani-m* 'I die' (aor. *meṙ-ay*) like Gr. *μαραίνω* 'I wear away, destroy'.

§ 712. Greek. Type *A*. *στείνω*, *ἔρδω*, *λεύσσω*, *ῥέζω* 'I colour', *θέσσεσθαι*, *πέσσω*, *ἅζομαι*, *πλήσσω*, *κρώζω*, see § 706 pp. 233 f., *δείρω*, *τείω*, see § 707 p. 236. Att. *φθείρω* Arcad. *φθήρω* Lesb. *φθέρρω* 'I destroy', pr. Gr. **φθερ-ι̯ω* (akin to Skr. *kṣ̌ár-a-ti* 'flows, dissolves'); parallel *B*-stem, Dor. *φθαίρω*. Ion. *ἀείρω* Lesb. *ἀέρρω* (*αὐέρρω*?) 'I raise' for **ἀ-ϝερ-ι̯ω*; parallel *B*-stem Hom. Att. *αἴρω*. *πείρω* 'I pierce'; cp. O.C.Sl. *porjetŭ* 'cuts to pieces' (inf. *prati*) for **pr̄-i̯e-*, type *B*. *στέλλω* 'I arrange, equip' for **στελ-ι̯ω*. *σκέλλω* 'I dry'. *κτείνω* Lesb. *κτέννω* 'I slay'; parallel in type *B*, Lesb. *κταίνω*. *χέζω* 'caco' for **χεδ-ι̯ω* (perf. *κέχοδα*). *δαίω* 'I kindle' for **δαϝ-ι̯ω* (perf. *δέδηε*): cp. Skr. pass. *dū-ya-tē*, type *B*. Of the same sort as *δαίω* are doubtless *καίω κάω* 'I burn' and *κλαίω κλάω* 'I weep'; see I § 131 pp. 118 f.

Remark. *πλεἰω χεἰω* and the like, found in the text of Homer and Hesiod (Curtius, Verb I[2] 304 f.), can be explained **πλεϝ-ι̯ω* (Lith. *pláu-ju*) and so forth. But there is practically no objection to regarding them, as many scholars do, as corruptions for Aeolic forms of Class II, *πλεύω* = **πλεϝ-ω*.

§ 713. Type *B*. *χαίρω*, *σπαίρω*, *σκάλλω*, *μαίνομαι*, *βαίνω*, *θυίω*, *τΐω*, *φθΐω*, **ῥάζω* 'I do', *φράζω*, *λίσσωμεν*, *σχίζω*, *πεφυζότες*, *κασσύω*, *πτύω*, *δέω*, *δαίω* 'I divide', see §§ 706 f. pp. 233 ff. *φθαίρω*, *αἴρω*, *κταίνω*, see § 712. *βάλλω* 'I throw' for **βαλ-ι̯ω* **g̑l̥-i̯ō*, √ *gel-*. *καίνω* 'I kill' probably for **καμ-ι̯ω*, compare *καμόντες* 'the dead' (then *ἔκανον* got *ν* from the present): Skr.

śā́m-ya-ti 'becomes still, is extinguisht' for **k̑m̥̄-i̯e-ti* (καίνω differently explained by Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 428, 432; Fick, I⁴ 43). πτύρω 'I make shy', cp. Lat. *cōn-ster-nā-re*, σύρω 'I drag' cp. σαίρω 'I sweep' (with *r̥i̯*), σκύλλω 'I tear to pieces, towse, worry' cp. Lith. *skelù* (**skel-i̯ù*) 'I split'; the *υ* of this form needs explanation. δίω 'I beseech, fly, fear' doubtless for *δι-ι̯ω: Skr. *dī́-ya-ti* 'flies'; of type *A*, Lett. *dêi-ju* 'I dance' (inf. *dî-t*); the forms δίετε δίεται and such like were associated with ἵετε ἵεται, and this caused the formation of ἐν-δίεσαν δίεμαι and others by analogy of the parts of ἵημι. φράσσω 'I enclose' for *φρακ-ι̯ω: Lat. *farc-iō* with *ar* = *r̥̄*, connected with *frequ-ēns*. μάσσω 'I press, knead' ground-form **m̥ŋq-i̯ō* √‾*menq-*, cp. the forms, belonging to Class XXXII, O.C.Sl. *męčą* (2nd sing. *męči-ši*) 'I soften' (inf. *męči-ti*) Lith. *mìnkau* 'I knead' inf. *mìnky-ti*). σκάζω 'I limp' ground-form **sq̥ŋg-i̯ō*, akin to Skr. *khánj-a-ti* 'limps'. νίζω 'I wash' ground-form **nig-i̯ō*: Skr. pass. *nij-ya-tē*. στίζω 'I prick, pierce' for *στιγ-ι̯ω: O.H.G. *sticch(i)u* 'I stitch' (§ 722). λίσσομαι 'I pray' for λιτ-ι̯ο-μαι, cp. λιτ-έ-σθαι, Class II *B*. κνίζω 'I scratch, prick, stir up' for *κνιδ-ι̯ω, beside O.Icel. *hnīt* 'I knock against, hurt with a knock' Class II *A*. ὀρύσσω 'I dig' for *ὀρυκ-ι̯ω: Lith. *rauk-iù* 'I wrinkle', (*A*). ἀπο-μύττω 'I blow my nose' for *μυκ-ι̯ω: Skr. pass. *muc-yá-tē* 'is set free'; Lith. *mauk-iù* 'I scratch slightly, touch softly', type *A*.

The theory that ὄζω 'I swell', for *ὀδ-ι̯ω, does not belong to type *A*, is doubtful, in spite of an appeal to Lith. *ů́d-žiu* 'I smell'; it is also uncertain to which section belongs ὄσσομαι 'I see', for **oq-i̯o-* (cp. I § 319 p. 258). It is risky to connect ὄσσομαι with Goth. *ah-ja* 'I believe, surmise'.

Forms with Idg. *-ii̯o-*. ἰδ-ίω 'I sweat' is usually connected directly with Skr. *svid-ya-ti* O.H.G. *swizzu*. If that is so, ἐξ-ίδῑσα is due to the analogy of denominatives in *-i-i̯ō-* and ἰδῑω (Aristoph.) is a reformate like κονίω (§ 775). ἐσθ-ίω beside ἔσθω 'esse' for **ed + dhō*, cp. § 694 p. 223, § 765. A form *φίω = Idg. **bhu̯-ii̯ō* follows from φῖ-τυ 'sprout, shoot, scion' φῖ-τυ-ς 'begetter', which must have been derived from it

as though the verbal stem were *φι-* (§ 707 p. 235); a similar origin must be supposed for Lat. *fī-tu-m cupī-tu-s* and others (§§ 715 ff.).

§ 714. The identity of ending in *σφάξω ἔσφαξα* (*σφαγ-* 'slay') and forms like *φράξω ἔφραξα* (*φρακ-* 'enclose') produced *σφάττω* as a bye-form to *σφάζω*, by analogy with *φράττω*. *Vice versa*, we have *βράζω* in late Greek instead of *βράττω* (*βρατ-* 'seethe, bluster, roar') by analogy of such words as *φράζω* (*φραδ-* 'give to understand'), because almost all the forms of verbs in *-τ-*, *-θ-*, and *-δ-* are alike except in the present stem, *ἔβρασ(σ)α* like *ἔφρασ(σ)α*, and so forth. See Mucke, De Consonarum in Greca lingua geminatione, I (1883) pp. 17 ff.; Osthoff, Perfect 296 ff. and 322 f.

As regards the relation of *μαίνομαι* to *ἐμάνην μεμάνημαι μεμανηώς μανήσομαι*, or of *χαίρω* to *ἐχάρην κεχαρηώς κεχαρήσω*, see § 708 pp. 238 ff.

§ 715. Italic. In Latin, post-consonantal *-i̯ō* became *-iō*, just as **medi̯u-s* became *mediu-s* (I § 135 p. 122); thus *morior* for **mori̯ō(r) *mr̥i̯ō*. In Oscan, *-ii̯o-* is seen in heriiad 'velit', and other words.

Lat. *in-ciēns* for **-cu̯-i̯e-* (as *sociu-s* for **socu̯-i̯o-s*, vol. I *loc. cit.*) beside *qu-eō* = Skr. *śv-áyāmi* (§ 790). So also *farciō* for **farcu̯-i̯ō* beside *frequ-ēns*.

Why we have now *-i-* and now *-ī-*, as in *cap-i-s farc-ī-s*, no rule has so far been discovered to show. Often enough the same verb has both quantities, as *morĭ-mur* and *morī-mur*; so that we find in Latin both the peculiarities which we saw divided between Baltic and Slavonic (Lith. *mìrdi-me* O.C.Sl. *smrĭdi-mŭ*). In Umbrian and Oscan all the recorded forms have *-ī-* — doubtless an accident: Umbr. heris *hereitu heritu* beside *heriest* 'volet' cp. Skr. *hár-ya-ti*, *an-ovihimu* 'induimino' (*ihi* = *ī*) beside Lith. *avìù* 'I wear something on my feet' (1st pl. *ãvi-me*).

As the present stems of which Lat. *farciō* is one were inflected just like denominatives in *-i-i̯o-* (§ 777), it cannot be

wondered at that the analogy of these denominatives caused non-present forms with *-ī-* to be coined, such as *farcī-tus* beside *fartu-s* from *farciō*; cp. § 713 on Gr. *ἐξ-ίδῖσα* and *φῑ-τυ*.

In the lists which follow below, *i* or *ī* is added in brackets to show the quantity of the weak-grade vowel in the 2nd singular etc.; and it is stated whether *ī* is ever found outside the present stem.

§ 716. Type *A*. Lat. *ap-(v)eriō op-(v)eriō* (*ī*, *aper-uī aper-tu-s operī-mentu-m*): Lith. *ùž-veriu*, see § 706 p. 233. *fer-iō* (*ī*, *feriī feri-tūru-s*): Lith. *bar-iù* 'I scold' O.C.Sl. *bor-ją* 'I fight' and probably O.Icel. *ber* 'I strike' (inf. *berja*) from the ground-form **bhr̥̄-i̯ō*, type *B*. Ital. *her-i̯o- her-ii̯o- her-ī-* in Umbr. heris *heriest hereitu* Osc. heriiad, see § 706 p. 233, § 715. Lat. *spec-iō* (*i*, *spec-tu-s*): Skr. *páś-ya-ti*, see § 706 p. 234. Umbr. *an-ovihimu* 'induimino': Lith. *av-iù* 'I wear something on my feet (1st pl. *āv-i-me* inf. *avė́-ti*) and Lett. *áu-ju* 'I put something on my feet' (1st pl. *áu-ja-m* inf. *áu-t*) O.C.Sl. *(ob-)u-ją*, same meaning (1st pl. *-u-je-mŭ* inf. *-u-ti*). Lat. *pav-iō* (*ī*, *pavī-vī pavī-tus*): Lith. *piáu-ju* 'I cut, mow, slay' (*piū-tì-s* 'slice, harvest'). *haur-iō* (*ī*, *haus-tu-s haurī-tu-s*). *jac-iō* (*i*, *jac-tu-s*). *crōc-iō* (*ī*, subst. *crōcī-tu-s*), see § 706 p. 234.

To the same group must belong Lat. *nōlī nōlīte*, from a lost verb **veliō*; cp. O.C.Sl. *velją velě-ti* 'to command', O.H.G. 1st sing. *willu* 'I wish' Goth. *viljan viljands*, see § 505 p. 69.

stō (Idg. **stā-i̯ō*) came under the influence of presents like *in-trō* for **-tr-ā-i̯ō*; hence *stās* etc. See § 584 Rem. p. 126. A similar explanation may be given of *for fātur*, see § 495 p. 56 and § 706 p. 234.

§ 717. Type *B*. Lat. *mor-ior* (*i* or *ī*, *mor-tuo-s mori-tūru-s*), Avest. *mereᵉ-ye̜-iti*, see § 707 p. 235. *or-ior* (*i* or *ī*, *or-tu-s ori-tūrus*), ground-form **r̥-i̯o-*, akin to Skr. *r̥-ṇó-mi* § 639 p. 177. *par-iō* (*i*, *peperī par-tu-s pari-tūru-s*, *parīret*) for **pr̥̄-i̯ō* (I § 306 p. 242), *re-periō* 'I bring to light again, find'

(*ī*, *-pertu-s*): Lith. *per-iù* (1st pl. *pĕr-i-me*) type *A*. *fīō fī-s fiere fierī* (*fī-tu-m*, cp. Gr. *φῖ-τυ* § 713 p. 247): O.Ir. *b-iu* etc., Idg. **bhu̯-ii̯ō*, see § 707 p. 235; *f-īō f-īunt* (instead of **f-iō *f-iunt*) took *ī* from *fīs* etc., a peculiarity which is explained by the unique character of this verb — it is the only one in which the suffix *-iō* carried the chief accent; Osc. fiiet 'fiunt' with the ending -ent instead of *-ont* (p. 231 footnote). *suf-fiō* (*ī*, *-fī-vī -fī-tu-s*) ground-form **-dhu̯-ii̯ō*: cp. Skr. *dhū-yá-tē* etc., see § 707 p. 236. *in-ciēns* for **-cu̯-i̯e-*, cp. Gr. *ἐγ-κύω* 'I am pregnant' and Lat. *qu-eō* (§ 715 p. 248); probably *-ciēns*: *-κύω* = *fīō* (pr. Ital.**fu̯-ii̯ō*): *φύω* Lesb. *φυίω*. *cliēns*, from √ *k̂lei̯-* '-clinare' (Leo Meyer, Bezz. Beitr. v 182 f.), probably for **cli-i̯e-*: cp. Skr. pass. *śrī-ya-tē*. *grad-ior* (*i*, *gressu-s*; *ag-gredior* with *i* or *ī*): Skr. *gŕ̥dh-ya-ti*, see § 707 p. 236. *lac-iō* (*i*, *-lectu-s*) for **l̥k-*, beside O.H.G. *locchōn* 'to entice' (Osthoff, *M. U.* v p. iii). *farc-iō* (*ī*, *fartu-s farcī-tu-s*). *cup-iō* (*i*, *cuperet cupīret cupī-vī cupī-tu-s*): Skr. *kup-ya-ti* etc., see § 707 p. 236. *fug-iō* (*i*, *fūgī fugi-tūru-s*): Gr. *πεφυζότες*, see § 707 p. 236. *in-quiō in-quiunt* (*i*) for **sq-ii̯ō*, cp. *in-qu-a-m* (Class X § 583 p. 124) Gr. *ἐνι-σπ-ε* 'said', √ *seq-*.

suō (*sū-tu-s*) and *spuō* (*spū-tu-s*) probably for **sū-(i̯)ō *spū-(i̯)ō* as *neō* for **nē-(i̯)ō*: Gr. *κασσύω πτύω* etc., see § 707 p. 236.

§ **718.** It is often doubtful to which type, (A) or (B), a word belongs. *ven-iō* (*ī*, *vēnī in-ventu-s*), beside Skr. *-gam-yá-tē* etc., see § 707 p. 235. *cap-iō* (*i*, *cēpī cap-tu-s*): Goth. *haf-ja* O.H.G. *heff(i)u* 'I lift up'. *sap-iō* (*i*, *sap-uī sapī-vī*): O.H.G. *int-seff(i)u* 'I mark'. *ap-iō coepiō* (*i*, *aptu-s*); cp. § 600 p. 144 on Skr. *āp-nṓ-mi*. *sal-iō* (*ī*, *sal-uī saliī*): Gr. *ἅλλομαι* 'I leap' for *ἁλ-ι̯ο-*. *fod-iō* (*i*, *fossu-s*, *fodī-rī*).

§ **719.** Keltic. It is difficult to understand the Keltic inflexions, because the Third Conjugation in Irish has absorbed all Denominatives in *-i̯ō -e-i̯ō* and *-i-i̯ō*, and all Causals in *-ei̯ō*. General remarks on the *i̯o*-conjugations in § 702 pp. 229 f.

An account of the confusion in Irish between the First and Third Conjugations is given in § 520 p. 84.

Type *A.* O.Ir. *-lēciu* 'I leave, let' for **leikṷ-iō* (I § 436 Rem. p. 325): Skr. *ríc-ya-tē* etc., type *B*, see § 707 p. 236. *midiur* 'I give judgement or opinion', beside Gr. *μέδομαι* 'I meditate upon'. *-ciu* 'I see' for **ces-i̯ō.*

-tau -tō 'I am' for **stā-i̯ō*: Avest. *ā-stā-yā* etc., see § 706 p. 234. For the inflexion of this present stem see § 584 Rem. p. 126.

Type *B.* O.Ir. *do muiniur* 'I think, believe' for **man-i̯o-* Idg. **mn̥-i̯o-*: Gr. *μαίνομαι* etc., see § 707 p. 235. *-gainedar* 'is born' from √ *ĝen-*: cp. Gr. *γείνομαι*, type *A.* *biu* 'I am' for **bhṷ-ii̯ō*: Lat. *fīō* etc., see § 707 p. 235; the stem **bhṷ-ī-* must be contained in Mid.Cymr. imper. 3rd sing. *bit* 3rd pl. *bint* (but Mod.Cymr. *bydd-* for **bij-*), while *-ii̯e- -ii̯o-* is the suffix in Ir. 3rd sing. *biid bīth bīd* 3rd pl. *biit bīt* and 1st pl. *-biam* 3rd pl. *-biat.* *-gniu* 'I make 'for **ĝn-ii̯ō* √ *ĝen-* 'gignere', goes like *biu.*

Belonging to either (*A*) or (*B*): Mid.Ir. *airim* 'I plough': Goth. *ar-ja* Lith. *ar-iù.*

§ **720.** Germanic. On the *i̯o*-suffix here, see § 702 p. 230. There was a confusion between some persons of the present in this class and those of Denominatives in *-e-i̯ō* or *-i-i̯ō*, and Causals in *-ei̯ō.* This caused a general commingling of the forms, reaching to non-present stems; the course of which it is very difficult to trace.

Verner's Law (I § 529 pp. 384 ff.) proves that some verbs were accented on the root in proethnic Germanic: Goth. *haf-ja* O.H.G. *heff(i)u* Goth. *skaþ-ja* (pret. *skōþ*), beside O.H.G. *int--seff(i)u.* See § 705 p. 233. In *skaþ-ja* the accent seems to have been shifted, as in Skr. *ŕ̥j-ya-ti* etc. (§ 710 p. 245); for Gr. *ἀ-σκηθής* 'scatheless', which must be connected with *skaþ-ja* (pret. *skōþ*), points to a √ *skāth-.* That Germanic inherited forms with an accented suffix, type *B* (cp. *mr-iyá-tē tud-yá-tē*) seems to follow from O.Sax. *thiggian* A.S. *đicʒean*

'to receive, assume' from √*teq-* (Lith. *tèk-ti* 'to reach') and A.S. *fricȝean* 'to experience' from √*prek̑-* (Lat. *precārī*).

On present stems with *-i̯o-* as bye-forms of the *ē*-present, such as O.Sax. *hebbiu* beside O.H.G. *habē-m* (Goth. *haba habái-s*), see § 708 pp. 238 ff.

§ 721. Type *A*. O.H.G. *wirk(i)u* 'I work' (pret. *worhta worahta*): Gr. ἔρδω, see § 706 p. 234; parallel *B*-stems O.H.G. *wurk(i)u* Goth. *vaúrkja*. O.H.G. *liggh(i)u* 'I lie' (pret. *lag*), O.Icel. *ligg* (inf. *liggja*) from √*legh-*; Goth. *liga* instead of **ligja* follows *ligis* etc., as in later O.H.G. we get *ligu* instead of *ligg(i)u* following *ligis* etc. (§ 702 p. 230). O.H.G. *sizzu* 'I sit' (pret. *saȝ*), O.Icel. *sit* (inf. *sitja*): compare probably πιέζω 'I press' (lit. 'I sit upon') for *πι-σεδ-ι̯ω (cp. Skr. pass. *pīḍyatē* for **pi-zd-i̯e-*), perhaps also ἕζομαι (see § 563 p. 111); Goth. *sita* like *liga*. Goth. *ga-hvatja* 'I incite' (part. *hvassa* 'whetted, sharp') O.H.G. *wezzu* 'I whet, sharpen' (pret. *wazta*), beside Skr. *cud-* (pres. *cṓda-ti*) 'to inflame, incite'. Goth. *hlah-ja* 'I laugh' (prep. *hlōh*). Goth. *saia* O.H.G. *sāu* 'I sow', pr. Germ. **sē-i̯ō* : Lith. *sė́-ju*, see § 706 p. 234. O.H.G. *tāu* 'I suckle' ground-form **dhē-i̯ō* beside Goth. *da-ddja* (*B*), see § 707 p. 237.

§ 722. Type *B*. O.Icel. *ber* 'I strike' (inf. *berja*, pret. *barđa*) pr. Germ. **bar-i̯ō* ground-form **bhr̥̄-i̯ō*: Lith. *bar-iù*, see § 716 p. 249. Goth. *hul-ja* (pret. *hulida*) O.H.G. *hull(i)u* (pret. *hulta*) 'I cover, hide' ground-form **kl̥-i̯ō*, beside O.H.G. *hilu* 'I conceal'. O.Icel. *symja* 'to swim' beside *svima*, pret. *svam*, pr. Germ. **s(u̯)um-i̯a-*. A.S. *beó* 'I am' ground-form **bh(u̯)-ii̯ō*, 2nd and 3rd sing. *bis biđ* 3rd pl. *beóđ* (part. *beónde*), O.H.G. 2nd sing. *bis bist* (for its 1st sing. we have *bim*, see § 507 pp. 73 f.): Lat. *fīō* etc., see § 707 p. 235. O.Icel. *dȳ* 'I shake' (inf. *dȳ-ja*, pret. *dū-đa*): Skr. *dhū-yá-tē* etc., see § 707 p. 236. O.Icel. *lȳ* 'I destroy, shatter, crush' (inf. *lȳ-ja*, pret. *lū-đa*): Gr. λύω (cp. § 527 Rem. 2 pp. 90 f.). Goth. *vaúrk-ja* (pret. *vaúrhta*) O.H.G. *wurk(i)u* (pret. *worhta*) 'I work' beside O.H.G. *wirk(i)u*, type *A*: Avest. *verᵉz-yę-iti* etc., see § 707 p. 236,

§ 721. Goth. *þaúrseiþ mik* 'I thirst', lit. 'it thirsts me' (pret. *þaúrsida*): Skr. *tŕ̥ṣ-ya-ti* 'thirsts'. O.H.G. *gurt-(i)u* 'I gird' (pret. *gurta*), beside Goth. *gaírda* Class II *A*. O.H.G. *wurg(i)u* 'I throttle' (pret. *wurcta*): Lett. *wirſchu* 'I jerk' (inf. *wirſt*): parallel we have Lett. *werſchu* (*we'rſchu* and *wérſchu*) 'I turn, twist' Lith. *verž-iù* 'I tie', type *A*. Goth. *þugk-ja* 'I think' (pret. *þūh-ta*); parallel *þagk-ja*, which may answer to Lat. *tongeō*, see § 894. Goth. *bug-ja* 'I buy' (pret. *baúhta*). Goth. *bidja* O.H.G. *bitt(i)u* 'I beg, pray', ground-form **bhidh-i̯ō* √ *bhei̯dh-*, whose pret. is *baþ bat* following words like *sat* (I § 67 Rem. 3 p. 57); Goth. *us-bida* O.H.G. *bitu* a re-formate like *liga*, see § 702 p. 230. O.H.G. *int-rihhit* 'revelat', later *-rīhhit* (part. *int-rigan*). O.H.G. *sticch(i)u* 'I embroider, stitch' (part. *ki-stickit*): Gr. *στίζω*, see § 713 p. 247. O.H.G. *swizzu* 'I sweat' (pret. *swizta*): Skr. *svid-ya-ti* 'sweats': the suffix *-i̯i̯o-* is perhaps seen in Gr. *ἱδ-ίω* (§ 713 p. 247). Goth. *skaþ-ja* 'I hurt' (pret. *skōþ*), cp. Gr. *ἀ-σκηθής* 'unscathed', § 720 p. 251. O.H.G. *ita-ruch(i)u* 'rumino': Lith. *rúg-iu* 'I gulp, belch'. O.H.G. *scutt(i)u* 'I shake, shatter' (pret. *scutta*): cp. Lat. *quat-iō -cutiō*.

Goth. *siu-ja* 'I sew': Gr. *κασσύω* etc., O.Icel. *spȳ* 'I spew' (pret. *spjō* and *spūđa*): Gr. *πτύω* etc. See § 707 p. 236. Goth. *da-ddja* 'I give suck': Skr. *dhā́-ya-ti* etc., see § 707 p. 237.

§ 723. We are often in doubt whether forms belong to (*A*) or (*B*). Goth. *haf-ja* O.H.G. *heff(i)u* 'I lift up' (pret. *hōf*, *huob*): Lat. *cap-iō*. O.H.G. *int-seff(i)u* 'I mark' (pret. *-suab*): Lat. *sap-iō*. Goth. *ar-ja* O.H.G. *er-iu* 'I plough' (pret. O.H.G. *iar ier*): Mid.Ir. *airim* Lith. *ar-iù* O.C.Sl. *or-ją* 'I plough'. O.H.G. *swer-iu* 'I swear' (pret. *swuor*).

In quite a large number of the above named verbs with weak preterites it is doubtful whether the original ending of the present ought not rather to be assumed as *-éi̯o* (Class XXXII). Thus, for example, Goth. *hulja* may be derived from **kl̥l-éi̯ō*, with the same weak root-syllable as is found in Skr. *turáya-ti* and elsewhere (§ 790).

§ 724. Balto-Slavonic. We first deal with forms of which the type is seen in Lith. *lèž-iù lèž-ia-me* O.C.Sl. *bor-ją bor-je-mŭ*. Next, the type Lith. *smìrd-žiù smìrd-i-me* O.C.Sl. *smrĭždą smrĭd-i-mŭ* (see § 702 pp. 230 f.). These are combined with a different formation in the infinitive stem, for which reason we add the infinitive in each case.

§ 725. 1. Forms with *-i̯o- -i̯e-* running right though.

Type *A*. Lith. *ùž-veriu* 'I close, shut' (*-ver-ti*): Lat. *op-(v)eriō*, see § 706 p. 233. *ger-iù* 'I drink' (*gér-ti*). *kelù* (**kel-i̯ù*) 'I lift, raise' (*kél-ti*). *želù* (**žel-i̯ù*) 'I grow green' (*žél-ti*). O.C.Sl. *mel-ją* 'I grind' (*mlěti* for **mel-tĭ*). *stel-ją* 'I stretch out, spread' (*stĭla-ti*). *sten-ją* 'I sigh' (*stena-ti*): Gr. *στείνω*, see § 706 p. 233. *vem-iù* 'I vomit' (*vém-ti*).

Lith. *pláu-ju* 'I wash, lave, rinse' (*pláu-ti*), O.C.Sl. *plu-ją* 'I swim, sail on board ship' (*plu-ti*, parallel *plovą plu-ti*), ground-form **pleu̯-i̯ō*. Lett. *áu-ju* (*áu-t*) O.C.Sl. *(ob-)u-ją* (*-u-ti*) 'put on covering to the feet' (Lith. *aunù* instead of older **au-ju*), ground-form **eu̯-i̯ō*, cp. Lith. intrans. *av-iù av-ė́-ti* § 727. Lith. *száu-ja* 'I shoot' (*száu-ti*), O.C.Sl. *su-ją* 'I throw, sling' (*sov-a-ti*), ground-form **sk̑eu̯-i̯ō*.

Lett. *léi-ju* (*lī́-t*) Lith. *lê-ju* (*lê-ti*) 'I pour' for **lei̯-i̯ō*, compare perhaps with O.C.Sl. *li-ją* 'I pour'. Lett. *sléi-ju* (*slī́-t*) Lith. *szlë-jù* (*szlë́-ti*) 'I lean against, support', cp. Lith. *szlei-vi-s szlei-va-s* 'bandy-legged', √*k̑lei̯-*. Lett. *sméi-ju* 'I laugh' (*smī́-t*), √*smei̯-*. Lith. *lê-ju szlë-jù*, possibly for the regular **lei-ju *szlei-ju* by analogy of *lê-ti lê-tu* etc., cp. I § 68 Rem. 2 p. 61.[1]) O.C.Sl. *li-ją* may be placed under Type *B* (§ 726) along with Lith. *ly-jù* 'I rain' *pa-szly-ju* 'stumble'. Parallel are *lĕją* and *lěją*, also *směją sę* 'I laugh' *zěją* 'hio'. These latter forms, analysed as *lěj-ą směj-ą zěj-ą*, belong with *sěk-ą* 'I hew, cut' to Class II *A* (cp. Gr. *μήδομαι* etc. § 514 p. 81), and

1) Unsatisfactory as this hypothesis seems, I think it better than the one set forth by Hirt in Idg. Forsch. I 33 ff.

we must connect with them the Lettic preterites *léj-u sméj-u sléj-u.*[1]).

Lith. *verczių̀* 'I turn' (*ver̃s-ti*). *verk-ių̀* 'I cry' (*ver̃k-ti*). *szelp-ių̀* 'I help, support' (*szel̃p-ti*). *sreb-ių̀* 'I sip, lap' *srẽp-ti*; also *srėb-ių̀* (by levelling with *srėbiaũ srẽpti*) and *srob-ių̀* (*srõp-ti*). O.C.Sl. *črěplją* 'I make, create' for **kerp-ją* (*črěpa-ti*). *plěžą* 'I crawl' for **pelz-ją* (*plěza-ti*).

Lith. *blend-žiù'-s* 'I grow dark', said of the sun (pret. *blendžiaũ-s*).

Lith. *láuk-iu* 'I wait for, expect' (*láuk-ti*): Gr. λεύσσω, see § 706 p. 234. *rauk-ių̀* 'I wrinkle' *raũk-ti* √*reu̯q-*, cp. Gr. ὀρύσσω (*B*) § 713 p. 247. *mauk-ių̀* 'I rub smooth' (*maũk-ti*) √*meu̯q-*, cp. Skr. *muc-yá-tē* etc., see § 713 p. 247. *praus-ių̀* 'I wash my face' (*praũs-ti*), cp. Skr. *vi-pruṣya-ti* 'spurts out, trickles'.

Lith. *lëž-ių̀* (*lësz-ti*) O.C.Sl. *ližą* (*liza-ti*) 'I lick', ground-form **lei̯ǵh-i̯ō*, cp. Skr. par. *lih-ya-tē*, (*B*). Lith. *pësz-iu* (*pësz-ti*) O.C.Sl. *pišą* (*pĭsa-ti pisa-ti*) 'I write', ground-form **pei̯k̑-i̯ō*, cp. Skr. *piś-yá-tē* 'is made ready, fitted up', (*B*). Lith. *žëd-žiu* 'I form, shape' (*žësti*), O.C.Sl. *žiždą* 'I form, build' (*zĭda-ti*).

Lett. *dedſu* 'I burn' trans. for **deg-i̯u* (*deg-t*): Skr. *dah-ya-ti*, pass. *dah-yá-tē*, √*dhegh-*. O.C.Sl. *češą* 'I strip off, comb' (*česa-ti*), √*qes-*.

Lith. *rëž-iu* 'I cut, tear' (*rësz-ti*), O.C.Sl. *rěžą* 'I cut' (*rěza-ti*). Lith. *jëg-ių̀* 'I have power, I can' (*jẽk-ti*), beside Gr. ἥβη. Lith. *ů'd-žiu* 'I smell' (*ů'sti*), cp. Gr. ὄζω § 713 p. 247. O.C.Sl. *plačą* 'I cry, lament' (*plaka-ti*): Gr. πλήσσω, see § 706 p. 234. Lith. *krok-ių̀ krog-ių̀* 'I give the death rattle, grunt' (*krõk-ti*): Gr. κρώζω etc., see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. *spë-ju* 'I have leisure or space' (*spë-ti*), O.C.Sl. *spě-ją* 'I succeed' (*spě-ti*): Skr. *sphā-ya-tē*, see § 706 p. 234. Lith. *sė-ju* (*sė-ti*) O.C.Sl. *sě-ją* (*sě-ti*) 'I sow': Goth. *saia*, see § 706 p. 234. Lett. *dé-ju* 'I lay eggs' (*dé-t*), O.C.Sl. *dě-ją* 'I lay,

1) Zubatý's derivation of *zěją* from **zi̯ā-i̯ą* (Lith. *žió-ju*) is wild in the extreme (Archiv slav. Phil. XIII 623).

set, place' (dḗ-ti): Skr. 3rd sing. mid. a-dhā-ya-ta 'he placed for himself'. Lith. stó-jů-s 'I place myself, take my stand' (stó-ti-s), O.C.Sl. sta-ją 'I place myself' (inf. sta-ja-ti): Avest. ā-stā-yā etc., see § 706 p. 234.

Lith. *spiáu-ju* (*spiáu-ti*) O.C.Sl. *pl̥ju-ją* (*pl̥ĭva-ti*) 'I vomit', cp. Gr. πτύω etc., (*B*); see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. *žu-ją* 'I chew', a bye-form of *žĭv-ą*, Class II *B*, § 534 p. 95.

§ 726. Type *B*. Lith. *dir-iù* 'I flay' (*dir-ti*): Skr. *dīr-yá-tē*, see § 707 p. 235. *spir-iù* 'I kick' (*spìr-ti*): Gr. σπαίρω, see *ibid*. *skir-iù* 'I part, cut' (*skìr-ti*) √ *sqer-*. *gir-iù* 'I praise' (*gìr-ti*), beside *gẽr-as* 'good'. Lith. *bar-iù* 'I scold' beside *bar-ù* (*bár-ti*), O.C.Sl. *bor-ją* 'I fight' (*brati* for **bor-tī*), ground-form **bhṛ-i̯ō*: O.Icel. *ber* 'I strike' (inf. *berja*) for pr. Germ. **bar-i̯ō*, which probably comes from a form **bhṛ-i̯ō*; on the other hand, we have Lat. *fer-iō* following type *A* (§ 716 p. 249). Lith. *skilù* (**skil-i̯ù*) 'I strike fire, kindle' (*skìl-ti*): Gr. σκάλλω, see § 707 p. 235. Lith. *kalù* (**kal-i̯ù*) 'I strike, forge' beside *kal-ù* (*kál-ti*), O.C.Sl. *kol-ją* 'I slaughter' (*klati* for **kol-tī*), ground-form **ql̥-i̯ō*.

O.C.Sl. *žĭn-ją* 'I cut off, reap' (*žę-ti*): Skr. *han-yá-tē*, see § 707 p. 235.

O.C.Sl. *ry-ją* 'I grub up, dig' (*ry-ti*) beside *rŭv-ą* 'I tear out', Class II *B*, O.H.G. *riu-ti* 'land made fruitful by digging'; Lith. *ráu-ju* 'I pull out of the earth, pull up' (*ráu-ti*), (*A*). Lith. *ly-jù* 'I rain' (*lý-ti*) with which O.C.Sl. *li-ją* is perhaps connected; parallel Lith. *lḗ-ju*, (*A*), § 725 p. 254. Lith. *gy-jù* 'I get well, revive' (*gý-ti*).

Lith. *rúg-iu* 'I gulp, belch' (*rúk-ti*): O.H.G. *ita-ruch(i)u* 'rumino'. *grúd-žiu* 'I stamp' (*grús-ti*). O.C.Sl. *sŭšą* 'I dry' for **such-i̯ą* (*sŭcha-ti*): Skr. *śúṣ-ya-ti*, see § 707 p. 236. *lŭžą* 'I lie' for **lŭg-i̯a* (*lŭga-ti*). *pĭšą* 'I strike, rub' (*pĭcha-ti*): Skr. *piṣ-yá-tē* 'is broken or crushed to bits'.

Lett. *schu-ju* for **si̯u-i̯u* (pret. *schuw-u* inf. *schû-t*), O.C.Sl. *šiją* for **si̯ū-i̯ą* (*ši-ti*) 'I sew': Gr. κασσύω etc., see § 707 p. 236.

§ 727. (2) Forms with *-i̯o- : -ī-*. There is no evidence that *-i̯o-* was originally dissyllabic. This cannot be inferred from the Lithuanian *av-iù srav-iù* (1st pl. *ãv-i-me srãv-i-me*) as contrasted with *pláu-ju* (1st pl. *pláu-ja-me*); these may have been influenced by persons with the stem *av-i- srav-i-*. The weak grade is regularly *-ĭ-* in Lithuanian (compare future with *-s-i-*, § 761) and in Slavonic regularly *-ī-*. It appears also in the 3rd plural and the participle, Lith. *smirdint-* O.C.Sl. *smrĭdęt-*, while here the original form was most likely *-i̯o-*; on O.C.Sl. *smrĭd-ęt-* for *-int-*, see § 637 Rem. p. 176.

Idg. **bhu̯-ii̯o- *bhu̯-ī-* from √*bheu̯-* 'become, be' (§ 707 p. 235) has many descendants in Balto-Slavonic. Lith. 3rd sing. *bi-ti bì-t* 'erat' (erant)', which is irregular in having a primary personal ending; plural 1st pers. *sùktum-bime* 2nd *-bite* dual 1st *-biva* 2nd *-bita*, old injunctives, first used with preterite meaning, now in clauses expressing a wish.[1]) With the pr. Lith. present **bijù* is closely parallel the Lettic preterite *biju* 'eram' *biji bija* pl. *bijám biját*, which is related to Lat. *fīam* (instead of **fiam*) as Lith. *buvaũ* to Lat. *fuam*. Along with these goes the Slavonic conditional (impossible condition), originally a preterite injunctive formation, made up with *bi-mĭ bi bi bi-mŭ*;[2]) the 1st sing. has got a primary personal ending, like Lith. 3rd sing. *biti*. For the 2nd pl. they used *biste*, a form of the *s*-aorist; to fill up gaps, the 1st pl. *bichomŭ* and 3rd pl. *bišę* were coined by analogy (cp. O.C.Sl. *běchomŭ* from *bě* § 587 p. 128, and Lat. *fītum* Gr. *φῖτυ*). For 3rd pl. was used *bą* (beside *bišę*), also injunctive in origin, Class II *B* (§ 523 p. 87).

Remark. The view of these forms set forth by Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 136 ff., is untenable. O.C.Sl. *bi-mŭ* cannot be separated from Lith. *-bi-me*; and to regard this Lith. form as an optative with orig. *-i-* is

1) The 2nd sing. *-bei* admits of several explanations. It probably is akin to O.C.Sl. 2nd and 3rd sing. *bě* Gr. *ἔφυη-ς ἔφυη* (§ 587 pp. 127 ff.).

2) In the same way were used the aorist forms *bychŭ by by bychomŭ* etc.

opposed to phonetic law as completely as the assumption that Lith. *dū́sim(e)* 'dabimus' is optative of the *s*- aorist (cp. § 761).

With the remaining Balto-Slavonic verbs of this class we find regularly an infinitive stem in *-ē*, as Lith. *smirdė́-ti* O.C.Sl. *smrĭdě-ti* beside *smìrdžiu smrĭždą* (cp. O.C.Sl. *bě běchŭ běachŭ* beside *bi-mŭ*, like *smrĭdě smrĭděchŭ smrĭděachŭ* beside *smrĭdi-mŭ*). This, as we saw in § 708 pp. 238 ff., has a parallel in Greek; for instance, *μαίνομαι*: *ἐμάνην μεμανηώς μεμάνημαι μανήσομαι* = O.C.Sl. *mĭnją*: *mĭně mĭněvŭ mĭněchŭ* (Lith. *mìnė minė́siu*). In Italic and Germanic, there are only some parallel *i̯o*-presents, as Lat. *nōlī* O.H.G. *willu* Goth. *viljan*: O.C.Sl. *velją*; O.Sax. pl. *libbiad* partic. *libbiandi*: O.C.Sl. *-lĭpljạ*. Here we usually find presents in *ē*, as Lat. *valeō*: Lith. *galù*, O.H.G. *lebēm*: O.C.Sl. *-lĭpljạ*.

Lith. *tylù* (i. e. **tyl-i̯ù*) *tylė́-ti* 'to be still' (long *ī*-sound not original): O.H.G. *dolē-m* 'I suffer, endure', √ *tel-* 'carry, bear'. O.C.Sl. *mĭnją mĭně-ti* 'to think': Skr. *mán-ya-tē*, Gr. *μαίνομαι*, O.Ir. *do muiniur* Goth. *muna* 'I bethink me, think of, wish' 2nd sing. *munáis*, see § 707 p. 235. Lith. *girdžiù girdė́-ti* 'I apprehend, hear': Gr. *φράζω*, see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. *drĭžą drĭža-ti* 'contain, possess': Skr. *dṛ́h-ya-ti* 'makes fast'. O.C.Sl. *-lĭplją -lĭpě-ti* 'to cling to': Skr. pass. *lip-ya-tē* 'is smeared or anointed', O.Sax. *libbiu* O.H.G. *lebē-m* 'I live' (the O.Icel. *lifa* 'to be over, remain, live' helps to make clear how one meaning came out of the other). Lith. *pa-výdžiu -vydė́ti* 'invidere' O.C.Sl. *viždą viděti* 'to see': Skr. *vid-yá-tē* 'is known, recognised, found', Lat. *videō*, Goth. *vita* 'to look at a thing, observe' 2nd sing. *vitái-s*. O.C.Sl. *bŭžda bŭdě-ti* 'to wake, watch': Skr. *búdh-ya-tē* 'awakes, perceives' pass. *budh-yá-tē*. O.C.Sl. *rŭždą rŭdě-ti* 'to blush': Lat. *rubeō*. O.C.Sl. *kyplją kypě-ti* 'to boil, seethe': Skr. *kup-ya-ti*, Lat. *cupiō*, see § 707 p. 236. O.C.Sl. *stoją stoja-ti* 'to stand': Skr. pass. *sthī-ya-tē* instead of **stha-ya-tē*, O.H.G. 2nd sing. *stēs* for **sta-i̯i-zi*, see § 706 p. 234, § 708 p. 240.

O.C.Sl. *govlją gově-ti* 'venerari, vereri', pres. also *gověją*:

Lat. *faveō*. Lith. *galù* (i. e. **gal-i̯u*) *galė́-ti* 'to be able': Lat. *valeō* (otherwise Bezzenberger, in his Beitr. xvi 256).

O.C.Sl. *velją velě-ti* 'to command': Lat. *nōlī*, O.H.G. *willu* 'I wish' Goth. *viljan* 'to wish', see § 505 p. 69, § 716 p. 249. Lith. *aviù avė́-ti* 'to be shod': Umbr. *an-ovihimu* √ *eu̯-*, see § 716 p. 249.

Lastly it should be mentioned that in Balto-Slavonic the non-present *ē*-forms are found along with other than *i̯o*-present stems: e. g. Lith. *menù minė́ti* 'to think of', *gélbu gélbėti* 'to help', *gedù gedė́ti* 'to lament, mourn', *bundù budė́ti* 'to watch', *sė́dmi sėdė́ti* 'to sit, O.C.Sl. part. pres. *gorąt-* beside *gorę-t-* 'burning' from inf. *gorěti*, partic. *vidomŭ* 'ὁρώμενος' beside *vidimŭ* from inf. *viděti*. The same thing is seen in Greek, as ἐθέλω : ἐθελήσω, νέμω : νενέμημαι etc. (Curt. Verb. I² 384 ff.), and doubtless in Germanic, as Goth. *haba habam haband* may well belong to Class II (§ 708 pp. 239 f.).

Class XXVII.

Reduplicated Root + *-i̯o-* *-ii̯o-* forming the Present Stem.

§ 728. (*A*). Pr. Idg. There was a *i̯o*-Class with complete reduplication, closely connected with Classes VII and VIII. As regards the type of the reduplicating syllable see §§ 465—467, 470, and 474. Compare, for instance, Skr. *dē-diš-yá-tē* beside *dḗ-diš-ṭe*, *varī-vr̥t-yá-tē* beside *várī-vart-ti*. Probably the mode of conjugation with *-i̯o-* was occasioned by that of Class VII; cp. § 703 pp. 231 f.

Skr. *vē-vij-yá-tē* 'makes for, rushes against anything' and Gr. ᾄττω Hom. ἀΐσσω 'I rush towards' for *ϝαι-ϝικ-i̯ω, apparently from √ *u̯aˣi̯q-* *u̯aˣi̯g-* (§ 465 p. 12).

§ 729. Aryan. Only a few examples in Vedic, but later this type of Intensive spread very widely. *car-cūr-yá-tē* from *car-* 'to move'. *nan-nam-yá-tē* from *nam-* 'to bow, incline'.

nē-nī-yá-tē from *nī-* 'to lead'. *cō-ṣkū-yá-tē* from *sku-* 'to cover'. *mar-mṛj-yá-tē marī-mṛj-ya-tē* from *marj-* 'to sweep off, wipe away'. *kani-krad-yá-tē* from *krand-* 'to roar'. *vē-viṣ-ya-tē* from *viṣ-* 'to be active'. *nō-nud-ya-tē* from *nud-* 'to knock away'. *cā-kaś-ya-tē* from *kāś-* 'to appear'. In Avestic there seems to be only one example, *rā-riš-yę-iti* 'hurts, wounds', cp. Skr. *ríṣ-ya-ti* 'injures'.

§ 730. Greek. ἀΐττω for *ϝαι-ϝικ-ι̯ω; see § 728 p. 259. γαρ-γαίρω (for *-γαρ-ι̯ω) 'I swarm'; μαρ-μαίρω 'I shimmer, glitter'. With πορ-φύρω 'I well up, heave, change colour' μορ-μύρω 'I roar, murmur' cp. πτύρω § 713 p. 247. παμ-φαίνω (√ *bhā-*) shows a nasal suffix like φαίνω for *φα-ν-ι̯ω; parallel Hom. παμφανόωσα. On παι-φάσσω, παι-πάλλω, ποι-φύσσω and the like, see § 465 Rem. p. 12.

§ 731. Italic. Lat. *tin-tinnio* (ī) beside *tinniō*. *gin-griō* (ī) beside *garriō* (cp. § 466 p. 13).

Of Keltic forms may be placed here the isolated Mid.Ir. *der-drethar* 'sounds, cries out' with the *s*-preterite *derdrestar* (§ 465 p. 12).

§ 732. Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *glagolją* 'I speak' for **gol-gol-ją*, 2nd sing. *-je-ši* etc. (*glagola-ti*), with the same reduplication as *glagolŭ* 'word'. *mrŭ-mŭr-ją* 'I gnaw', 2nd sing. *-je-ši* etc. (*mrŭ-mŭra-ti*).

§ 733. (*B*) It is rare in the Idg. languages to find the *i̯o*-suffix with presents reduplicated in any other way; and in no language has this class become a large one. All the examples appear to be new formations. Skr. pass. *dad-yá-tē* 'datur' (beside *dī-yá-tē*) by analogy of *dádā-mi dad-más*, cp. partic. *dat-tá-s*, § 541 p. 102. Skr. pass. *nind-ya-tē* 'is scolded or blamed', if *nínda-ti* is to be analysed **ni-nd-e-ti*, see § 550 p. 106. Avest. *yaęš-yę-iti* 'seethes, boils', which looks like a contamination of Skr. *yēṣa-ti* i. e. **i̯a-i̯š-ati* (§ 562 p. 110) and *yás-ya-ti*. Gr. Att. δειδίττομαι Hom. δειδίσσομαι i. e. δεδϝίσσομαι 'I frighten, or am frightened' for *δε-δϝικ-ι̯ο-μαι, beside

δέ-δοικα (cp. Johansson, Beitr. gr. Spr., 80 f.). *νίσομαι* 'I go back, return' for **νι-νσ-ι̯ο-μαι* from √ *nes-* seems to presuppose **ni-nes-mi*, which is represented by the Skr. 3rd pl. mid. *ní̄s-atē* (§ 539 p. 99). *λιλαίομαι* 'I desire, long for' for **λι-λασ-ι̯ο-μαι*, cp. Skr. *laṣati* for **la-lša-ti* § 562 p. 110. *τιταίνω* 'I put to, yoke' ground-form **ti-tn̥-i̯ō*, cp. Lat. *tendō*, if this is for **te-tn-ō* (§ 564 p. 111). O.Ir. *-airissiur* 'I remain standing' for **(pari)-sisti̯ō(r)* (I § 109 *e* p. 103, § 516 p. 377), beside Gr. *ἵ-στη-μι* Skr. *tí-ṣṭh-a-ti* Lat. *si-st-ō* § 539 p. 100. O.C.Sl. *deždą* 'I lay' for **de-d-i̯ą* 2nd sing. *deždeši* etc. (inf. *dě-ti*) beside Lith. *dė̃(d)-mi ded-ù* § 546 pp. 103 f.

A peculiar reduplication is shown by certain Greek verbs. *πα-φλάζω* 'I bubble' beside *φλέδων* 'gossip', *κα-χλάζω* 'I gurgle', *βα-βράζω* 'I chirp'. They are Intensives or Iteratives to the verbs named in § 730.

Class XXVIII.

Root + -ā-, -ē-, -ō-, + -i̯o- forming the Present Stem.

§ **734.** The forms now to be noticed are closely connected with Classes X and XI (§§ 578 ff.), under which heads much has already been said of the *i̯o*-stems.

I believe that the original accentuation of this class is preserved in those Sanskrit verbs which have dissyllabic stems before *-ya-*, such as *gr̥bhā-yá-ti*, and by Sanskrit passives like *trā-yá-tē* (§ 703 p. 232). *trā́-ya-tē* has followed the lead of *pác-ya-tē* etc., and *trā-yá-tē* : *trā́-ya-tē* = *ric-yá-tē* : *ríc-ya-tē* (§ 710 p. 245).

§ **735.** Unreduplicated Forms.

Pr. Idg. **trā-i̯o-*: Skr. *trā́-ya-tē* 'protects, saves' pass. *trā-yá-tē*, Lat. *in-trō* for **-trā-i̯ō*, with which is doubtless connected O.C.Sl. *tra-ją* 'I last, endure' (inf. *traja-ti*). Skr. *sn-ā-ya-tē* 'bathes himself', Lat. *nō* for **sn-ā-i̯ō*. Lat. *hiō* for

**hiā-i̯ō*, Lith. *žió-ju* 'I open my mouth' (inf. *žió-ti*), cp. Lat. *hī-scō* O.H.G. *gi-nō-m gei-nō-m* 'I gape'. Compare § 579. Lat. *arō* for **arā-i̯ō*, Gr. *ἀρόω* 'I plough' pr. Gr. **ἀρᾱ-(i̯)ω* (§ 583 p. 124, § 775). With these primary verbs should be classed several very wide-spread onomatopoetic or imitative verbs, as Gr. *ὑλάω -ῶ* 'I roar' Lith. *uló-ju* 'I call, shout for joy, cheer' (also reduplicated *ulūló-ju* = Lat. *ululō*): Gr. *ὀγκάομαι -ῶμαι* 'I bray, hee-haw' Lat. *uncō*; Gr. *μῡκάομαι -ῶμαι* 'mugio' Umbr. *mugatu* 'mugito, muttito'.

**sn-ē-i̯o-*: Gr. *νῇ* 'spins' for **σνη-i̯ει* (Mekler, Beitr. zur Bild. des gr. Verb., p. 18), Lat. *neō*, O.H.G. *nāu* 'I sew'. **ĝn-ē-i̯o-* **ĝn-ō-i̯o-*: Skr. pass. *jñāyá-tē* 'noscitur' (*-ē-* or *-ō-*?), O.H.G. *knāu* 'I know' (*-ē-*, but cp. p. 128 footnote), O.C.Sl. *zna-ją* 'I know' (*-ō-*, inf. *zna-ti*). Lat. *fl-eō*, O.H.G. *blāu* 'I blow' pr. Germ. **bl-ē-i̯ō*, perhaps too O.C.Sl. *bl-ě-ją* 'I bleat' (inf. *blěja-ti*). Skr. *v-á-ya-ti* 'blows', Goth. *v-aia* O.H.G. *w-āu* 'I blow', O.C.Sl. *v-ě-ją* 'I blow' (inf. *věja-ti*). Lat. *taceō* for **tac-ē-i̯ō*, Goth. *þaháiþ* for **þahē-i̯i-đi*. Lat. *fav-eō*, O.C.Sl. *gov-ěja* 'veneror, vereor' (§ 590 p. 132). Compare §§ 587, 708.

§ **736.** Aryan. Skr. *tr-á-ya-tē* 'protects' pass. *trā-yá-tē*, Avest. *þrā-yę-iti* 'protects': Lat. *-trō*, see § 735. Skr. *śr-á-ya-ti* 'boils, cooks', cp. Gr. *κί-κρᾱ-ται*. Pass. *mn-ā-ya-tē* 'commemoratur', cp. Gr. Dor. *μέ-μνᾱ-ται*. Pass. *ml-á-ya-ti* 'grows soft', cp. Gr. Dor. *βλ-ᾱ́-ξ*. *py-á-ya-tē* 'swells' beside *páy-a-tē pī-pấy-a pī-py-ā-ná-s*. *y-ā-ya-tē* pass. 'itur', cp. Goth. *jē-r* and Lith. *jó-ju*. *khy-ā-ya-tē* pass. 'is seen', cp. aor. *á-khy-a-t*. *śy-á-ya-ti* 'curdles, congeals', cp. part. *śī-tá-s*. Compare §§ 580 and 588.

Also verbs in *-ā-yá-ti* in which the root formed a complete syllable. The speaker imagined these to be parallel with *pr̥tanā-yá-ti manā-yá-ti* and the like (§§ 617, 769) — there really was no difference in character, if we are right in identifying the verb-suffix *-ā-* with the feminine suffix — and therefore kept the old accent without changing it as in *tráya-tē*. Skr. *gr̥bhā-yá-ti* 'seizes' O.Pers. *a-garbāya-m*, Skr. *damā-yá-ti* 'over-

powers' (cp. Lat. *domāre*), Skr. *tudā-yá-ti* 'pushes', *pruṣā-yá-ti* 'spurts out'.

§ 737. Greek. **δρᾱ-i̯ω* 'I do' *δρῶ δρᾷ*, beside Lith. *daraũ* 'I do', cp. *δρ-αίνω* § 621 p. 159. **πᾱ-i̯ω* 'I bring into effect, carry out' for **k̑u̯ā-i̯ō* (II § 117 p. 371): El. imper. *ἐπ-εν-πήτω*, cp. Skr. *śv-ā-* in *sa̧-śvāyín-* 'swelling' etc. *ἰάομαι ἰῶμαι* 'I heal' for **is-ā-i̯o-*, is related to *ἰαίνω* (§ 743) as *δρῶ* to *δραίνω*. *ἀράω* 'I plough', *ὑλάω*, *ὀγκάομαι*, *μῡκάομαι*, see § 735 p. 262.

**χρ-η-i̯ω* 'I give an oracle' *χρῶ χρῇ*, partic. *χρήων* Od. 8. 79. Dor. **ϝλ-η-i̯ω* 'I wish, desire' (beside Lat. *vel-le*) *λῶ λῇ* El. opt. *λῃοίτᾱν*; the Gort. *λῆϊω* (e. g. 3rd pl. conj. *λῆϊωντι*) for **ληέω* is formed like *χρηέομαι*: was this derived from *τὸ χρῆος*, or was it a formation like Skr. causal *pyā-y-áya-ti*? (cp. § 801). **κν-η-i̯ω* 'I rub, scratch' (cp. *κν-ύω*) *κνῶ κνῇ*. **ζη-i̯ω* 'I live' for **g̯i̯-ē-i̯ō* (√ *gei̯-*) *ζῶ ζῇ*; the forms *ἔζην ζῆθι* are later and follow Class X (cp. § 496 p. 56); with *-ō-*, *ζώ-ω* Gort. *δοίω* (*δοίοι δοίωντι* etc.), like O.C.Sl. *znają* beside O.H.G. *knāu* (§ 735). **ψ-η-i̯ω* 'I grind or crush to pieces' (Skr. *ps-á-ti* § 587 p. 128) *ψῶ ψῇ*.

§ 738. Italic. In Latin only the 1st sing. pres. has the *i̯o*-suffix, the other persons being formed after Class X. This was perhaps due in part to the early loss of the personal ending *-mi* in Italic, whence it became possible for *volō* to take its place in the same scheme as *vult*, *eō* beside *it*.

-ā-i̯ō. *in-trō nō hiō* see §§ 735, 736. *fl-ō*, pl. *fl-ā-mus*. Also *juv-ō lav-ō* and suchlike. See § 583 p. 124.

-ē-i̯ō. *pleō neō fleō vieō*, also *taceō scateō videō sileō faveō valeō habeō* etc. See §§ 587, 590, 708.

§ 739. Germanic. Monosyllabic stems in *-ē-* and *-ō-* almost wholly gave up the unthematic inflexion, and took that with *-i̯o-* (§ 592 p. 133). O.H.G. *nāu* 'I sew' *knāu* 'I know' Goth. *vaia* O.H.G. *wāu* 'I blow', see § 735. O.H.G. *drāu* 'I turn, twist', **tr-ē-* from √ *ter-*, cp. Gr. *τρ-ῆ-μα* 'hole' *τέρ-ε-τρο-ν* 'borer'. There may be Idg. *-ō-i̯ō*

in O.H.G. *bluoiu bluowu* O.Sax. *blōiu* 'I bloom', cp. Lat. *fl-ō-s* (gen. *fl-ō-r-is*); it must remain uncertain whether we have *-ō-i̯ō* or *-ā-i̯ō* as the ending in O.H.G. *gluoiu gluowu* 'I glow' (√ *ĝhel-*).

Dissyllabic stems in *-ē-* and *-ā-* have both non-thematic and *i̯o*-flexion.

Dissyllabic *ē*-stems in Gothic show *i̯o*-flexion in forms containing *ái*, such as *þaháis þaháiþ* (the 1st sing. is *þaha* 'I am silent') for **-ē-i̯i-zi -ē-i̯i-đi*: Lat. *taceō*. Compare also Goth. *vitáiþ* 'looks at, regards': Lat. *videō*, *siláiþ* 'is silent': Lat. *sileō*; *habáiþ* 'has': Lat. *habeō*. Compare § 592 p. 133, § 708 pp. 238 ff. On the spread of this *ē*-flexion to nasal present stems, see § 605 pp. 146 f., § 623 p. 160; on the formation of *ē*-verbs from nouns, § 781. 3.

Dissyllabic *ā*-stems were inflected just like the later stratum of *ā*-denominatives (as Goth. *faírinōn* from *faírina*). The *i̯o*-extension is clearly seen only in Anglo-Frisian, as A.S. 1st sing. *-ie* pl. *-iađ* for pr. Germ. *-ō-i̯a-* see § 781. 1. Examples of "primary" verbs are: Goth. *mitō* 'I mete, measure' O.H.G. *mezzōm* 'I moderate', Goth. *bi-láigō* 'I lick all over' (cp. Lith. *laižaũ* 'I lick' inf. *laižý-ti*), O.H.G. *fehōm* 'I adorn' O.H.G. *mahhōm* 'I make'. Compare § 579 p. 121, § 585 p. 126.

§ 740. Balto-Slavonic.

-ā-i̯o-. Lith. *žió-ju* O.C.Sl. *tra-ją* see § 735. Lith. *jó-ju* 'I ride' (*jó-ti*), see § 587 p. 128. Probably also Lith. *gró-ju* (*gró-ti*) O.C.Sl. *gra-ją* (*graja-ti*) 'I croak', Lith. *kló-ju* 'spread out' (*kló-ti*), and others. Some of the Lithuanian "Iteratives" are in place here, as *lìndo-ju* beside *lìndau* 'I put in' (*lìndo-ti*), *rýmo-ju* beside *rýmau* 'I sit supported on something' (*rýmo-ti*), *svyró-yu* 'I move to and fio' (*svyró-ti*), etc. So in O.C.Sl., Iteratives such as *sŭn-ědają* 'comedo' (*-ěda-ti*), *raz-vrĭzają* 'I open' (*-vrĭza-ti*), *sŭ-birają* 'I gather' (*-bira-ti*). Compare §§ 586, 783.

-ē-i̯o-. O.C.Sl. *blě-ją vě-ją* see § 735. *grě-ją* 'I warm'

(*grĕja-ti*). *govė-ją* 'veneror, vereor' (*govė-ti*): Lat. *faveō*, see § 735. Lithuanian "Diminutives" (Iteratives), as *byrė-ju* 'I scatter a little' or 'I am a little scattered' (*byrė-ti*), *kylė-ju* 'I lift a little' (*kylė-ti*), *lukė-ju* 'I wait a little' (*lukė-ti*). Compare §§ 593, 784.

-ō-i̯o- possibly in O.C.Sl. *zna-ją*, § 735, and perhaps in a few, none can say which, of O.C.Sl. verbs in *-a-ją* (Idg. *-ā-* and *-ō-* ran together in Slavonic).

§ **741.** Reduplicated Forms.

The Reduplicated forms with *ā*-suffix mentioned in § 595 have some of them the *i̯o*-extension. Lat. 1st sing. *ululō*, Lith. *ulūló-ju* 'I call, shout for joy' (cp. *uló-ju* Gr. ὑλάω § 735 p. 262). Lat. 1st sing. *murmurō*, cp. O.H.G. *murmurōm murmulōm*. Lat. 1st sing. *tintinnō tintinō* beside *tintinn-iō* (Class XXVII).

A later Greek form is κιγ-κρᾷ · κιρνᾷ (Hesych.) beside κίγ-κρᾱ-μι, see § 594 p. 135.

O.H.G. *rērēm* A.S. *rārie*, connected with Lith. *rė-ju rė-ti* 'I cry out loud', comes from a pr. Germ. **rai̯-rē-i̯ō*, see § 708 p. 240. *ē* in *rē-* was a suffix, as may be seen from Lett. *rá-ju* 'I scold' and other words (Per Persson, Wurzelerw. pp. 91, 196).

Class XXIX.

Nasal Stems + *-i̯o-* for the Present Stem.

§ **742.** The formations here to be treated are connected with Classes XII to XVIII, and fall into three groups: those connected with (*A*) Classes XII to XIV, (*B*) Classes XV and XVI, and (*C*) Classes XVII and XVIII.

§ **743.** (*A*) *-n-i̯o-* is fairly common only in Greek. Lesb. κλίννω Hom. Att. κλῑνω 'I bend' for *κλιν-i̯-ω, beside O.Sax. *hlinō-n* etc. κρῑνω 'I separate, choose out, distinguish' for *κρι-ν-i̯ω. σίνομαι 'I plunder' for *σι-ν-i̯ο-μαι. ὀ-τρύνω

'I urge on' for **ὀ-τρυ-ν-ι̯ω.* *φαίνω* 'I show, make visible' for **φα-ν-ι̯ω,* beside Armen. *ba-na-m* 'I open' (**bhə-nā-mi*), √ *bhā-.* *χαίνω* 'I gape' for **χα-ν-ι̯ω.* See § 601 p. 144, § 611 p. 150. Lat. *li-n-iō* (*li-n-ī-mus*) beside *li-nō,* Skr. *vi-līnāmi* 'I dissolve, disintegrate' (intr.), see § 598 p. 142. O.Ir. *ara-chri-nim* 'difficiscor, I go to pieces' beside Skr. *śr̥-ṇá-ti,* see § 604 p. 146. O.H.G. *spennu* (= Goth. **spanja*) 'I attract, charm' beside *spa-nu* i. e. **spə-nō* √ *spē-,* see § 614 p. 152.

-n̥-i̯o- was used even in pr. Idg., and is especially common in Sanskrit and Greek. Idg. **is-n̥-i̯ō*: Skr. *iṣ-aṇ-yá-ti* 'sets in motion, excites' Gr. *ἰαίνω* 'I quicken' beside Skr. *iṣ-aṇa-t,* Skr. *tur-aṇ-yá-ti* 'hastens', *bhur-aṇ-yá-ti* 'is brisk'. Gr. *αὐαίνω* 'I make dry' beside Lith. *saũs-inu,* *ὀλισθαίνω* 'I slip' beside *ὀλισθάνω,* *τερσ-αίνω* 'I make dry, *κναίνων· ἔγκυος ὤν,* *ἐκ-φλ-αίνω* 'I bubble or gush out', *δρ-αίνω* 'I do', *κρ-αίνω* 'I complete', *ξ-αίνω* 'I scratch' and many more; *-αινω* became a very productive suffix. Armen. *-anim,* as *meṙ-ani-m* 'I die', like Gr. *μαρ-αίνω.* O.H.G. *gi-wahannen* 'to recount' (pret. *gi-wuog*), A.S. *wæcnan* 'awake' (pret. *wōc*). See §§ 618—621, § 623 pp. 156 ff., § 711 p. 246.

§ **744.** (*B*) Present Stems with "Nasal Infix" become very common in Greek and Baltic. In explanation of the examples given below see §§ 628, 629, 631, 632, 634—637, pp. 164 ff.

Gr. *πτίσσω πτίττω* 'I bray, pound' instead of older **πτινσ-ι̯ω,* Lat. *pīns-iō* (*pīns-ī-mus*), beside Skr. *pináṣ-ṭi á-piṣ-a-t.*

Skr. pass. *vand-ya-tē* beside *vanda-tē* 'praises, honours' compare *váda-ti ud-yá-tē*; not a very old form.

Gr. *λίζουσι· παίζουσιν* probably for **λινδ-ι̯ω*; *σκίμπ-τω* 'I throw violently at' perhaps for **σκιμπ-ι̯ω,* beside Skr. *kṣip-.* *λύζω* 'I sob' for **λυγγ-ι̯ω,* cp. *λύγξ λυγγάνομαι λυγκαίνω,* √ *s/aˣu̯k- siaˣu̯g-.* *πλάζω* 'I strike, knock away' for **πλαγγ-ι̯ω.* *κλάζω* 'I shout, cry' for **κλαγγ-ι̯ω.*

Lat. *vinc-iō* (ī) beside Skr. *vi-vyak-ti* 'embraces, surrounds' 3rd dual *vi-vik-tás.* *sanc-iō* (ī) beside *sacer.*

Lett. *mi[chu* 'mingo' for **minz-i̯u*. Lith. *jùng-iu* 'I yoke, put to'. *skùnd-žiu* 'I weep, bewail myself' beside *pra-skundù* (pret. *-skudaũ*) 'I begin to smart'. *sunk-iù* 'I strain, filter, let something run through' beside Lett. *swak-s* 'resin'. Lett. *kamp--ju* 'I grasp, grip' beside Lat. *cap-iō*. Lith. *lenk-iù* 'I bend' √ *leq-*. *sténg-iu* 'I put my strength to' beside Gr. στείβω. O.C.Sl. *žęždą* 'I covet' (inf. *žę-da-ti*) beside Lith. *geid-žiù*. *glęždą* 'I look' (*ględě-ti*) beside O.H.G. *glīzu*. *ob-ręštą* 'I find' (*-rešti*).

§ 745. (*C*) Rare forms, undoubtedly late, are all that meet us in this section. O.C.Sl. *mi-nu-ją* 'I go over' beside *mi-ną*, see § 649 p. 185.

Class XXX.

Root + *s*-Suffix + *-i̯o-* (the *-s-i̯o-* Future).

§ 746. Two groups of forms, with Present and Future meaning respectively.

(*A*) With Present meaning: fairly common nowhere but in Sanskrit, and for the must part clearly later extensions of the *s*-Present. As regards the examples here following, see §§ 656 and 657, pp. 190 ff.

Skr. *tras-ya-ti* beside *tr-ása-ti* 'trembles', Lith. *tres-iù* 'I am in rut' used of bitches (inf. *trė̃sti*). Skr. *pluṣ-ya-tē* pass. of *plō-ṣa-ti* 'burns, singes', Lat. *prū-r-iō* (*prūrīre*). Avest. *uxš-yę-iti* beside *vax-ša-iti* 'makes grow', Goth. *vahs-ja* 'I grow' (pret. *vōhs*).

Skr. *śliṣ-ya-ti* 'hangs on to, sticks to' pass. *śliṣ-yá-tē*, Avest. *sraęš-yę-iti* (same meaning) beside Skr. *śrē-ṣa-ti á-śli--ṣa-t*. Skr. *íṣ-ya-ti* Avest. *iš-yę-iti* 'sets in motion' beside Skr. *i-ṣa-tē*. Skr. *tviṣ-ya-ti* 'is excited, distracted' beside 3rd pl. *á-tvi-ṣ-ur*. *ghuṣ-ya-ti* 'cries out, announces loudly' pass. *ghuṣ-yá-tē* beside *ghṓ-ṣa-ti*. Pass. *rakṣ-ya-tē* beside *rák-ṣa-ti* 'guards, saves'. Pass. *gras-ya-tē* beside *gr-asa-ti* 'devours'.

Lith. *tę̃s-iù* 'I stretch' beside Skr. *tą-sa-ti* etc.

§ 747. (*B*) With Future Meaning.[1]) Even as early as the proethnic period *-s-i̯o-* (or *-əs-i̯o-*) must have already become a simple suffix for expressing the future. This group of forms grew out of Classes XIX and XX, particularly forms with the strong-grade of root syllable; compare Skr. *tąsyá-tē* and *tą-sa-ti* (Goth. *-þin-si-þ*) *á-tą-s-mahi*, *śrōṣyá-ti* Gr. *κλευσόμεϑα* in Hesychius) and *śrṓ-ṣa-māṇa-s*, *vakṣyá-ti* and Avest. *vax-ša-itę̄* (√ *u̯eq-* 'speak'), *sakṣya-ti* (Gr. ἕξω) and *sák-ṣa-nt-* √ *seg̑h-* (§§ 657 ff.); very rarely from forms with root-syllables in a weak grade, as Avest. *būšyę-iti* (pr. Ar. doubtless **bhū́ši̯a-ti*, cp. Skr. *sū-ṣya-nt-* § 748) Lith. *bú-siu* (Gr. *φύ-σω*) beside Skr. *bhū́-ṣa-ti* (§ 659 p. 194). Sanskrit forms with *-iṣya-* were derived from the *iṣ*-aorist, compare *vēdiṣyá-ti* with the aorist stem *vēdiṣ-* in *á-vēdiṣ-am*.

The oldest meaning of the *si̯o-* future was probably that of *Wish*, which weakened to a mere future. Compare the desiderative meaning of Skr. forms like *ti-stīr-ṣa-tē* (§ 667 pp. 198 ff.), and the future meaning of such others as O.Ir. *no-gigius* § 668 p. 200.

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1) Hadley, On the formation of Indo-European Futures, 1859, in his Essays, pp. 184 ff. [G. Meyer]. Th. Benfey, Über die Entstehung und die Formen des idg. Optativ (Potential) sowie über das Futurum auf sanskritisch *syāmi* u. s. w., Abhandl. d. Gött. Ges. d. Wissensch., XVI 135 ff. L. Hirzel, Zum Futurum im Idg., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XIII 215 ff. J. Schmidt, La formation des futurs dans les langues indo-germ., Revue de linguistique III 365 ff. — Bezzenberger, Conditionalformen im Avesta, in his Beitr. II 160 f. — A. Franke, Das Futurum im Griech., ein sprachgeschichtlicher Versuch, Gött. 1861. T. H. Key, On the Formation of Greek Futures and First Aorists, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1861, pp. 1 ff. Leskien, Die Formen des Futurums und zusammengesetzten Aorists mit σσ in den homer. Gedichten, Curtius' Stud. II 65 ff. P. Cauer, Die dor. Futur- und Aoristbildungen der abgeleiteten Verba auf -ζω, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. pp. 126 ff. J. Wackernagel Griech. κτεριοῦσι, Idg. Forsch. II 151 ff. (In the explanation of κτεριοῦσι and the similar Homeric future forms I concur with Wackernagel, see § 757 Rem. p. 277). Janson, De Graeci sermonis paulopost-futuri forma atque usu, Rastenburg 1844. — J. Schmidt, Über das Futurum im Aksl., Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. IV 239 ff.

Only in Aryan and in Balto-Slavonic is the *si̯o*-future certain. In such forms as Gr. δείξω it cannot be proved that after *s* an *i̯* has been lost, and they may be regarded as conjunctives of the *s*-aorist, δείξω fut. being the same as δείξω conj. of ἔδειξα, and as Lat. *dīxō* beside opt. *dīxim*. Special attention should be given to Epic forms like imper. οἶσε οἴσετε beside fut. οἴσω, imper. ὄψεσθε beside fut. ὄψομαι, which make strongly for this view (see § 833). On the other hand, I know of nothing to prevent fut. δείξω being derived from *δεικ-σι̯ω (Skr. *dēkṣyāmi*). The same doubt is suggested by futures of the type of τενέω τενῶ (cp. Skr. *taniṣyāmi*), which as conj. aor. may be compared with εἰδέω εἰδῶ from ᾔδεα (§ 836).[1]) We may conjecture that in Greek the Idg. forms with *-si̯o-* and the conj. aorist had run together; as, in Lithuanian, beside *dů'siame dů'sime dů'siate dů'site*, the future answering to Skr. *dāsyámas dāsyátha*, we find used in the same way the Aorist Injunctive forms *dů'sme dů'ste.* Compare the Author, *M. U.* III 58 ff.; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.[2] 473 f.; Johansson, Deriv. Verb. Contr. 203 ff.

Spite of this uncertainty, the Greek future may be treated here along with the Aryan and Balto-Slavonic *si̯o*-future.

Remark. I know of no evidence to support Ascoli's assumption (Sprachw. Briefe, 65 ff.), that -σεω in the Doric future comes regularly from *-σι̯ω = Skr. *-syāmi* Lith. *-siu.*

§ 748. Pr. Idg. We have two endings to distinguish, *-si̯o-* and *-əsi̯o-* (*-esi̯o-*).

(*A*) *-si̯o.* The regular form of the root, as has been said in the preceding section, was strong grade (with *e* in the *e*-series). Thus the matter remained in Aryan; cp. *dēkṣya-ti* beside pres. *diśá-ti diś-ya-ti.* Thus it often is in Lithuanian, as *rem̃-siu* from √*rem-*, *ver̃siu* from √*u̯ert-*. But in Lithuanian the form fell under the influence of the infinitive

1) It is striking that Homer uses no such form as τενείω ἐλαίω parallel to τελείω for *τελεσ-ι̯ω, λιλαίομαι for *λιλασ-ι̯ο-μαι.

stem, and we have *lìksiu* following *lìkti*, instead of **leiksiu* (pres. *lëkmì*, *lëkù*), and beside *rem̃-siu* (*rem̃-ti*) a variant *rìm-siu*, inf. *rìm-ti* (pres. *rimstù*), beside *ver̃siu* (*ver̃sti*) a variant *vir̃siu*, inf. *vir̃sti* (pres. *virstù*). In Greek, the vocalism of the future always agrees with the *s*-aorist, and this was mostly regulated by the present: *τέρψω* like *ἔτερψα* from *τέρπω*, *γράψω* like *ἔγραψα* from *γράφω*, *γλύψω* like *ἔγλυψα* from *γλύφω*, *ὀμόρξω* like *ὤμορξα* from *ὀμόργνῡ-μι*. Exceptions: *τείσω* like *ἔτεισα*, but pres. *τίνω* (for **τι-νϝω*); *μείξω* like *ἔμειξα*, but pres. *μίγ-νῡ-μι*.

√*rem-* 'rest': Skr. *rą-sya-tē* 'he will rest', Lith. *rem̃-siu* 'I will support' (*rem̃-ti*) *rìm-siu* 'I will grow calm (in mind)' (*rìm-ti*). √*men-* 'think': Skr. *mą-sya-tē*, Lith. *mį-siu* (*miñ-ti*, pres. *men-ù*). √*qei̯-* 'pay a penalty' etc.: Skr. *cē-ṣyá-ti* Gr. *τεί-σω* (*τεῖσαι*, pres. *τίνω*). √*pleu̯-* 'swim, rinse, wash': Skr. *plō-ṣya-ti*, Gr. *πλεύ-σο-μαι* (*πλεῦσαι*), Lith. *pláu-siu* (*pláu-ti*). √*u̯ert-* 'vertere': Skr. *vart-syá-ti*, Lith. *ver̃siu* 'I shall turn' (*ver̃sti*) *vir̃siu* 'I shall fall down' (*vir̃sti*). √*u̯erĝ-* 'to work, be active': Avest. part. mid. *varᵉšya-mna-*, Gr. *ἔρξω* (*ἔρξαι*). √*serp-* 'crawl': Skr. *srap-sya-ti sarp-sya-ti* Gr. *ἕρψω* (*ἕρψαι*). √*terp-* 'give joy': Skr. *trap-sya-ti tarp-sya-ti* (the latter in the Grammarians), Gr. *τέρψω* (*τέρψαι*). √*derk̂-* 'see': Skr. *drak-ṣyá-ti*, Gr. *δέρξομαι* (*ἐδερξάμην*). √*qert-* 'cut, strike sharply': Skr. *kart-sya-ti* (instead of **cart-*, cp. *karta-ti* § 522 p. 85), Lith. *kir̃siu* (*kir̃sti*, pres. *kertù*). √*lei̯q-* 'leave': Skr. *rēk-ṣya-tē*, Gr. *λείψω* (*λεῖψαι*), Lith. *lìk-siu* (*lìk-ti*, pres. *lëkù*). √*u̯ei̯d-* 'know, see': Skr. *vēt-sya-ti*, Gr. *εἴσομαι* (*εἴσασθαι*), Lith. *isz-výsiu* (*-výsti*). √*dei̯k̂-* 'show': Skr. *dēk-ṣya-ti*, Gr. *δείξω* (*δεῖξαι*). √*bheu̯dh-* 'awake, observe': Skr. *bhōt-sya-ti*, Gr. *πεύσομαι*, Lith. *bùsiu* (*bùsti*). √*jeu̯g-* 'iungere': Skr. *yōk-ṣya-ti*, Gr. *ζεύξω* (*ζεῦξαι*), Lith. *jùnk-siu* like *jùnk-ti* following the present *jùngiu*. √*peq-* 'coquere': Skr. *pak-ṣya-ti*, Gr. *πέψω*. √*dhegh-* 'burn': Skr. *dhak-ṣyá-ti*, Lith. *dèk-siu* (*dèk-ti*). √*seq-* 'to be with, follow': Avest. *hax-šyę-iti*, Gr. *ἕψομαι*, Lith. *sèk-siu* (*sèk-ti*). √*ed-* 'eat': Skr. *at-sya-ti*, Lith. *ésiu* (*ésti*). √*saus-* 'grow

dry': Skr. *śōkṣya-ti* (pres. *śúṣ-ya-ti*, see I § 557. 4 p. 413), Lith. *saũsiu* (*saũs-ti*). √ *dhē-* 'place, lay': Skr. *dhā-sya-ti*, Gr. *θή-σω*, Lith. *dḗ-siu* (*dḗ-ti*). √ *dō-* 'give': Skr. *dā-syá-ti*, Gr. *δώ-σω*, Lith. *dů́-siu* (*dů́-ti*). √ *stā-* 'stand': Skr. *sthā-sya-ti*, Gr. *στᾱ́-σω στή-σω* (*στῆσαι*), Lith. *stó-siu* (*stó-ti*).

√ *bheu̯-* 'become': Avest. *bū-šyę-iti*, Gr. *φύ-σω* (*φῦσαι*), Lith. *bú-siu* O.C.Sl. **byšą* (only in partic. *byšąšteje byšęšteje* 'τὸ μέλλον'). Analogously, Skr. *sū́-ṣya-nt-* beside *sō-ṣyá-ti* Avest. *hao-šyę-iti* from √ *seu̯-* 'drive on, quicken, enliven' (cp. perf. Skr. *sasū́va* like *babhū́va*). Compare § 747 pp. 268 f.

§ 749. (*B*) *-əsi̯o-* (*-esi̯o-*). Skr. *-iṣya-* for *-əsi̯o-*. But Gr. *-εο-* comes from *-esi̯o-*, unless (more probably) *-εο-* is for *-eso-*, and belongs to the conjunctive aorist (see § 747).[1] The Sanskrit *-iṣya-* could be added to any root ending in a consonant; but Gr. *-εο-* was the regular future suffix only with roots in a liquid or a nasal. So we have Skr. *kṣariṣya-ti* 'it will flow, dissolve' (gramm.) answering to Greek *φθερέω φθερῶ* 'I shall destroy' (Hom. *φθέρσω*), Skr. *haniṣya-ti* 'he will strike, kill' to Gr. *θενέω -ῶ* 'I shall strike' (√ *ghen-*), Skr. *taniṣya-ti* (gramm.) 'he will stretch' to Gr. *τενέω -ῶ* 'I shall stretch', Skr. *kṣaṇiṣya-ti* 'he will hurt' (gramm.) to Gr. *κτενέω -ῶ* 'I shall kill'. A few Greek examples have *-αο-* with *-α-* = *-ə-*, as *κρεμάω -ῶ* 'I shall hang', cp. *κρέμαμαι*, *κρεμάθρᾱ* 'hanging basket'. Compare §§ 834 ff.

§ 750. Futures with *-si̯o-* have also been formed, from the proethnic period onwards, from stems consisting of √ + Determinative. We may mention:

(1) Stems with *-ā-* *-ē-*, or *-ō-* (Class X). **dr-ā-* 'run': Skr. *drā-sya-ti* (gramm.), Gr. *δρᾱ́-σο-μαι*. **mn-ā-* think of, remember': Skr. *mnā-sya-ti* (gramm.), Gr. *μνᾱ́-σω μνή-σω*. **gā-* 'go': Skr. *gā-sya-tē* (gramm.), Gr. *βᾱ́-σο-μαι βή-σο-μαι*.

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1) I now follow Bartholomae (Bezz. Beitr. XVII 109 ff.) in holding that *-ε-* which follows the root in *τενέω γενέτωρ* and like words is Idg. *-e-*, not *-ə-* (I § 110 pp. 103 ff.).

**u̯-ē-* 'blow': Skr. *vā-sya-ti*, Gr. *ἀή-σο-μαι*. **ĝn-ō-* 'noscere': Skr. *jñā-sya-ti*, Gr. *γνώ-σο-μαι*. **u̯id-ē-* **u̯ei̯d-ē-* 'see, know': Gr. Dor. *ἰδη-σῶ* Lith. *pa-vydė́siu* ('invidebo'), Gr. *εἰδή-σω* Lith. *veizdė́-siu*. **mn̥n-ē-* 'think': Gr. *μανή-σο-μαι*, Lith. *minė́--siu*. Compare §§ 578 ff.

(2) Stems with *s*-elements (Class XIX and XX). *tr-es-* 'tremble': Skr. *tras-iṣyá-ti*, Gr. *τρέσ(σ)ω*, Lith. *trė̃siu* for **trės--siu* (pres. *tresiù*). Skr. *ēṣ-iṣya-ti* beside *ē-ṣa-ti* 'seeks, desires'; *ślēkṣya-ti* beside *ślí-ṣ-ya-ti* 'clings to' *á-śli-ṣa-t*; *dakṣ-iṣya-tē* beside *dák-ṣa-ti* 'suits, accommodates'; *akṣ-iṣya-ti* beside *ak-ṣa-tē* 'reaches'. With Skr. *akṣiṣya-ti*, *bhāsiṣya-tē* (gramm.) compare the aorist forms *ákṣiṣur ábhāsiṣṭa* § 839. Gr. *σείσω* for **σεισ-ω* (perf. *σέ-σεισται*) from *σείω* (**tu̯ei̯-s-*) 'I shake'; *ξέσ(σ)ω* from *ξέω* (**qs-es-*) 'I scrape, smooth', Lith. *tę̃siu* for **tęs-siu* beside *tę̃-s-iù* 'I stretch'. Compare §§ 655 ff.

(3) Stems with *dh-* and *d*-elements (Class XXV). Skr. *yōt--sya-ti* beside *yō-dha-ti* 'gets into motion', Lith. *jùsiu* beside *jundù* 'I begin to tremble', **i̯eu̯-dh-*. Skr. *rāt-sya-ti* beside *rā-dh-ya-tē* 'carries out successfully'; *mrad-iṣya-ti* beside *vi--mrada-ti* 'softens' (*mr-ada-*). Gr. *κλάσ(σ)ω* from *κλα-δ-* 'break off'. But it is doubtful whether *πλήσω* 'I will fill' is **πλήϑ-σω* (cp. *πλή-ϑω πέπλησται πληστέο-ς*) or *πλή-σω* (cp. *πλῆτο πέπληνται*), whether *ἐλεύσομαι* 'I will come' is **ἐλευϑ-σομαι* (cp. *ἦλυ-ϑο-ν ἐλευστέο-ν*) or *ἐλεύ-σομαι* (cp. *ἐλήλυ-τε προσ-ήλυτο-ς*), whether *πύσω* 'I will make rot' is **πύϑ-σω* (cp. *πύ-ϑω*) or *πύ-σω* (cp. Lith. *pū́v-ù*). There is the same doubt in Lith. futures like *plausiu* from *plau-d-žiu* 'I wash' (Idg. **pleu̯-d-*), *spráusiu* from *spráu-d--žiu* 'I subdue' (Idg. **spreu̯-d-*) *gė̃siu* from *gė̃-du* 'I sing'. As we know not in what period of Lithuanian these verbal classes arose, we are not compelled to assume that *plausiu*, say, comes from a supposed form **plautsiō*. The fact may be that *plau-siu* is really future to *plau-ju*; and then, on the analogy of *geidžiù geĩsiu geĩsti*, and others of this kind, *plausiu* was involuntarily associated with *plaudžiu plausti* as its future. Compare §§ 688 ff.

Forms with other present-signs sometimes make a *sį̯o*-future in different languages; as Skr. *indhiṣyati* Gr. κλάγξω Lith. *jùnksiu.* See below, §§ 752 ff.

§ 751. The indicative with *-sį̯o-* seems to have had in proethnic speech a participle attached, but no more (Skr. *dā-syá-nt-*, Gr. δώ-σων, Lith. dial. *dū́sius* for **dūsią̃s*, O.C.Sl. *byšąšteje*). In Sanskrit grew up a conj. with Ar. *-ā-*, and an augmented preterite; and Greek developed an opt. with *-į̯-*. See §§ 753, 759.

§ 752. Aryan. *-sį̯o-* and *-əsį̯o-*, but the latter is only to be found in Sanskrit (*-iṣya-*). There is no example of a future in Old Persian; this is probably due to chance. In Sanskrit and Avestic this future was a living and productive type. It is used, true enough, less often in Vedic than later; but then in Vedic injunctive and conjunctive forms were used with future meaning.

To the exx. cited in §§ 748—750 may be added: Skr. *vakṣyá-ti* Avest. *vaxšyę-itę̄* beside Avest. *vák-ti* 'speaks'; Skr. Skr. *janiṣyá-ti* Avest. partic. *zą̇hya-mna-* beside Skr. *ján-a-ti* 'begets'; Skr. *bhantsya-ti bandhiṣya-ti* beside *badh-ná-ti* 'binds'; *rōciṣya-tē* beside *rṓc-a-tē* 'shines'.

In Sanskrit we meet with specimens of this future made from presents of any kind (cp. § 750). *mārkṣya-tē* (beside *mrakṣya-tē*) from *márṣ-ṭi* Class I and *márja-ti* Class II 'wipes' (cp. § 494 p. 55, § 514 p. 81). *sīdiṣya-ti* (beside *satsya-ti*) from *sī́da-ti* Class IV 'sits' (§ 550 p. 106). *dadiṣya-tē* (beside *dā-syá-ti*) from *dá-dā-ti* Class V *dá-d-a-ti* Class VI 'gives'; *jahiṣya-ti* (beside *hā-sya-ti*) from *já-hā-ti ja-h-a-ti* 'leaves, deserts'. *jāgariṣyá-ti* from *jā-gar-ti* Class V 'wakes' (§ 560 pp. 109 f.). *indhiṣya-ti* from *inddhḗ* Class XV 'burns' √ *ai̯dh-*. *aśnuviṣya-ti* from *aś-nṓ-ti* Class XVII 'attains'; *jinviṣya-ti* from *ji-nṓ-ti* Class XVII *jí-nva-ti* Class XVIII 'sets in motion, propels'. *titikṣiṣya-tē* from the desid. *tí-tik-ṣa-tē* Class XXI from *tij-* 'to be sharp'. *khyāyiṣya-tē* from pass. *khy-ā-ya-tē* Class XXVIII 'is seen'.

Rather commoner in the later language is the future of denominatives in *-yá-ti*, Class XXXI, as *gōpāyiṣyá-ti* from *gōpā--yá-ti* 'guards' (*gōpā́-s* 'guardian'); and of present stems in *-áya-ti* (Causatives), Class XXXII, such as *vyayiṣya-tē* from *vy-áya-ti* 'enwraps, covers', *dhārayiṣyá-ti* from *dhār-áya-ti* 'holds'.

§ 753. Sanskrit has an augmented preterite from the future stem, meaning *on the point of*; as *ábhariṣya-t* 'he was just going to take away, wished to take'. But this form usually stands as a conditional; and so Conditional it is called.

There are a few scattered instances (in the Maha-Bharata) of Injunctive forms, implying wish; as 2nd pl. mid. *bhaviṣya--dhvam*.

Similarly there are scattered Conjunctives; as Ved. 2nd sing. *kariṣyā́-s*.

§ 754. Greek. It is not quite certain that the Greek σ-future has any immediate connexion with the Aryan and Balto-Slavonic *s̯i̯o*-type, as we have seen already (§ 747 p. 269).

With -σο- (§ 748) and -εο- -αο- (§ 749), we find a third suffix, -σεο-.

§ 755. (I) -σο-, a productive suffix in Ionic-Attic and elsewhere. Examples in §§ 748 and 750.

There is an apparent anomaly in keeping σ after sonants in the future στή-σω, as in the aorist ἔστησα. This is most simply explained as being due to the analogy of δείξω ἔδειξα etc., consonantal stems. Compare I § 564 p. 421.

Stems in Liquid or Nasal generally conform to Type II (§ 757); but roots in ϱ have -σω as well in the language of Homer and poets of the epic school: φθέϱσω (pres. φθείϱω 'I destroy') beside φθεϱέω -ῶ.

Remark. Why is it that beside a fut. φθέϱσω there is no fut. *φθείϱω, as might be expected from finding ἔκειϱα side by side with ἔκεϱσα? This is explained without difficulty if we suppose ἔκειϱα to be analogical, and due to ἔκτεινα ἔνειμα and the like (I § 563 Rem. 2 p. 419); for there were no such futures as *κτείνω for *κτενσω. Wackernagel's view of ἔκειϱα (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 127 ff.) is not convincing, to my mind.

Wackernagel would anyhow have to meet the question whether, if *φθέρσω* really comes from **φθερσιω*, it must not have kept *-ρσ-* under all circumstances, wherever the accent lay; cp. *νίσομαι* for **νινσιομαι* contrasted with *ἔκτεινα* for **ἔκτενσα* (The Author, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 61).

§ 756. *-σο-* forms futures from all sorts and kinds of stems, present, aorist, and perfect. Often there are parallel *σ*-aorists.

(1) Hom. *διδώ-σω* (beside *δώ-σω*) from *δί-δω-μι* 'I give', Class III. *διδάξω* from *δι-δάσκω*, Class XXIII (aor. *ἐδίδαξα*). Hom. *ἀΐξω* Att. *ᾄξω* from *ἀΐσσω* 'I rush', *ποι-φύξω* from *ποι-φύσσω* 'I pant, puff', *ποι-πνύσω* from *ποι-πνύω* 'I snort, pant, puff', Class XXVII (aor. *ἤιξα ᾖξα* etc.).

(2) *κλάγξω* (*ἔκλαγξα*) beside *κλάζω* 'I cry, shout' for **κλαγγ-ιω*, Class XXIX, and *κλαγγάνω*, Class XIV (§ 621 p. 158, § 628 p. 165, § 744 p. 266). Ion. *λάμψομαι* beside Att. *λήψομαι* from *λαμβάνω* 'I take', Class XIV (§ 621 p. 158). *σφίγξω* *ἔσφιγξα*) from *σφίγγω* 'I tie, bind', Class XVI (§ 631 p. 167).

(3) From the Denominative presents *κηρύσσω* 'I announce' *ἁρπάζω* 'I carry off' *σαλπίζω* 'I trumpet' *μειλίσσω* 'I soothe, pacify' *τελέω -ῶ* 'I complete' we have the futures *κηρύξω* *ἁρπάξω σαλπίγξω μειλίξω τελέσ(σ)ω* (aor. *ἐκήρῡξα* etc.), on the analogy of *πρᾱ́ξω : πρᾱ́σσω*, *σφάξω : σφάζω* and the like (cp. *θαυμανῶ ἀγγελῶ* § 757). What made it all the easier for these futures to arise, was that there existed in pre-Greek times denominative participles like *κηρῡκ-τό-ς* (*ἀ-κήρῡκτο-ς*), which seemed parallel to *πρᾱκ-τό-ς σφακ-τό-ς* (II § 79 pp. 224 f.).

(4) The combination *-η-σο-* was an especial favourite (§ 750. 1 p. 271). First, a class of futures from the stem of the aor. pass. in *-η-ν*. *μαν-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-μάν-η-ν* 'I grew mad' (√ *men-*), like Lith. *min-ė́-siu* beside *mìn-ė*. *σβ-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-σβ-η-ν* 'I was quenched' (√ *seg-*). *ῥυ-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-ρρύ-η-ν* 'I flowed' (*sreu̯-*). *μιγ-ή-σομαι* beside *ἐ-μίγ-η-ν* 'I mixed myself' (√ *mei̯k̂- mei̯ĝ-*). With the same type, *δοθή-σομαι* beside *ἐδόθην* etc., the set of forms due to the analogy of *ἐ-δό-θης* = *á-di-thās*. See § 589 pp. 129 f. In Doric, this intr.-pass. future has an active ending: *φανησεῖν συναχθησοῦντι* (*-σεο-* instead of *-σο-*, § 758). Further: *-η-σο-* occurs in forms like *σχ-ή-σω* (beside

ἕξω) from stem of ἔ-σχ-ο-ν 'I held' (cp. ἐσχηκα), μελ-ή-σει from μέλει 'it is a care' (cp. ἐμέλησε μεμέληκε), ἐθελ-ή-σω from ἐθέλω 'I wish' (ἐθέλησα ἠθέληκα), εὑδ-ή-σω from εὕδω 'I sleep' (cp. καθ-ευδῆσαι); of the same kind are Lith. *drebė́-siu* from *drebù* 'I tremble', *tekė́-siu* from *tekù* 'I run, flow'. The same type of future is seen in stems marked as present or aorist, where it retains the special tense mark, as καθ-ιζήσομαι from ἵζω 'I set' for **si-zd-ō* (cp. -ιζῆσαι ἵζηκα), βουλήσομαι from βούλομαι 'I wish' ground-form **g̥l-no-* § 611 p. 150 (cp. βεβούλημαι) βοσκήσω from βό-σκω 'I pasture, feed', τυπτήσω from τύπ-τω 'I strike' (cp. ἐτύπτησα), χαιρήσω from χαίρω 'I rejoice' for *χαρ-ι̯ω (cp. ἐχαίρησα), ὀζήσω from ὄζω 'I smell' for *ὀδ-ι̯ω (cp. ὤζησα), πεπιθήσω from πε-πιθ-εῖν 'to persuade', πεφιδήσομαι from πε-φιδ-έ-σθαι 'to spare'.

(5) The original identity of flexion in the groups typified by *τῑμᾱ-ι̯ω (from τῑμᾱ́ 'honour') and *δρᾱ-ι̯ω (δρῶ 'I do') — compare Aeol. ἐτίμᾱ-μεν like ἔδρᾱ-μεν 'we ran' — made the later set of denominatives run parallel to verbs of Classes X and XXVIII in other tenses besides the present. Hence τῑμᾱ́σω φιλήσω μισθώσω like δρᾱ́σω νήσω γνώσομαι; similarly Lith. *dovanó-siu* from *dovanó-ju* 'I present' (*dovanà* 'gift') like *žió-siu* from *žió-ju*, and *jûkű-siu* (*jûkű-ju* 'I jest' from *jũka-s* 'jest'), in correspondence with Gr. μισθώ-σω. Following out the analogy further we get κονῑ́-σω from κονίω 'I make dusty' (κόνι-ς 'dust') δακρῡ́-σω from δακρύω 'I cry' (δάκρυ 'a tear'); so also Lith. *dalý-siu* from *daly-jù* 'I share, divide' (*dalì-s* 'a part'). Compare § 773.

(6) Futures in -σω from perfect forms. ἑστήξω from ἕστηκα 'I stand'. λελείψεται from λέλειπται 'is left over'. μεμνήσεται from μέμνηται 'remembers'. Hom. κεχαρήσω from κεχαρηώς 'glad'.

§ 757. (II) -εσ- -ασ- -οσ- -υσ-.

-εσ- (becomes -ισ- in Dor., I § 64 p. 51) is the ordinary future suffix in liquid or nasal stems, as φθερέω -ῶ (beside Hom. φθέρσω), τενέω -ῶ, see § 749 p. 271.

Hence -εσ- spread to the future of stems which had a nasal formative suffix in the present; as φανέω -ῶ from φαίνω

'I show, make appear' for *φα-ν-ιω, κλινέω -ῶ from κλίνω 'I bend' for *κλι-ν-ιω, see § 611 p. 150, ξανέω -ῶ from ξαίνω 'I scratch, comb' for *ξ-αν-ιω, αὐανέω -ῶ from αὐαίνω 'I make dry' for *σαυσ-αν-ιω (cp. Lith. *saũsį-siu*); see § 618 p. 156, § 621 p. 158. It also spread to Denominatives with liquid and nasal stems, as θαυμαίνω 'I wonder' ἀγγέλλω 'I announce': θαυμανέω ἀγγελέω -ῶ, not like κηρύξω from κηρύσσω (§ 756. 3 p. 275).

Where -ασ- and -οσ- appear, the first vowel belongs to other forms besides the future; and so too once or twice -ε- in -εσ-. κρεμάω -ῶ from κρέμα-μαι 'I hang' κρεμά-σσαι κρεμά-θρα, δαμάω -ῶ from δαμά-σσαι παν-δαμά-τωρ. ὀμόομαι ὀμοῦμαι from ὀμό-σσαι 'swear' ὀμώμο-ται ἀπ-ώμο-το-ς. ὀλέω ὀλῶ from ὀλέ-σσαι 'to destroy' ὀλώλε-κα ὀλε-τήρ.

The analogy of κρεμάω : κρεμάσ(σ)αι, ὀλέω : ὀλέσ(σ)αι, and the like, produced from the aorists δικάσ(σ)αι 'to judge, investigate' (δικάζω) δοκιμάσ(σ)αι 'probare' (δοκιμάζω) the futures δικάω δοκιμάω -ῶ, and similarly we have ἀμφιέω -ῶ beside ἀμφι-έσ(σ)αι 'to put on',[1]) μαχέομαι -οῦμαι beside μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι 'to fight', τελέω -ῶ beside τελέσ(σ)αι 'to complete', τανύω beside τανύσ(σ)αι, and many others.

An exceptional group contains the Attic and Ionic future in -ιέω -ιῶ from a present in -ίζω, as κομιῶ from κομίζω 'I bring'; for which *κομίω might be looked for, to judge from δικάω. We may conjecture that the type was once actually *κομίω; and that *-ίω became -ιέω -ιῶ as the effect of the constant use of -έω -ῶ. -έω is an intruder also in ὀμέομαι ὀμεῖται Dor. ὀμιόμεθα instead of ὀμό-ομαι.

Remark. There is some doubt whether -ιέω instead of *-ίω be as old as Homer; no argument can be based on the traditional accent of κομιῶ ἀεικιῶ κτεριοῦσι, and ἀγλαϊεῖσθαι may be a mistake for ἀγλαΐεσθαι. These are the only Homeric specimens of the type.

§ 758. (III) -σεο- (Doric Future).[2]) Whether -σο- =

1) We can hardly regard ἀμφι-έω as being *-ϝεσ-ω, and a conj. to Skr. *vás-tē* Gr. ἐπί-εσται.

2) For the Doric Future, see now Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 546 ff.

Skr. *-sya-*, or whether it is the conj. of the *s*-aorist, *-σεο-* is *-σο-* transformed under the influence of *-εο-*.

-σεο- is the ordinary Doric suffix answering to Attic *-σο-*; as *πρᾱξέω -ίω βοᾱθησέω -ίω*, but Att. *πρᾱ́ξω βοηθήσω*. A few instances of it occur in Ion.-Att., as *φευξοῦμαι* beside *φεύξομαι* (cp. the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 170 footnote 1).

§ **759.** Greek, besides the indic., partic., and inf. future, (*δείξω δείξων δείξειν*) had only the optative, as *δείξοιμι*, which is quite a new formation (see the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 188).

§ **760.** Balto-Slavonic. Only *-si̯o-*, and nothing which answers to Skr. *-iṣya-* and Gr. *-εο- -αο-*, and so forth. In Lithuanian the future in *-siu* lived on, and still lives and forms a type; but in Slavonic it died before historic times began, all but the sole form O.C.Sl. *byšęšteje* (§ 748 p. 271).

§ **761.** The Lith. fut. *-siu* is inflected differently in different dialects. The 1[st] pl. is sometimes *dũ-sia-m(e)* like *veřczia-m(e)* § 725 pp. 254 ff. (cp. partic. dial. *dů́sius* = **dů́sių̄s*, and O.C.Sl. *byšęšteje*); sometimes it is *dů-si-m(e)* — in High Lithuanian, for instance — like *ãvi-m(e)* § 727 pp. 257 ff.[1]) The other forms which occur, pl. *dů́sme dů́ste* dual *dů́sva dů́sta*, like the 3[rd] sing. *bùs gaũs*, are injunctives of the *s*-aorist (§ 828). The partic. *dů́sęs* (cp. O.C.Sl. *byšęšteje*) admits of more than one explanation; see J. Schmidt, as cited in footnote.

Examples of Lith. fut. are given in § 748 pp. 269 f.

Where marks of the present are retained in the future, they are retained in the other forms from the Infinitive Stem.

Future from Present Stem with inserted nasal: *jùnksiu* from *jùng-iu* 'I put in the yoke', *skų́siu* from *skùndžiu* 'I weep, bewail myself', *leñksiu* from *lenkiù* 'I bend', § 744 p. 267. Compare Gr. *κλάγξω* etc. § 756. 2 p. 275.

From Present in *-inu -enu*: *saũsį-siu* from *saũsinu* 'I make dry', *gyvẽ-siu* from *gyvenù* 'I dwell', see § 624 p. 161. Compare Gr. *ἀνανῶ* § 757 p. 277.

1) J. Schmidt's assumption (Neutra, pp. 423 ff.) that *dů́sime* is an optative, is wrong. Idg. *-ī-* would remain long in Lithuanian.

The combination *-ė-siu*. *minė́-siu* from *menù* 'I think of' pret. *minė*, cp. Gr. μανή-σομαι ἐ-μάνη-ν. *drebė́-siu* from *drebù* 'I tremble'. *stenė́-siu* from *stenù* 'I groan'. *penė́-siu* from *penù* 'I nourish, fatten'. *avė́-siu* from *aviù* 'I have something on my feet'. Compare § 756. 4 p. 275.

Later Stratum of Denominatives. *dovanó-siu* from *dovanó-ju* 'I give' (*dovanà* 'a gift'), *pāsako-siu* from *pāsako-ju* 'I recount, tell' (*pā-saka* 'tale'), like *žió-siu* from *žió-ju* 'I open my mouth' (§ 740 p. 264), cp. Gr. τῑμά-σω. *jů̃kũ'-siu* from *jů̃kũ'-ju* 'I sport, jest' (*jů̃ka-s* 'jest'), *jů̃dů-siu* from *jů̃dů-ju* 'I have a black sheen', analogous to Gr. μισθώ-σω. *daly̆-su* from *daly-jù* 'I share, divide' (*dalì-s* 'a share, part'), *szir̃dy-siů-s* from *szir̃dy-jů-s* 'I take to heart' (*szirdì-s* 'heart'), like Gr. κονί-σω. Compare § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773. *keláu-siu* from *keláu-ju* 'I travel' (*kẽla-s kẽle-s* 'way').

Appendix to Classes XXVII—XXX.

Extension of Present Stems in *-sko-*, *-to-*, and *-dho-* *-do-* by the Suffix *-i̯o-*.

§ 762. The reason why this extension of the *-sko-*class (XXII), the *-to-*class (XXIV) and the *-dho-* and *-do-*class (XXV) is relegated to an Appendix, and they are not allowed a class each to themselves, has been explained in § 704 p. 239.

§ 763. *i̯o*-extension of *sko*-stems (§§ 669 ff.)

Sanskrit can show only a few passive forms with *-ya-* (cp. §§ 709 and 710, pp. 243 ff.), in stems where *-sko-* has lost its character as a present-forming suffix: *pr̥ch-yá-tē* from *pr̥chá-ti* 'asks', *vāñch-ya-tē* from *vāñcha-ti* 'wishes' (§ 671 p. 203). Possibly *vr̥śc-yá-tē*, from *vr̥ścá-ti* 'tears to pieces', is another; see § 669 p. 202.

Lith. *dresk-iù* 'I tear' trans., beside *driskaũ*, O.C.Sl. *ištą* for **īsk-i̯ą* beside *iską* 'I seek' (§ 677 p. 210).

Remark. Gr. πτώσσω 'I cower, cringe', in view of πτωσκάζω, may be derived from *πτωσκ-i̯ω. However, πτώ-ξ -κό-ς and πτω-χό-ς make it more natural to suppose that it comes from *πτω-κ-i̯ω or *πτω-χ-i̯ω.

Cp. πτήσσω 'I frighten' for *πτᾱ-κ-ι̯ω, ἐγρήσσω 'I wake' for *ἐγρη-κ-ι̯ω or -χ-ι̯ω, and verbs in -ώσσω such as ὀνειρώσσω (ὀνείρωξε) ὑπνώσσω ἰκτερώσσω. The κ- and χ-suffixes in these words were probably the same as *-ko-* in *-s-ko-*; see § 669 p. 201.

§ 764. *-to*-stems extended by *-i̯o-* (§§ 679 ff.).

Skr. *nŕ̥t-ya-ti* 'dances, plays' pass. *nr̥t-ya-tē* beside *nr̥-tá-mā-na-s*, pass. *yat-ya-tē* beside *yá-ta-tē* 'joins itself, strives' (§ 681 p. 213).

Lith. *siuncziù* 'I send', perhaps from **su-n-to-* (§ 686 p. 218). O.C.Sl. *ob-ręštą* 'I find' perhaps from **rē-to-* (§ 687 p. 218).

Remark. Gr. ἀρύσσω (only Hdt. VI 119) seems to be not an extension of Att. ἀρύ-τω 'I pour, I draw water' (§ 682 p. 214), but an analogical form, suggested by ἀρύω, on the type of ἀφύσσω : ἀφύω 'I pour, draw water'.

§ 765. *-dho-* and *-do-* stems extended by *-i̯o-* (§§ 688 ff.).

(1) *-dh-i̯o-*. Skr. *yú-dh-ya-tē* 'gets in motion, fights', *rā́-dh-ya-tē* 'carries to a successful end' pass. *rādh-ya-tē* (§ 689 p. 220), *krú-dh-ya-ti* 'scorns', *sā́-dh-ya-ti* 'comes to its goal' (§ 691 p. 221).

Gr. θύσσομαι 'I shake or quiver, am frantic' for *θυ-θ-ι̯ο-μαι (§ 689 p. 220), ἐσθ-ίω 'I eat' (§ 694 p. 223, § 713 p. 247).

Lith. *skér-d-žiu* 'I burst, blow up' (§ 689 p. 219).

(2) *-d-i̯o-*. Only passives in Sanskrit; as *mr̥d-yá-tē* from *mr̥-d-nā-mi* 'I grind to pieces, crush' *vi-mradati* 'softens' (§ 690 p. 220), *khād-ya-tē* from *khā́-da-ti* 'bites up, chews', *īḍ-ya-tē* from *īḍa-tē* 'honours, praises' (§ 692 p. 222).

Gr. κλύζω 'I flood' for *κλυ-δ-ι̯ω, ἐκ-φλύζω 'I spurt out' for *φλυ-δ-ι̯ω (§ 695 p. 224).

Lith. *plau-d-žiu* 'I wash, cleanse', *spráu-d-žiu* 'I compel, press down' (§ 690 p. 221, § 700 p. 227).

(3) Doubtful: *-dh-i̯o-* or *-d-i̯o-*. Avest. *siž-d-yę-iti* 'drives away' (§ 693 p. 223). Lith. *mér-d-žiu* 'I lie a dying', *skél-d-žiu* 'I split or burst', *sru-d-žiu* 'I make bloody', Lett. *e'rſchu* 'I separate' for **erd-i̯-u* (§ 701 p. 227).

Class XXXI.

Later Group of Denominatives with Present-Suffix *-i̯o-*.

§ 766. We here discuss present stems like Skr. *dēva-yá-ti* 'he worships the gods' from *dēvá-* 'god', Gr. *φιλέ-(i̯)ω* 'I treat as a friend' from *φίλο-ς* (*φίλε-*) 'friend', Skr. *namas-yá-ti* 'he offers worship or respect' from *námas-* 'respect', Gr. *τελέ(σ-i̯)ω* 'I end' from *τέλος* 'end' (*τέλεσ-*). This is a productive type in almost all languages of our group, and beyond all doubt is as old as the parent language.

As I have pointed out (§ 487 p. 43, § 703 p. 232), no hard and fast line can be drawn between the verbs which grammars usually call Denominative and what they call Primary Verbs. When denominative verbs were formed in the parent language, no new and peculiar mode of conjugation was invented for them. They ran in old grooves; the present stem preferring as its type stems with the secondary suffix *-i̯o-*. It was only by degrees that inflexional peculiarities sprang up; chiefly because *-i̯o-* coalesced with the final of the preceding noun-stem, and thus made new suffixes. But the peculiar denominative endings often came again to be the same as those of primary verbs by the action of the laws of language.

§ 767. The proethnic language possesst *i̯o*-presents from all kinds of consonant stems, from stems in *-ā-* (*-ā-i̯ó-*), in *-o-* (*-e-i̯ó-*), in *-i-* (*-i-i̯ó-*), and in *-u-* (*-u-i̯ó-*).

So great are the changes worked by analogy, that it is rather rare to find a denominative agreeing with the Idg. type in more than one or two languages. Thus, Lat. *oper-ā-rī* (Umbr. *osatu* 'operato' Osc. úpsannam 'operandam') and *nōmin-ā-re* do not correspond with Skr. *apas-yá-ti* and Gr. *ὀνομαίνω*, which do represent the Idg. inflexion; because, in Latin, denominatives of *s-* and *n*-stems had been attracted into the *ā*-class in pre-historic times.

§ 768. (1) Consonant Stems.

Skr. *rajas-yá-ti* 'turns to dust' (in older Sanskrit only *rajas-yá-s* 'dusty'), Goth. *riqiz-ja* 'I darken myself', common ground-form **reges-ié-ti*, from *rájas* n. 'dust' *riqis* n. (gen. *riqizis*, see II § 132 p. 420) 'darkness'. Skr. *apas-yá-ti* 'is active' from *ápas* n. 'work' *apás-* 'active'; *namas-yá-ti* Avest. *nemaχ-yę-iti* 'bows, reveres, worships' from *námas nemō* n. 'reverence'; Skr. *avas-yá-ti* 'seeks help' from *ávas* n. 'help'. Gr. Hom. τελείω τελέω Att. -ῶ 'I end' for **τελεσ-ιω* (aor. τελέσ-σαι) from τέλος n. 'end'; Hom. ἀκείομαι ἀκέομαι 'I heal' (aor. ἀκέσ-σασθαι from ἄκος n. 'healing'. Lat. *fulgur-iō* from *fulgur*. O.H.G. *refs(i)u* 'I blame, scold, chasten', cp. Skr. *rapás-* 'bodily hurt'. — Avest. *xrvīš-yę-iti* i. e. *xruvīš-yę-iti* 'sheds blood' from a stem **xr(u)viš-*, ground-form **qruu̯əs-*, closely akin to Skr. *kravíṣ-* 'raw, bloody flesh'. Gr. γελάω 'I laugh' for **γελασ-ιω* from stem γελασ- (nom. γέλως) 'laughter' ground-form **geləs-* (II § 134 p. 425).

Gr. ὀνομαίνω Goth. *namn-ja* 'I name' from ὄνομα *namō* n. 'name', the former for **-mn̥-i̯ṓ*, the latter for **-mn̥-ii̯ṓ* (cp. Idg. **mr̥-i̯ó-* and **mr-ii̯ó-*, **bhu-i̯ó-* and **bhu-ii̯ó-* § 707 p. 235). All the following have Idg. *-n̥-i̯ó-*. Skr. *vr̥ṣaṇ-yá-ti* 'is in heat or passion' from *vŕ̥ṣan-* 'male', *brahmaṇ-yá-ti* 'is pious' from *bráhman-* n. 'piety' *brahmán-* 'pious person, one who prays'; Avest. *vyāxmainyę-iti* 'deliberates, thinks over' from *vyāxman* n. assembly, consultation'. Gr. τεκταίνω 'I carpenter, make' from τέκτων 'carpenter, workman'; σπερμαίνω 'I give forth seed' from σπέρμα 'seed'. Goth. *glitmun-ja* 'I shine' from **glitmin-* (cp. O.H.G. *glizemo*) 'brightness'.

Skr. *vadhar-yá-ti* 'shoots, lets off a missile' from *vádhar* n. 'shot'. Gr. τεκμαίρω 'I mark, fix' from τέκμαρ n. 'mark, boundary'. We may perhaps assign to this section Latin desideratives like *scrīpturiō* from *scrīptor*, *ēsuriō* from *ēsor*; *-turiō* for **-tor-iō *-tr̥-i̯ō.*[1]).

1) This explanation follows Thurneysen, Über Herkunft und Bildung der lat. Verba, p. 66. A different view is that of Kretschmer, Kuhn's

Gr. βλίττω 'I cut the honey-combs' (fut. βλίσω) from μέλιτ- n. 'honey'. Lat. *dent-iō* from *dēns.* Goth. *veitvōd-ja* 'I certify' from *veitvōd-* 'witness'. Skr. *iṣudh-yá-ti* 'begs, prays' Avest. *išud-ye-iti* 'confesses guilt' from Avest. *išud-* 'a cry by which one acknowledges sin'. Gr. κορύσσω 'I helm, arm' for *κορυθ-ιω from κόρυς -υθ-ος 'helmet'. Lat. *custōd-iō* from *custōs -ōd-is.*

Gr. λιθάζω 'I stone' from λιθάς -άδ-ος 'stone', μιγάζομαι 'I mingle with' from μιγάς -άδ-ος 'mixed, motley'. In Germanic, 'verbs in *-atjan* answer to this Greek denominative group; but the noun stems from which they came had disappeared before the historic period: Goth. *lauhatja* O.H.G. *lougazzu lohazzu* 'I shine' (cp. Gr. λευκός), Goth. *svōgatja* 'I sigh' *kaupatja* 'I box the ears' (pret. *kaupasta*), O.H.G. *blecchezzu* 'I lighten' (cp. II § 128 p. 409).

To the denominatives formed from cons. stems have always belonged *to*-participles, as Gr. ἀκεσ-τό-ς Lat. *sceles-tu-s*, Gr. θαυμα-τό-ς (Skr. *śrṓma-ta-m* O.H.G. *hliumun-t* Lat. *cōgnōmen-tu-m*), Skr. *án-ap-ta-s* etc. See II § 79 pp. 224 f., § 82 p. 249.

§ 769. (2) *ā*-stems: Idg. *-ā-i̯ó-*.

In a great many languages there are found other forms without *-i̯o-*, as 1st pl. Armen. *ǰana-mk'* Gr. Aeol. τίμā-μεν Lat. *plantā-mus* O.Ir. *no chara-m* Goth. *salbō-m* Lith. *jū́sto-me.* These kept close with the old primary *ā*-verbs of Class X. In principle, the two groups are really the same.

Gr. ὁράω -ῶ 'I see', O.H.G. *bi-warōm* 'I observe, am ware' beside Gr. *ϝορā in φρουρā 'outlook, protection' O.H.G. *wara* 'care, protection'. Lat. *forō -ā-s* etc., O.H.G. *borōm* 'I bore' from O.H.G. *bora* 'borer' (ground-form **bhr̥r-ā-*), but cp. § 579 p. 122. Skr. *pr̥tanā-yá-ti* 'fights' from *pŕ̥tanā* 'fight', *manā-yá-ti* 'is attached' from *manā́* 'attachment'. Gr. τῑμάω -ῶ 'I honour' from τῑμά (-ή) 'honour', ἡβάω -ῶ 'pubesco' from ἥβā (-η) 'ripeness', ὁρμάω -ῶ 'I drive or urge' from ὁρμά (-ή) 'movement'. Lat. *plantō -ā-s* etc. from *planta*, *cūrō* from *cūra*,

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Zeitschr. XXXI 464: he starts with an adj. like **scrīptu-ro-* (cp. Att. οἰζυ-ρό-ς from οἰζύ-ς οἰζύος II § 74 p. 184).

As well as these present stems in *-ā-i̯ō*, most languages have non-present stems with *-ā-* just like those formed from *ā*-verbs in Classes X and XXVIII. The latter are the type, the former copied from them. The commonest are verbal nouns, always more or less closely connected with the verb system, with the suffixes *-to- -ti- -no-* and so forth; e. g. Gr. *τῑμη-τό-ς τί̄μη-σι-ς* from *τῑμάω*, Lat. *plantā-tu-s plantā-tiō* from *plantō*, O.Ir. *carthe* 'loved' from *caraim*, *cēssad* 'suffering' from *cēssaim*, Goth. *laþō-þ-s* 'invited' *laþō-n* 'to invite' *laþō-n-s* 'invitation' from *laþō*, Lith. *dovanó-ta-s* 'given' *dovanó-ti* 'to give' from *dovanó-ju*, O.C.Sl. *ląka-nŭ* 'deceived' *ląka-ti* 'to deceive' from *ląka-ją*. Then we have certain tenses, as Gr. *τῑμή-σω*, Lat. *plantā-rem*, Lith. *dovanó-siu* O.C.Sl. *ląka-chŭ*. Compare § 756. 5, p. 276, § 761 p. 279, § 822. 6.

§ 770. (3) From *o*-stems there were two ways of deriving the present stem. One of them, doubtless the older, suppresses the final vowel of the noun stem. This we have already seen in Classes XIV and XXIX, exemplified by Skr. *turaṇ-yá-ti* from *turáṇa-s*, Gr. *ὀλισθαίνω* from *ὀλίσθανο-ς* (§§ 616 ff. pp. 154 ff., § 743 pp. 265 f.). This is just how *i̯o*-adjectives are generally derived from noun stems in *-o-*, as Skr. *áśv-iya-s* Gr. *ἵππ-ιο-ς* from *áśva-s ἵππο-ς* (II § 63 p. 126, and Rem. 3 p. 132). The second, and commoner, formation ends in *-e-i̯ó-* (cp. voc. in *-e*, loc. in *-e-i̯* and so forth, II § 59 p. 108). This recals Skr. *hiraṇyá-ya-s* 'golden' from *híraṇya-m* 'gold', and Lat. *aureu-s* (*auru-m*), if it is to be explained **aure-i̯o-* (cp. II § 63 p. 128).[1]

(*a*) With Aryan present stems in *-an-i̯a-ti* are associated but few from other *o*-stems: Skr. *adhvar-yá-ti* 'performs an offering' from *adhvará-s* 'offering', *vithuryá-ti* 'staggers, reels' from *vithurá-s* 'tottering, reeling', *rathakāmya-ti* 'asks for a car' from *ratha-kāma-* 'desirous of having a car', Avest. *vāstryę-iti* 'feeds' from *vāstre-m* 'meadow, field, fodder', *avāstryę-itē*

1) It is noteworthy how well the isolated Ved. *varēyá-ti* 'he woos (*vará-s* 'wooer') agrees with the above mentioned adj. in *-ēya-*, *pāúruṣēya-s* from *púruṣa-s* and the like.

'dead', *derbaim* 'I prove' from *derb* 'certain', *forcennaim* 'I end' from *cenn for-cenn* 'end', *biathaim* 'I nourish' from *biath* 'nourishment', cp. Gall. *Γαισᾶτοι* pl. 'pilati' beside Gall.-Lat. *gaesu-m* 'spear'. Goth. *vairþō* O.H.G. *werdōm* 'I value, treasure' from *vairþ-s werd* adj. 'worth', Goth. *ga-vundō* O.H.G. *wuntōm* 'I make wounded, wound' from *vund-s wunt* 'wound', Goth. *ga-leikō* 'I compare, make like' from *ga-leik-s* 'like', O.H.G. *ebanōm* 'I make even' from *eban* 'even', Goth. *bi-ráubō* 'I rob, plunder' O.H.G. *roubōm* 'I rob' from O.H.G. *roub* 'robbery', O.H.G. *zeihhonōm* 'I mark, draw' from *zeihhan* 'mark'. Lith. *kilnó-ju* 'I lift to and fro' from *kìlna-s* 'high' (unless it be preferred to class this verb in § 606 p. 147), *mìrksnio-ju* 'I wink, twinkle' from *mìrksni-s* (gen. *mìrksnio*) 'glance, a single movement of the eyelid', Lett. *at-jáunáju* 'I make young, renew' from *jáun-s* 'young', *gůdá-ju* 'I honour', from *gůd-s* 'honour' *apſchůgáju* 'I enclose' from *ſchůg-s* 'hedge, fence'; O.C.Sl. *dělа-ją* 'I do, make' from *dělo* 'work', *pri-veslają* 'adveho' from *veslo* 'oar, rudder'. The beginnings of this series of derivatives from *ā*-verbs from noun stems in *-ā-* goes back to the proethnic stage; at that time there were often subst. abstr. with *-ā-* alongside of *o*-adjectives and *o*-substantives. Thus the O.H.G. *follōm* may be derived, if we please, not from *fol* but from Germ. **fullō-* = Avest. *perᵉnā-* 'fulness', which appears in Goth. *fullō* O.H.G. *follā* 'fulness'; or Lat. *offēnsāre* may be derived from subst. *offēnsa* and not from *offēnsu-s* (cp. II § 158 pp. 473 ff.). These and like verbs were from the first closely associated with the *o*-stems belonging to these *ā*-nouns; and thus it became possible afterwards to derive verbs in *-ā-i̯ō* straight from *o*-stems. The ending *-āi̯ō* found favour for another reason too; namely, that there was from the earliest period another group of verbs in *-āi̯ō*, originally denominative too, but with this character long since lost: I mean verbs of Classes X and XXVIII, like Lat. *hi-ō* Lith. *ži-ó-ju*, Gr. *ὑλ-άω* Lith. *ul-ó-ju* (Lat. *ululō*), Lat. *juv-ō mic-ō*, O.Ir. *scaraim*, Goth. *mit-ō* O.H.G. *mezzōm*, Lith. *lìnd--o-ju* O.C.Sl. *raz-vrězа-ją* (§§ 579 ff. pp. 121 ff., §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.).

is a new formation, on the lines of Class XXVI, § 711 p. 246, as Lat. *custōdī-s fīnī-s* follow verbs primitive like *farc-ī-s* (§ 777). But the contained stems in *-i̯ō* need not be compared with Skr. *turaṇ-yá-ti*; they may have arisen out of denominatives from *i*-stems. Similarly Lat. *catuliō* (beside *catulu-s*) *blandior* (beside *blandu-s*) *īnsāniō* (beside *īn-sānu-s*) may be ad-formates of presents in *-i-i̯ō*; and Germanic presents such as Goth. *hráinja* 'I cleanse' (*hráin-s* 'clean') *láusja* 'I loose' (*láus* 'loose') may be either this or derived from *-ei̯ō* (see *b*, below).

(*b*) *-e-i̯ó-*. Skr. *vasna-yá-ti* 'haggles' Gr. *ὠνέομαι* 'I buy' from *vasná-s -m ὦνο-ς* 'price' (for **ϝωσ-νο-*, cp. Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 81 f.; for O.C.Sl. *věno*, see II § 66 p. 149). Lat. *seneō*, Lith. *senē-ju* 'I grow old' (*-ēju* instead of **-eju*, see below) beside Lith. *sēna-s* 'old'. Skr. *amitra-yá-ti* 'is hostile' from *á-mitra-s* 'foe', *kulāya-yá-ti* 'wraps itself up' from *kulā́ya-m* 'covering'; Avest. *vāša-yę-iti* 'draws the chariot' from *vāša-* m. 'chariot', *aša-yę-iti* 'is pious' from *aša-* 'pious' (cp. Skr. *r̥táya-ti* with different accent, see §§ 793, 798), O.Pers. *a-śāraya-m* 'I protected, watched' from **śā-ra-* (Skr. *tr-ā-*), not actually found. Gr. *φιλέω -ῶ* 'I treat as a friend' from *φίλο-ς* 'dear, friend', *κοιρανέω* 'I rule' from *κοίρανο-ς* 'ruler', *νοστέω* 'I return home' from *νόστο-ς* 'homeward way', *εὐφημέω* 'I use words of good omen' from *εὔ-φημο-ς* 'of good omen'. Lat. *claudeō* from *claudu-s*, *albeō* from *albu-s*, *flāveō* from *flāvo-s*, *nigreō* from *niger*. Irish: perhaps *scorim scuirim* 'I unharness' from *scor* 'enclosure for unharnessed animals'. Probably forms in *-e-i̯ō* = pr. Germ. *-ii̯ō* are at the bottom of Germanic stems like Goth. *rigneiþ* 'it rains' from *rign* 'rain', *háurnja* 'I blow on the horn' from *haúrn* 'horn', Goth. *laúsja* O.H.G. *lōs(i)u* 'I loose' from *láus lōs* 'loose'; the last verb, like all transitive denominatives taken from adjectives in Germanic, can be counted to Class XXXII; see § 806. Balto-Slavonic has *-ē-i̯o-* instead of *-e-i̯o-* (§ 782. 2): Lith. *gůdē-jû-s* 'I am greedy' from *gů̃da-s* 'greed', *kerḗ-ju* 'I grow in stalks, like a bush' from *kēra-s* 'stalk', *kētė-ju* 'I get hard' from *kēta-s* hard';[1]) O.C.Sl. *razumě-*

1) Kurschat, apparently with less correctness, *kētēju*.

-ją 'I understand' from *raz-umŭ* 'understanding, reason', *cělě-ją* 'I get well' from *cělŭ* 'well, whole', *o-žestočają* 'I harden myself' for **o-žestokěją* (I § 76 p. 66), from *žestokŭ* 'hard'.

Remark. Greek verbs in *-όω* have their parallel in Lith. verbs with *-ŭju*. I conjecture that these endings are special upgrowths in these languages (§§ 773, 776. 4, 782. 2). Of course if Idg. *o* in open syllables became Aryan *ā*, there is a possibility that Ar. *-āya-ti* in some words comes from **-o-i̯e-ti*.

§ 771. (4.) *i*-stems, Idg. *-i̯i̯ó-*. Gr. *μητῑ́ο-μαι* 'I devise, contrive' Lat. *mētior* 'I measure, sentence',[1]) from *μῆ-τι-ς* 'counsel, resolve, cleverness' Skr. *mā-ti-ṣ̌* 'measure, correct perception'. Skr. *arātī-yá-ti* 'brews mischief for some one' from *árāti-ṣ̌* 'ill luck', *janī-yá-ti* 'asks for a wife' from *jáni-ṣ̌* 'wife', *kavī-yá-tē* 'acts like a wise man, is wise' from *kaví-ṣ̌* 'wise man, seer' (on *-īyáti*, see § 774). Gr. *κονίω* 'I make dusty' from *κόνι-ς* 'dust', *δηρῑ́ομαι* 'I strive' from *δῆρι-ς* 'contention', *μηνῑ́ω* 'I grow angry' from *μῆνι-ς* 'wrath'. Lat. *fīniō* from *fīni-s*, *febriō* from *febri-s*, *crīniō* from *crīni-s*, *grandiō* from *grandi-s*, *lēniō* from *lēni-s*. O.Ir. *fo-dālim* 'I divide up' (3rd sing. *fo-dāli*) from *dāil* 'part'. Goth. *dáilja* O.H.G. *teil(i)u* 'I divide' from Goth. *dáil-s* stem *dáili-* 'part'; Goth. *vēnja* O.H.G. *wān(i)u* 'I imagine, hope' beside Goth. *vēn-s* (stem *vēni-*) 'delusion, hope'; Goth. *dulþja* 'I observe a feast' from *dulþ-s* (stem *dulþi-*) 'feast', *anamahtja* 'I offer force to' from *ana-maht-s* (stem *-mahti-*) 'force'. Lith. *daly-jù* 'I divide' from *dalì-s* 'part', *szir̃dy-jů-s* 'I take to heart' (*szirdì-s* 'heart'); as regards *-y-ju*, instead of *-i-ju*, see § 782. 2.

§ 772. (5.) From *u*-stems, Idg. *-u-i̯ó-*. Skr. *gātu-yá-ti* 'goes an errand' from *gātú-ṣ̌* 'errand', *vasū-yá-ti* 'desires goods' from *vásu* 'goods', *śatrū-yá-ti* 'appears as a foe' from *śátru-ṣ̌* 'foe', *r̥jū-yá-ti* 'is straight' from *r̥jú-ṣ̌* 'straight' (on *-ū-yá-ti* see § 774); Avest. *aŋhu-yę-iti* 'makes oneself master of' from *aŋhu-š* 'lord, master'. Gr. *φῑτύω* 'I beget, produce' from *φῖτυ*

1) A different account of *mētior* is given by Johansson, Beitr. zur Gr. Spr., 129.

'sprout, offspring', *φῖτυ-ς* 'begetter, producer', *γηρύω* 'I make a sound' from *γῆρυ-ς* 'voice', *οἰζύω* 'I lament' from *οἰζύ-ς* 'lament', *δακρῡ́ω* 'I weep' from *δάκρυ* 'tear', *ἰθύω* 'I go straight towards' from *ἰθύ-ς* 'straight'. Lat. *statuō* from *statu-s*, *tribuō* from *tribu-s*, *metuō* from *metu-s*.

§ 773. We have now given the main lines of this denominative formation in Indo-Germanic.

Now we have seen in § 769 p. 286, that *ā*-verbs of this formation very early yield to the analogy of *ā*-verbs of Classes X and XXVIII so far as to make such forms as Gr. *τῑμη-τό-ς ἐτί̄μη-σα*. Next, corresponding non-present stems with *-ē-*, *-ī-*, or *-ū-* associated themselves with the presents in *-e-i̯ō -i-i̯ō* and *-u-i̯ō*; to which were soon added verbs with *-ō-* outside the present and with *-o-i̯o-* or *-ō-i̯o-* in the present, formed from *o*-nouns. In the case of Denominatives with *-ē-* and *-ō-*, the type was aided by *ē-* and *ō-* verbs of Classes X and XXVIII as well. These non-present formations are all found in several branches of Indo-Germanic. As far as our knowledge of the relations of the languages to one another now goes, it is hardly possible to say how many such forms are proethnic and how many are later.

Gr. *φιλη-τό-ς ἐφίλη-σα φιλή-σω* from *φιλέω* (*φίλο-ς*), compare *νη-τό-ς ἔνη-σα νή-σω*, *μελη-τέο-ν ἐμέλη-σε μελή-σει* etc. (cp. § 587 pp. 127 f., § 589 pp. 129 ff., §§ 735 and 737 pp. 261 ff., § 756. 4 p. 275). Lat. *claudē-rem* (conj. of *s*-aorist) from *claudeō* (*claudu-s*), compare *nē-rem -plē-rem*, *vidē-rem tacē-rem* (§ 587 pp. 127 f., § 590 p. 132, § 708 pp. 238 ff., §§ 735 and 738 pp. 261 ff.). Lith. *gúdė́-ti-s gúdė́-siů-s* from *gúdė-jů-s* (*gū̃da-s*), O.C.Sl. *cělě-ti cělě-chŭ* from *cělě-ją* (*cělŭ*), compare Lith. *byrė́-ti byrė́-siu* (§ 740 p. 265). Gr. *ἀ-δήρῑ-το-ς ἐκόνῑ-σα κονί̄-σω* from *κονί̄ω* (*κόνι-ς*). Lat. *fīnī-tu-s fīnī-rem* from *fīniō* (*fīni-s*). Lith. *dalý-ti dalý-siu* from *daly-jù* (*dalì-s*), O.C.Sl. *gosti-ti gosti-chŭ* from *gošťą* for **gostĭją* (*gostĭ*), § 782. 5. Gr. *ἀ-δάκρῡ-το-ς ἐδάκρῡ-σα δακρῡ́-σω* from *δακρύω* (*δάκρυ*). Lat. *statū-tu-s* from *statuō* (*statu-s*).

-ō- is commonest within the verb infinite; as Gr. *μισθω-*

-*τό-ς* from *μισθό-ς*, Lat. *aegrō-tu-s* from *aeger* (stem *aegro-*), Lith. *ragů'-ta-s* O.C.Sl. *roga-tŭ* 'horned' from *rãga-s rogŭ* 'horn', being forms like Gr. *τῑμη-τό-ς* from *τῑμή*, Lat. *barbā-tu-s* from *barba*. Perhaps it was just verbal nouns of this kind which in Greek were the starting point for *ἐμίσθω-σα μισθώ-σω μισθόω*, cp. *ἐτίμη-σα τιμή-σω τῑμάω*; so in Lithuanian, *jùkū'-siu jùkū'-ju* like *dovanó-siu dovanó-ju*. Compare § 770 Rem. p. 289.

The shapes taken by present *i̯o*-stems in different languages will concern us in §§ 774 ff.

The meaning originally conveyed by this denominative group was that the subject of the verb stood in some kind of relation to the noun it came from. What this relation was had to be gathered from the meaning of the noun and of the context. But it often happens that we find in historical periods some special sense attaching itself to a special denominative ending (-*āi̯ō* -*ei̯ō* etc.). In Sanskrit, for example, -*īyá-ti* implied desire; in Latin, -*ō* -*ā-s* -*a-t* were factitive, and -*eō* -*ē-s* -*e-t* intransitive. This special meaning always started with some particular verbs, where it came from the essential meaning of the noun these verbs were derived from. Then other verbs followed the same pattern. To conform to the pattern, the stem of the ground-noun is often quite neglected; thus we have Skr. *putriyá-ti* from *putrá-s* on the model of *janiyá-ti* (from *jáni-ṣ*). As we saw in § 769 pp. 284 f., it is the ending -*ā-i̯ō* which seems first to have trespassed beyond its own domain.

As a result of this specialising of endings to some particular sense, the same noun often served as base for several denominatives with different meanings; as Gr. *ἑστιάω* 'I receive at the hearth, entertain' and *ἑστιόω* 'I make into a hearth, found a house' both from *ἑστίᾱ*, *ἀσθενέω* 'I am weak' and *ἀσθενόω* 'I make weak', from *ἀσθενής*, Lat. *clāreō* 'I am clear' and *clārō* (-*ā-s*) 'I make clear' from *clāru-s*.

Remark. Considering how close was the tie between noun and derivative verb, it is not to be wondered at that such verbs often caused the creation of nouns which looked as though the verbs were derived from them ("noms postverbaux"). So, on the analogy of *lacrimāre* : *lacrima*, *rixārī* : *rixa* we have Lat. *pūgna* coined to match *pūgnāre*, which was

derived from *pūgnu-s*; in Greek, similarly, we have νίκη 'victory' growing out of νικάω 'I bring down, conquer' (II § 86 p. 256). There are many certain examples of this retrospective tendency in modern languages, as Ital. and Span. *liga* Fr. *ligue* from *ligāre*, Mod.H.G. *wach* from *wachen*. See Bréal, Mém. Soc. Ling. IV 82 f.; Osthoff, M. U. IV 224.

§ 774. Aryan. The original forms leave the old groove but rarely.

We shall treat below (§ 793) of the shifting of denominatives in *-a-yá-ti* to the track of Class XXXII, which gives rise to such a form as Skr. *mantrá-ya-tē*.

Instead of Idg. *-i-i̯ó-* and *-u-i̯ó-*, we find in Vedic *-i-yá-* *-u-yá-* and *-ī-yá-* *-ū-yá-*; see §§ 771, 772. It is not clear whether the analogy of primary verbs like *nī-yá-tē* *śrū-yá-tē* is at work (§ 709 pp. 243 f.), or if the *ī* and *ū* came from feminine stems in *-ī-* and *-ū-* (II § 109 pp. 333 f.); it might be held that *jani-yá-ti* belongs to *jáni-ṣ*, *janī-yá-ti* to the byeform *jánī*, *kaṇḍū-ya-ti* 'scratches' to the fem. *kaṇḍū-* and not to the masc. *kaṇḍu-*. Perhaps both these forces acting together caused the vowel to become long.

The wider use of *-ā-yá-ti*, which began in pre-Aryan times (§ 769 pp. 284 f.), went further; and in later Sanskrit it took a special turn, and the middle voice was used to mean that the subject represented the noun which the form came from; as *śakracāpāya-tē* 'represents a rainbow, is like it' from *śakracāpa-m* 'rainbow'. Note for the typical form of the contained noun, Ved. *dhiy-āya-tē* 'is pious' *dhiy-āyá-nt-* 'attentive' from *dhī́-* f. 'devotion, piety'; similarly *jm-āyá-nt-* 'struggling earthwards' from *kṣ́ám-* f. 'earth' (II § 160 p. 482), unless it be from *jmán-* *ájma-* 'a way' ('way-making, carving a path').

-ī-yá-ti also was productive. On the model of *durgr̥bhī-* *-ya-tē* 'is hard to grasp' (*dur-gŕ̥bhi-ṣ* 'hard to grasp'), *kavī-yá-tē* 'is wise' (*kaví-ṣ* 'wise'), *taviṣī-yá-tē* 'is strong' (*táviṣī* f. 'strength') sprang up others, as *adhvarīyá-ti* 'is present at the offering' from *adhvará-s* 'offering', *pitrīyá-ti* 'is fatherly' (gramm.) from *pitár-* 'father'. On the model of *janī-yá-ti* 'asks for a wife' (*jáni-ṣ* 'wife') we have *putrīyá-ti* 'wishes for a son' from *putrá-s* 'son', *mą̄sīyá-ti* 'desires meat' from *mą̄sá-m* 'meat'.

Thirdly, *-s-yá-* (from *s*-stems) once or twice leaves its proper sphere. *mānavasyá-ti* 'acts after the manner of men' from *mānavá-s* 'human' follows the type *svapas-yá-tē* 'acts nicely' from *sv-apas-* 'acting nicely'. *uruṣyá-ti* 'seeks the distance' from *urú* n. 'the distance' follows such verbs as *taruṣ-yá-ti* 'fights' (from *táruṣ-* n. 'fight').

Lastly, the ending *-arya-ti* grew into a type; beginning with *vadharyá-ti* 'lets fly a shot or missile', beside *vádhar-* and *vadhá-s* 'missile', it spread to *rátha-s* 'a chariot', and formed *ratharyá-ti* 'he drives in a chariot'.

Remark. I may mention here another word, Skr. *śrudhīyá-ti* 'obeys'. This is derived from the imper. *śru-dhí* 'listen', which must have crystallised into something hardly more than a particle; the form is then like Gr. αἰ-άζω from αἰ, Mod.H.G. *bejahe* 'I say yes' *verneine* 'I say no' from *ja* and *nein*, Lat. *negō* from some form like **ne-gi* = Lith. *ne-gì ne-gu*, contained also in *neg-ōtium neg-ligō*.

§ 774a. Armenian. With *i̯o*-suffix only denominatives like *t̔aram-i-m*, § 770 pp. 288 f.

Without *i̯o*-suffix: *ǰana-m* and the like, see § 581 p. 123.

Still unexplained are denom. in *e-m*, as *gorce-m* 'I work' from *gorc* 'work', *sire-m* 'I love' from *sēr* 'love', *č̣ue-m* 'I break up, depart' from *č̣u* 'a breaking up, departure'. As *ǰana-m* answers to Aeol. τί̄μᾱ-μι, one would be inclined to place *gorce-m* parallel to φίλη-μι. But *i* would be expected as representing Idg. *ē*.[1])

§ 775. Greek. The original ending -ᾱω = Idg. *-ā-i̯ō* became -ἄω, not by rule, but by analogy of -εω -ιω -υω.

In several dialects we see -ηω -ωω -ῑω -ῡω instead of the other quantity; as Lesb. ἀδικήει, Boeot. δᾱμιώοντες Delph. στεφανωέτω Hom. ὑπνώοντες, Hom. κονί̄οντες ἐρητύ̄οντο. Similarly -ᾱω, as Hom. μενοινήησι and ἡβάοιμι or (with. Ion. η) ἡβῄοιμι, which seems to have been the form originally used where the text has ἡβώοιμι. This ᾱ is certainly not long because

1) Hübschmann points out to me the possibility that the analogy of, say, *ber* ('φορά, latio' etc.): *berem* (= Gr. φέρω) may have produced *gorcem* in connexion with *gorc*. Cp. the denom. Skr. *mārga-ti* Gr. θέρμε-‑το etc., § 487 p. 41.

the vowel was long originally (see above), nor did the other endings lengthen their first vowel by analogy of an *ā* so preserved; the long vowel in all of them came from the future, aorist, and other parts which had it, so that *ἡβάω* follows *ἡβᾱ-σω*, *ἀδικήω* follows *ἀδική-σω*.[1] At the same time, some power must be ascribed to the influence of present stems such as *χρήων* (§ 737 p. 263) and *θύω* (§ 707 p. 236); for the other parts of these had the same endings as the denominatives which now concern us (*χρή-σομαι* like *φιλή-σω*, *θύ-σω* like *δακρύ-σω* etc.). To hastily reject this element in the matter would be all the more foolish, because it is clear as day that Primitive verbs have had influence over Denominatives in the futures *ὀνομανέω -ῶ* beside *ἁρπάξω*, and *τελέω* instead of *τελέσσω* (§ 757 p. 277). As regards verbs in *-ῑω* and *-ῡω*, we have also to consider that the contained nouns often had *-ῑ-ς* and *-ῡ-ς* (cp. *ἰσχύω* from *ἰσχύ-ς*); this may have had something to do with it, and analogy may have finished the work. How far this influence acted must remain unsettled while we have no exact statistics of *-ιω -υω* and *-ῑω -ῡω*.

Remark. *γελώω ἱδρώω ῥιγώω* are to be kept distinct from *δαμιώοντες* etc. because they come from *-ωσ-ϳω*. *γελώω* from *γελωσ-* (nom. *γέλως*), the strong form of *γελασ-*, whence *γελάω* (§ 768 p. 282). *ἱδρώω* from *ἱδρώς*. *ῥιγώω* from a word parallel to Lat. *rīgor*. These verbs in *-ωσ-ϳω* are in all probability upgrowths of the separate period, when the languages were developing singly; in this they resemble the Latin group exemplified by *fulgur-iō* from *fulgur* (O.Lat. *fulgus*), and stand in contrast to the really old forms Gr. *τελείω τελέω* for **τελεσ-ϳω* (§ 768 p. 282).

The origin of the ending in *διψῆ πεινῆ* for *-ηει* is not clear; cp. Hom. *διψάων*, Ion. (Archil.) *διψέων*, Pind. *διψῆ*. Compare Wackernagel, Philol. Anz. 1887, p. 238; W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 269 f.

On the non-thematic present inflexion *-ᾱ-μι* (*-αιμι*) *-η-μι -ω-μι* following Class X (instead of *-αω -εω -οω*) in Aeolic and Arcadian, see § 582 p. 123, § 589 p. 131. The type *-ᾱ-μι* in our *ā*-denominatives came from the pre-Greek stage; and in Greek itself its analogy produced *-η-μι* and *-ω-μι*.

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1) Cp. *γεύω* instead of **γέω* following *γεύ-σω* and the rest; the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 31. Lithuanian: cp. pres. *dĕmi* 3rd sing. *dĕsti* instead of *dèmi dèsti* following *dĕ-siu dĕ-ti* etc. (§ 546 p. 104).

§ 776. Before turning to trace the way by which the various denominative endings became general types in Greek, we would quote some words of Sütterlin's. He says, "In the every-day language of inscriptions, analogy did not run riot as it did amongst the poets and orators, who were often forced to adopt new words and terms, and depended partly on these for effect". (Zur Gesch. der Verba denom. im Altgr., I 5).

(1) The type *-αω*, which could be made from *o*-nouns even in pre-Greek times (§ 769 pp. 284 f.), did not spread so far as it might in forming factitives, because it was met by a counter-current, the *-οω* class (4). Thus *νεόω* 'I renew' may have caused **νεϝᾱ-ιω* = Lat. *novō* O.H.G. *niuwōm* to drop out of use (cp. p. 284 footnote). But in other directions *-αω* was fertile; it served to denote disease or diseased appetite, the production of sounds, mechanical operations, and the like. Examples: *λεπράω* 'I have an eruption on the skin' (from *λέπρᾱ* 'eruption') and similar words give rise to *ὑδεράω* 'I have dropsy' from *ὕδερο-ς* 'dropsy'; *ὀφθαλμιάω* 'I have diseased eyes' (from *ὀφθαλ-μία* 'disease of the eyes') gives *ὑδεριάω* from *ὕδερο-ς* (beside *ὑδεράω*), *ὀδοντιάω* 'I cut teeth' from *ὀδούς* 'a tooth'; *βοάω* 'I call, cry' from *βοή* 'cry' produces *γοάω* from *γόος* 'lament'; whilst *κωνάω* 'I twist like a top' from *κῶνο-ς* 'top', *στιχάονται* 'they arrange themselves in rows' from *στίχοι* and *στίχες* 'rows', *σπαργανάω* 'I wrap in swaddling clothes' from *σπάργανο-ν* 'swaddling clothes' follow *τεχνάω* 'I work skilfully' from *τέχνη* 'skill', *μηχανάω* 'I set to work' from *μηχανή* 'tool, means', and so forth. *-ιάω* became another kind of desiderative suffix: *στρα-τηγιάω* 'I strive to become a general' (*στρατηγίᾱ*) and others like it gave rise to such forms as *ἀρχοντίαω* 'I strive to become archon' from *ἄρχων*, *μαθητιάω* 'I wish to be a pupil' from *μαθητή-ς*; and the last-named verb served as a model for *βῑν-ητιάω* 'volo coire' from *βῑνέω* 'coeo'.

Remark. In certain Greek dialects *-εω* is often found where we expect *-αω*; it is not always possible to suppose that these are due to the analogy of verbs in *-εω* from *o*-stems. Such are *ἡβέω* beside *ἡβάω*, *δαπανέω* beside *δαπανάω*. J. Schmidt, in his work on the Neuters (pp. 326 ff.), puts forward a view that in pr. Greek *αο αω* became regularly *εο εω*; that

thus *εο εω* and *αε* stood side by side in sets of verb-forms, *ἡβέω ἡβάεις* etc.; and that there was levelling in two directions, (1) *ἡβάω ἡβάομεν* etc. following *ἡβάεις -άει*, (2) *ἡβέεις*, *-έει* following *ἡβέω -έομεν*.

(2) Many are the meanings given by verbs in *-εω* which are formed from uncompounded *o*-stems; they stand in all sorts of different relations to the contained stem. Here are a few: *κοιρανέω* 'I am ruler' from *κοίρανο-ς* 'ruler', *οἰκέω* 'I dwell' from *οἶκο-ς* 'dwelling, house', *ἀριθμέω* 'I count' from *ἀριθμό-ς* number, *μοχθέω* 'I toil' from *μόχθο-ς* 'labour'. This type was not very fertile in analogical imitations, though we have *ἡγεμονέω* 'I lead' (*ἡγεμών*) modelled upon *κοιρανέω*. But when these verbs were taken from compound stems, the case was different. These meant mostly to be or to act as something; and the type spread to an extraordinary extent. Examples of strictly correct forms: *οἰνοχοέω* 'I am wine-pourer' from *οἰνο-χόο-ς*, *δημιουργέω* 'I am a craftsman, artisan' from *δημιουργό-ς*, *ἀδυνατέω* 'I am unable, weak' from *ἀ-δυνατό-ς*; by analogy — *μισθοδοτέω* 'I am wage-giver' from *μισθο-δότη-ς*, *ἀφρονέω* 'I am senseless' from *ἄφρων*. It is true some of these verbs have meanings both transitive and intransitive, but this depends on the meaning of the ground-word; this *ταλαιπωρέω* means 'I plague' or 'I am plagued' because *ταλαί-πωρο-ς* means either suffering misery or inflicting it.

(3) With *-εω*-verbs derived from *o*-stems, another group originally ending in *-εσ-ιω* ran together. Only in Homer is there a difference in form; there we have *-εω*, from *-εσιω*, and the intermediate *-ειω*, side by side: *τελείω* and *τελέω* (I § 131 p. 118). The coincidence of these two classes in the present caused analogy to act in other parts of the verb system. Even in Homer are found such forms as *ἀνθῆσαι* from *ἀνθέω* 'I bloom' for **ἀνθεσ-ιω* (*ἄνθος* n. 'bloom') on the analogy of *φιλῆσαι* from *φιλέω*, and *τετευχῆσθαι* 'to be armed' from *τεύχεα* pl. 'arms'. Then came a number of verbs in *-εω* fut. *-ησω* from compound *εσ*-stems, as *ἀπειθέω* 'I am disobedient' from *ἀ-πειθής* 'disobedient', *εὐθαρσέω* 'I am of good courage' from *εὐ-θαρσής* 'courageous'; a step due partly to the fondness

which the Greeks showed for verbal derivatives in *-εω* from compound *o*-stems (for which see above, 2).

(4) The group of verbs in *-οω*, also from *o*-stems, is probably a purely Greek developement, on parallel lines to *-εω* = Idg. *-e-i̯ō* (see § 773 pp. 290 f.). At first probably there were forms of the verb infinite only, as those with the ending *-ω-το-ς*; these soon produced all the rest. *-αω -ᾱσω* etc. may have been the type for *-οω -ωσω*: there is a likeness between *θριγκόω* 'I furnish with battlements or eaves' (*θριγκό-ς*) *στεφανόω* 'I provide with a wreath' (*στέφανο-ς*) and *πεδάω* 'I furnish with a fetter' (*πέδη*) *τῑμάω* 'I provide with honour' *τῑμή*; compare particularly *στεφάνω* (*στεφάνοις*) *στεφανόω* and *τῑμᾷ* (*τῑμαῖς*) *τῑμάω*.

A favourite meaning for *-οω* is factitive; as *σιφλόω* 'I make a cripple' (*σιφλό-ς*), *νεόω* 'I make new' (*νέο-ς*), *ἰσόω* 'I make equal' (*ἴσο-ς*). This function it seems to have taken from pre-Greek *-ā̆i̯ō*; compare *νεόω* with Lat. *novāre* O.H.G. *niuwōn* (p. 295); and in this sense *-οω* became enormously productive: as *ῥακόω* 'I make into rags, tear to rags' from *ῥάκος* n. 'rag',[1]) *ὑγιόω* 'I make well' from *ὑγιής* 'well', *ὀρνῑθόω* 'I turn into a bird' from *ὄρνῑς* 'bird', *πλατόω* 'I make broad' from *πλατύ-ς* 'broad', *γεφυρόω* 'I make into a bridge' from *γέφυρα* 'bridge'.

(5) Beside verbs in *-υω* (§ 772) sprang up a class in *-ευω*, as *νομεύω* 'I am a herdsman' (*νομεύ-ς*), *ἡνιοχεύω* 'I am a driver' (*ἡνιοχεύ-ς*). If, as we assumed in III § 261 p. 162, *-ευς* comes from **-ε̣ϝυ-ς*, then *-ευω* = **-εϝυ-i̯ω*, *-ευσω* = **-εϝῡ-σω* are quite regular, and do not differ in principle from *-υ-(i̯)ω -ῡ-σω* (*δακρύω -ύσω*).

The ending *-ευω* soon became a type for expressing one's usual calling or occupation: as *οἰνοχοεύω* 'I am cup-bearer' from *οἰνοχόο-ς*, *μαντεύομαι* 'I am a seer' from *μάντι-ς*, *θηρεύω* 'I am a hunter' from *θήρᾱ* 'hunt', *βουλεύω* 'I am a counsellor, advise' from *βουλή* 'counsel'. Thus *-ευω* is partically synonymous with *-εω*; we have *οἰνοχοέω* and *-χοεύω*, and *κοιρανέω* bears the same kind of sense (see 2., p. 296).

1) One dare hardly derive this from **ῥακοσ-i̯ω*, although this would have an analogue in Lat. *fulgur-iō* (see § 775 p. 294).

(6) Amongst the many endings of verbs derived from substantives with consonantal stems, three are particularly fertile — -αζω, -ιζω, and -αινω.

(*a*) -αζω, for -αδ-ιω, answers sometimes to a Germanic class in (Goth.) *-atja* (§ 768 p. 283), and sometimes -αζω comes from -**n̥di̯ō*, as in πεμπάζομαι 'I count by fives' from πεμπάς (II § 123 p. 390, III § 169 pp. 13 f.).

Following μιγάζω 'I mix', intr. in middle (μιγάς 'mixt') were coined ἡσυχάζω 'I pacify, keep quiet' from ἥσυχο-ς 'quiet', δοκιμάζω 'I test' from δόκιμο-ς 'tested, genuine, correct'. Following ἀφροδισιάζω 'I give myself up to sensuality' (ἀφροδισιάς), γενειάζω 'I grow a beard' (γενειάς) were formed στασιάζω 'I am in tumult' from στάσι-ς 'tumult', ἀνιάζω 'I feel pain or trouble' from ἀνία 'pain, trouble', ἐπιχωριάζω 'I am at home' from ἐπιχώριο-ς 'at home'.

-ιζω for -ιδ-ιω; as ἐλπίζω 'I hope' from ἐλπίς -ίδ-ος 'hope', φροντίζω 'I think' from φροντίς 'care', ληΐζομαι 'I rob, harry, carry off' from ληΐς 'booty', ἐρίζω 'I strive' from ἔρις 'strife'. On this model, αἰνίζομαι 'I praise' from αἶνο-ς 'praise', δειπνίζω I entertain' from δεῖπνο-ν 'meal', καναχίζω 'I roar, rush' from καναχή 'rush, roar', ὀνειδίζω 'I abuse, blame' from ὄνειδος n. 'disgrace', ἀκοντίζω 'I cast a javelin' from ἄκων 'javelin', αἱματίζω 'I stain with blood' from αἷμα 'blood', μακαρίζω 'I bless' from μάκαρ 'blest', ἀεικίζω 'I insult, torment' from ἀεικής 'shameful'.

In a few words -αζω and -ιζω come from -αγ-ιω and -ιγ-ιω; as ἁρπάζω 'I seize, carry off' (fut. ἁρπάξω) from ἅρπαξ 'greedy, piratical'; and μαστίζω 'I whip' from μάστιξ 'a whip'. This concidence of -γ-ιω and -δ-ιω in the present caused analogy to act in two directions. (1) ἁρπάσω ἥρπασα beside ἁρπάξω ἥρπαξα following the dental stems; and (2) Dor. δοκιμαξέω ἦριξα instead of *δοκιμασέω ἤρισα following guttural stems. The latter kind were very common in Doric.

(*b*) Verbs in -αινω come from two sources. Some are derived from nominal *n*-stems; as τεκταίνω 'I carpenter' from τέκτων 'carpenter', εὐφραίνω 'I make glad' from εὔφρων 'glad', ποιμαίνω 'I tend' from ποιμήν 'herdsman', σπερμαίνω 'I give

forth seed' from *σπέρμα* 'seed', *κῡμαίνω* 'I undulate' from *κῦμα* 'billow' (§ 768 p. 282). The others are extended *no*-stems; as *ἰαίνω* 'I quicken, make live' beside Skr. *iṣaṇa-t*, *αὐαίνω* 'I dry' beside Lith. *saũsinu* (§ 621 pp. 158 f., § 743 p. 266). As the -*αινω* group spread, either of the two kinds might serve as a type-form. Thus in making factitives from adj. *o*-stems, a large class, like *θερμαίνω* 'I warm' from *θερμό-ς* 'warm', *λειαίνω* 'I smooth', from *λεῖο-ς* 'smooth', *λευκαίνω* 'I whiten' from *λευκό-ς* 'white', the model might be either *αὐαίνω*, which was popularly derived from *αὖο-ς* 'dry', or *εὐφραίνω* 'I gladden' (*εὔφρων*) and *πῑαίνω* 'I fatten' (*πίων*).

§ 777. Italic. Denominatives from consonantal noun-stems, as Lat. *cantur-iō*, *dent-iō*, *comped-iō*, *custōd-iō*, *fulgur-iō*, in the present ran on parallel lines with primitives such as *farc-iō -ī-s* (§ 702 p. 229, § 715 p. 248), and with denominatives from *i*-stems like *fīniō* (*-ī-s*) for *-i-i̯ō*; with the latter this is true of the non-present stem, as *custōdīvī -ī-tus* like *fīnīvī -ītu-s*. The association seems to have gone thus far in proethnic Italic; for we have Osc. *καπιδιτομ*, i. e. *kapid-ī-to-m* 'ollarium' (same stem as Lat. *capis -id-is*); compare Umbr. statita 'statuta' from **stati-* Gr. *στάσι-ς*. Old participials such as Lat. *sceles-tu-s līber-tu-s* (II § 79 pp. 231 f., IV § 768 p. 283) had fallen out of the verbal system, thus becoming adjectives, before the beginnings of Latin.

The whole class of denominatives from consonantal noun-stems was dying out in Latin. Only those which ended in *-turiō* were a group of any size (see § 778. 1).

Of the forms used for the present in *scrīptur-iō -ī-s* etc., the only ones which are a regular outgrowth of the Indo-Germanic are the 1st sing. *-iō* and the 3rd pl. *-iunt*. The others cannot be derived either from *-i̯e-s -i̯e-ti -i̯o-mos -i̯e-tes* nor from *-ii̯e-s* etc.: to judge from the voc. *fīlie* (beside *fīlī*, III § 201 p. 83), we should expect as an imper. **scrīpturie*. As a fact, these denominatives dropt their *-i̯ō -i̯e-s* and so forth simply because in Italic primary verbs conjugating *-i̯ō -i̯e-s*

-i̯e-ti exchanged it for *-i̯ō -ī-s -ī-ti* (§ 702 pp. 228 ff.) So *scrīptur-iō* took its type from *suf-fiō farc-iō* etc. (§§ 716 f. pp. 249 f.), in the same way as Greek moulded the future θερμανῶ ἀγγελῶ upon the primary class (§ 757 p. 277).

What is seen in *scrīptur-iō*, is seen in other verbs with *-iō*, as *fīniō* from *fīni-s*. Here, as before, only *-iō* and *-iunt* are regular. Here too the new forms sprang up in proethnic Italic; evidence for which is found in Umbr. *persnihi-mu* persnih-mu *persni-mu* 'precator' from a noun-stem **persni-* (§ 674 p. 207).

Again: verbs in *-ā-i̯ō*, *-e-i̯ō*, and *-u-i̯ō* run parallel to the primary classes:

plantō, for **-ā-i̯ō*, has the *i̯o*-suffix only in the 1st sing.; elsewhere unthematic *-ā-s -a-t* etc., like *nō nā-s* etc., and *juvō -ā-s* etc. This agrees with Umbr. *furfant* furfaϑ 'februant' *anstiplatu* 'instipulator' Osc. faamat 'habitat' and others, beside 1st sing. Umbr. *subocau* 'adoro' for *-ā(i̯)ō* (cp. *stahu* 'sto', and § 980); so the Latin type may be regarded as proethnic in Italy. See § 583 pp. 123 ff., § 738 p. 263.

So also with *claudeō*, for **-e-i̯ō*, the *i̯o*-suffix is found only in the 1st sing.: *claudeō -ē-s* etc. like *pleō pl-ē-s* etc., *videō -ē-s* etc. (§ 590 pp. 131 f., § 738 p. 263). And the same is true of Causals, *moneō -ē-s* and so forth (§ 788). Two remarks may be made. First, *claudeō* and *moneō* orig. had *-ĕi̯ō*, while *pleō videō* had orig. *-ēi̯ō* (cp. I § 612 p. 402). Secondly, *claudēs monēs -et -ētis* may be derived without violence from *-e(i̯)es -e(i̯)eti -e(i̯)etes*, as easily as Lesb. φίλητε may be derived from φιλέ(i̯)ετε (§ 589 p. 131). To judge from Lat. *trēs*, *pontēs* Umbr. puntes for *-e(i̯)es* (I § 134 p. 121), *ee* became *ē* in pre-Italic times. It is possible that this contraction in persons containing the suffix *-i̯e-* may have paved the way for the confluence of verbs in *-e-i̯ó* and *-é-i̯ō* with those in *-ē-*. It must also be carefully remembered that Latin had no *ē*-forms answering to *plantāvī plantātu-s fīnīvī fīnītu-s*, as it had no similar *ē*-forms even in verbs with *-ē-i̯ō*, such as *videō*.

Remark. An exception is *dēnseō* 'I thicken', which has *dēnsētu-s*, a bye-form of *dēnsāre* (same meaning). It would appear that there was once nothing but this participle *dēnsētu-s*, and that the whole system *dēnsē-mus* etc., sprang up by analogy of *dēnsā-mus* to *dēnsā-tu-s*. This would explain why *dēnseō*, unlike *albeō claudeō* etc., had a factitive meaning.

statuō -uis -uit etc. may be directly compared with Skr. *gātu-yā́mi -yá-si* etc., Gr. φῑτύω -εις etc.; on the other hand the inflexion is the same as in *suō suis suit* etc. (§ 717 p. 250).

§ 778. Particular endings becoming a type in Italic:

(1) The ending *-turiō*, occurring words like *scrīptur-iō* from *scrīptor* (§ 768 p. 282), was made by the usual misunderstanding into a type. Hence came a number of new forms, with the sense of will, wish, intention, often where there was no connected noun in *-tor*; as *parturiō tacituriō*, *sullāturiō* (from *Sulla*). In late Latin these words lost their distinctive meaning, and *parturiō*, for example, meant the same as *pariō*.[1])

(2) The ending *-iō* = *-i-i̯ō*, found in many Latin verbs from both subst. and adj. stems, gained no such distinctive meaning as did *-ō* (*-āre*) and *-eō*. Add to the exx. given in § 771 p. 289 the following: *partiō* and *-ior* 'I divide, share' from *pars* (stem *parti-*), *circumrētiō* 'I ensnare' from *rēte*, *ināniō* 'I empty' from *ināni-s*, *molliō* 'I soften' from *molli-s*. None the less did *-iō* spread by analogy: *catuliō* from *catulu-s*, *equiō* from *equo-s*, which with *nuptuīre* remind us in form and sense of the Skr. desiderative class *putrīyá-ti* (§ 774 p. 292); *blandior* from *blandu-s*, *rauciō* from *raucu-s*, *saeviō* from *saevo-s*, *largior* from *largu-s*, *ūniō* from *ūnu-s*; *poeniō pūniō* from *poena*; *abortiō* from *abortu-s*, *singultiō* from *singultu-s*. It is possible that some of the verbs like *catuliō blandior* are the same formation as Skr. *adhvaryá-ti* Gr. ἀγγέλλω; see § 770 pp. 286 f.

(3) Verbs in *-ā-i̯ō* (Lat. *-ō*), some of which, from *o*-stems, belong to pre-Italic times (§ 769 pp. 284 f.), became very numerous in Italic.

Many such, derived from *a*-substantives, meant 'to

1) Johansson (P.-B. Beitr. x 223) thinks that Goth. *aihtrōn* 'to beg for' is a desiderative like these. He connects it with *áih* 'I possess', and thinks the orig. meaning was 'I want to possess'.

occupy oneself with, to practise, use, produce' that which the original stem denoted: Lat. *cūrō* Umbr. kuraia 'curet' Pelign. *coisatens* 'curaverunt' (Lat. *cūra*), Lat. *multō* Osc. *moltaum* 'multare' (Lat. *multa*), Lat. *īnsidior* (*īnsidiae*), *praedor* (*praeda*), *lacrimō* (*lacrima*), *maculō* (*macula*), *fortūnō* (*fortūna*). Then verbs in *-āi̯ō* were made from other substantive stems. Examples: Lat. *terminō* from *terminu-s termen*, Umbr. *termnas* 'terminatu-s' Osc. teremnattens 'terminaverunt'; Lat. *locō* from *locu-s*, Pelign. *locatin(s)* 'locaverunt'; Lat. *dōnō* from *dōnu-m*, Osc. d]uunated 'donavit'; Lat. *vinculō* from *vinculu-m*, Umbr. *previšlatu* imper. 'praevinculato, praepedito vinculis'; Lat. *numerō* from *numeru-s*, *pūgnō* from *pūgnu-s* (cp. § 773 Rem. p. 291), *spolior* from *spoliu-m*, *cōnsilior* from *cōnsiliu-m*, *rēgnō* from *rēgnu-m*, *fluctuō* from *fluctu-s*, *tumultuō* from *tumultu-s*, *cōntiōnor* from *cōntiō*, *nōminō* from *nōmen*, *exāminō* from *exāmen*, *colōrō* from *color*, *fulgurō* from *fulgur*, *onerō* from *onus*, *scelerō* from *scelus*, *pulverō* from *pulvi-s*, *laudō* from *laus*, *hiemō* from *hiems*; Osc. *deivaid* 'iuret' *deivast* 'iurabit' from *deivo-* 'deus'.

A few more exx. may be given of verbs in *-āi̯ō* derived from adjectival stems, like Lat. *novō* (pp. 284 f.): Lat. *prīvō* from *prīvo-s*, Osc. *preivatud* 'privato, reo' (for the meaning, cp. Bréal, Dict. etym. Lat.[2] 281, Mém. Soc. Ling. IV 394 f.); Lat. *piō* from *piu-s*, Umbr. *pihatu* 'piato' prupehast 'ante piabit'; Lat. *probō* from *probu-s*, Osc. prúfattens 'probaverunt'. Hence by analogy Lat. *gravō* from *gravi-s*, *levō* from *levi-s*, *cicurō* from *cicur*. Lat. *sacrō* from *sacro- sacri-*, Osc. sakarater 'sacratur, sacrificatur' from *σακορο* ('sacrum') *sacri-*.

A mass of Lat. verbs in *-tāi̯ō* are based upon *to-* Participles; usually they have an intensive or frequentative meaning. The following seem to have existed in pre-Italic times: Lat. *gustō* = O.H.G. *costōm* from Idg. **ĝus-tó-*, see § 769 p. 284; Lat. *itō* Umbr. *etaians* 'itent' *etato* 'itate' = Gr. *ἰτη-τέον* El. part. perf. act. *ἐπ-αν-ιτᾱκώϱ*; Lat. *putō* 'I deck, prune, clean, reckon, think' beside O.C.Sl. *pytają* 'scrutor, quaero, indago' (Osthoff, M. U. IV 86 f.). Formed in Latin on the same

principle: *hortor occultō adjūtō cantō versō tractō dīctō gestō pōtō, domitō crepitō habitō.* The ending *-itō* was abstracted from words which happened to have it, and became a type; hence *vocitō* from *vocō* (*vocātu-s*), *volitō* from *volō* (*volātu-m*), *agitō* from *agō*, *scīscitō* from *scī-scō*, *vīsitō* from *vīsō* (Class XX, § 662 p. 197); and, by a combination of *-itō* with *-tō*, arose intensives or frequentatives to the second power, as *ititō* from *i-tō*, *dīctitō* from *dīc-tō*, *cursitō* from *cursō*.

The reason why this class derived from the *to*-participle increased to such a size, was that from the pre-Italic stage onwards, the neuter or the feminine of these participles was used as an abstract noun: as *commentu-m* 'idea' (hence *commentor*), *repulsa* 'defeat' (hence *repulsō*), *offēnsa* 'blow' (hence *offēnsō*). See II § 158 pp. 473 ff., IV § 769 p. 285.

-igāre also became a fertile denominative suffix in Latin; *nāvigō rēmigō jūrigō jūrgō mītigō.* Cp. Leo Meyer, Bezz. Beitr. VI 130 ff.

(4) The *-eō* = *-e-i̯ṓ*, of intrans. verbs like *claudeō* (§ 770 p. 288), hardly touched any but *o*-stems; but an example of it elsewhere is *molleō* from *molli-s*.

Observe that the same distinction of transitive and intransitive, which we see in the denominatives *clārāre* and *clārēre*, is seen in primary verbs with those endings, as *liquāre* and *liquēre*.

Remark. *fateor* seems to be another denominative in *eō*. Of this verb, Oscan has the inf. fatíum (í = ē). The contained stem is **fa-to-s*, answering to Gr. φατό-ς 'said' (ἄ-φατο-ς), and meaning 'having declared something, open, confessing'; and the word doubtless borrowed its deponent inflexion from *fārī* (§ 495 p. 56). At first its construction was *fateor dē aliquā rē*, and the accusative constr. came later. The partic. *fessu-s* follows *suāsu-s* from *suādeō*, and the like.

§ 779. Keltic. The only distinct class of this kind in Irish contains the *ā*-denominatives, as *rannaim* from the *ā*-stem *rann* (§ 769 p. 284) and *marbaim* from the *o*-stem *marb* (p. 284). Somewhat as in Latin, the 1st sing. only is extended by *-i̯o-*, and all the rest lacks it: 1st sing. *no charu* for **carā-i̯ō*

(conjunct inflexion) like Lat. *plantō*; 3[rd] sing. *no chara* O.Bret. *cospitio-t* like Lat. *planta-t*. Compare § 584 p. 125.

i̯o-presents from consonantal stems (like Skr. *apas-yá-ti*) there are none. Mid.Ir. *ath-rīgaim* 'I dethrone' is an *ā*-verb (inf. *aith-rīgad*) from *rī* 'king' (stem *rīg-*).

There are none either of the type of Skr. *gātu-yá-ti* (§ 772 p. 289).

In the Keltic 3[rd] conjugation, Idg. denominatives in *-e-i̯ō* (say *scorim scuirim*, § 770 p. 288), those in *-i-i̯ō* (say *fo-dālim* § 771 p. 289), and causals in *-ei̯ō* (§ 803) have all run together. Then this new composite denominative type spreads by analogy: 3[rd] sing. *ad-rīmi* 'counts' from *rīm* f. 'number' (stem **rīmā-*), *bāgim ar-bāgim* 'I strive, brag' from *bāg* f. 'strife' (stem **bāgā-*).

§ 780. A denominative ending with *-ag-* became widespread in Irish and British dialects: e. g. O.Ir. *sāraigim* or *-sāraigiur* Mod. Cymr. *sarhāf* (= O.Cymr. **sarhagam*) 'I injure, offend' from *sār* 'offence', O.Ir. *suidigim* 'I place' from *suide* 'place', Mid.Ir. *intamlaigim* 'I compare' from *intamail* 'likeness, imitation', O.Cymr. *scamnhegirt* 'levant'. Some have wished to connect this suffix with the nominal suffix *-āco-* (II § 89 p. 273), led to this view by *cumachtaigim* 'I make myself master of' from *cumachtach* 'powerful'; but nothing clear is known about its origin.

Remark. "The British dialects point to *-āg-*, and before the *ā* Cymr. has an *h*, which I believe to indicate that the orig. sound was *s* (i. e. *-sāgi-*). But of this *s* there is no trace at all in Irish. Leaving this out of count, we might imagine some formation like Lat. *rēmigāre pūrgāre*, only with *i*-flexion in Keltic." Thurneysen.

§ 781. Germanic. (1) Here, as in Keltic, the most prominent group consists of *ā*-verbs, with inf. Goth. O.H.G. *-ōn* O.Icel. *-a* A.S. *-ian*, called in Germanic grammars the Second Weak Conjugation. *-ā-i̯o-*, with *-i̯o*-extension, is clear only in Anglo-Frisian, A.S. 1[st] sing. in *-ie*, pl. in *-iađ*, as *sealfie sealfiađ*, where *i* must originally have been a long and also dull vowel, so that Germ. *-ō-i̯a-* is quite out of the question. Without *-i̯o-*: O.H.G. *salbōm -ōs -ōt -ōmēs -ōt -ōnt* Goth. *salbōs -ōþ -ōm -ōþ*

-ōnd. The 1st sing. Goth. *salbō* is doubtless not for **-ā-m* with secondary personal ending (neither is *hab-a* for **-ē-m*, see § 708 p. 239), but a new formation following *baíra* beside *baíram* and *haba* beside *habam*. Compare § 739 p. 264.

Examples of *ā*-verbs derived from *ā*-nouns are given in § 769 p. 284. Others are Goth. *faírinō* 'I accuse, blame' O.H.G. *firinōm* 'scelero' A.S. *firenie* 'I sin' from Goth. *faírina* 'accusation' O.H.G. *firina* 'scelus' A.S. *firen* 'sin', Goth. *idreigō* 'I repent' from *idreiga* 'repentance', O.H.G. *ahtōm* (A.S. *eahtie*) 'I notice' from *ahta* 'notice', O.H.G. *gremizzōm* 'I look grim, am gloomy' from *gremizza* 'dark look, gloom, despondency'. The ending *-inō-(i̯a-)*, beginning in West Germ. verbs like O.H.G. *firinōm*, *redinōm* ('I set forth, recount', from *redina* 'account, description') became an independent suffix and went further: e. g. O.H.G. *wīʒ-inōm* 'I punish' A.S. *wītnie*, O.H.G. *fest-inōm* 'I affirm, make fast, promise' A.S. *fæstnie*, O.H.G. *heb-inōm* 'I entertain as a guest', and others.

For *ā*-verbs from *o*-nouns, such as Goth. *vaírþō* O.H.G. *werdōm*, see § 769 p. 284.

ā-verbs from *s*-stems (these joined the *o*-declension very early in Germanic, see II § 132 pp. 419 f.): Goth. *hatizō* 'I hate' from *hatis* 'hatred', O.H.G. *sigirōm* 'I conquer' beside Goth. *sigis* 'victory', O.H.G. *egisōm* 'I am terrified' beside Goth. *agis* 'fear', like Lat. *onerāre scelerāre* (§ 778 p. 302). *-isō-(i̯a-)* became a new independent suffix: Goth. *valv-isō* 'I roll, revolve', O.H.G. *rīch-isōm* 'I rule' A.S. *rīcsie*, O.H.G. *līch-isōm* 'comparo, simulo' *hēr-isōm* 'I rule' (also *hērrisōm* by analogy of *hērro* 'lord, ruler', which was originally a comparative), A.S. *bledsie* 'I bless' and others.

ā-verbs from *n*-stems: Goth. *fráujinō* 'I am lord, I rule' from *fráuja* (gen. *fráujins*) 'lord', *gudjinō* 'I am a priest, fill priestly office' from *gudja* 'priest', which gave the type for *reik-inō* 'I rule over' (*reik-s* 'ruler') *skalk-inō* 'I am a servant, am useful' (*skalk-s* 'servant') *hōr-inō* 'I commit adultery' (*hōr-s* 'adulterer').

Many more new endings with the *ā*-suffix, like these just

mentioned, are found in West Germanic. The favourites are *-arō-*, *-alō-*, and *-akō-*.

(2) Even in the prehistoric stages of Germanic three classes of verbs, with endings originally different, came to have the same ending; those with consonantal stems, with the ending *-i̯ṓ* (*-ii̯ṓ*); those from *o*-stems, with the ending *-e-i̯ṓ* (whence pr. Germ. *-i-i̯ō*), and those ending in *-i-i̯ṓ*. Compare Goth. *riqizja glitmunja veitvōdja lauhatja* O.H.G. *lougazzu lohazzu* and others § 768 p. 283, Goth. *rigneiþ* etc. § 770 p. 288, and Goth. *dáilja* O.H.G. *teil(i)u*, Goth. *vēnja* O.H.G. *wān(i)u* etc. § 771 p. 289.[1]) Besides, the causals in *-éi̯ō* (pr. Germ. *-ii̯ō*), as Goth. *fra-vardja* = Idg. **u̯ortéi̯ō*, fell into this conjugation, which is called the First Weak Conjugation in Germanic grammar. It should be mentioned that in Germanic, as in other Idg. languages, many verbs derived from nouns are properly classed among Causals; for example, Goth. *háilja* O.Sax. *hēliu* O.H.G. *heil(i)u* 'I heal' from *háil-s hēl heil* 'whole' (§§ 793, 806).

But the confluence of the various pre-Germanic conjugations was not always due to regular sound-change. For instance, Goth. *glitmuneiþ lauhateiþ* (both only inferred) took the place of **glitmun-ji-þ *lauhat-ji-þ* on the analogy of such forms as *rigneiþ* for **rigni-i̯i-đ(i)*. Goth. *vaúrkeiþ* (1st sing. *vaúrkja* Idg. **u̯r̥ĝ-i̯ō*) is a new form, instead of **vaúrkiþ*, following *fra-vardeiþ* etc. (p. 229 footnote). On the other hand, O.H.G. *denit beizit* (1st sing. *denn(i)u beizz(i)u* ground-form **tonéi̯ō *bhoi̯déi̯ō*) follow *hevit* = Lat. *capit.*

There is often wavering between the first weak conjugation and the second, the *ā*-verbs. Sometimes there were originally variant forms with different structure; e. g. O.H.G. *follōm* 'I fill' was a pre-Germ. verb in *-ā-i̯ō* (§ 769 p. 284), whilst *full(i)u* Goth. *fullja* 'I fill' is a causal; similarly we have O.H.G. *tarōm* 'I hurt, injure' from *tara* 'hurt, injury' beside the causal

1) Whether **-u-i̯ō* leads regularly to Goth. *-ja*, and say *tagrja* 'I cry' comes from pr. Germ. **taȝru-i̯ō*, *ufarassja* 'I exist in abundance' for **ufarassu-i̯ō*, is doubtful.

teriu (same meaning). How far these verbs altered their inflexion in later times, and for what reasons, are questions which need further investigation (cp. for instance O.Sax. *fullōn* beside *fulliu*).

(3) Verbs in Goth. *-a* (2nd sing. *-áis*) O.H.G. *-ēm*, as Goth. *þaha* O.H.G. *dagēm* 'taceo' (Third Weak Conj.), as we have seen in § 587 p. 129, § 592 p. 133, § 708 pp. 238 ff., did not originally belong to what we have called the later stratum of denominatives. However, we do find in Germanic quite a number of later denominatives in this conjugation; as Goth. *arma* 'I feel pity' *fasta* O.H.G. *fastēm* 'I fast'; and one is tempted to class those verbs along with Latin denominatives such as *claudeō*, which were just in the same way associated in conjugation with *taceō videō* and the like (§ 777 p. 300). Howbeit, this is inadmissible. Because by far the greater number of the verbs in this class were intransitive (as are *þaha dagēm*), it happened that their ending became a sign of intransitive meaning; and as the orig. inceptive verbs with an *n*-suffix (as Goth. *ga-vakna* 'to awake') suggested inceptive *n*-verbs formed from nouns (as Goth. *fullna* 'I get full' *mikilna* 'I grow large', § 623 p. 160), just so *þaha dagēm* were the model for *fasta fastēm* and many others. Since there was a primary verb Goth. *saúrga* O.H.G. *sorgēm* 'I care' side by side with the subst. Goth. *saúrga* O.H.G. *sorga* 'care', which seemed to be derived from that substantive (§ 659 pp. 193 f.), so the subst. (O.H.G.) *fasta* 'a fast' suggested the above named verb Goth. *fasta* O.H.G. *fastēm*; and furthermore the verb *wernēm* 'I perplex or torment myself' was made to complement *werna* 'perplexity, pang', *wartēm* 'I watch, wait' was formed from the subst. *warta* 'watch, spying, waiting', *wahtēm* 'I keep watch' from *wahta* 'watch'. In O.H.G. the process goes a step further, and verbs like these are derived from adjectives; e. g. O.H.G. *fūlēm* 'I cause to rot' from *fūl* 'rotten', *altēm* 'I grow old' from *alt* 'old'. Compare some other verbs, belonging to Class XIV, such as O.H.G. *wesanēm* 'I dry up, wither away' (O.Icel. *visna*), *trunkanēm* 'I get drunk' (A.S. *druncnie*), which, by adopting *ē*-flexion, gained a second sign of their intransitive-

inceptive meaning (§ 623 p. 160); and further Goth. *maúrna* O.H.G. *mornēm* instead of **maúrnō* **mornōm* (§ 605 p. 147).

There are many and various waverings between *-ē-* and *-ā-*flexion, as O.H.G. *ērēm* and *ērōm* 'I honour', which need further investigation.

§ **782.** Balto-Slavonic.

(1) Here it is no longer possible to distinguish beyond a doubt verbs derived from consonantal noun-stems and containing the suffix *-i̯o-*, of the type of Skr. *rajas-yá-ti* (§ 768 p. 282). Instead of these, we find in cases where the forms are clear, verbs conjugated in other denominative classes; as Lith. *akmenyjů-s* 'I turn to stone' from *akmů̃* 'stone' (stem *akmen-*), O.C.Sl. *znamenają* 'I mark, term' from *znamę* 'mark' (stem *znamen-*).

Remark. Perhaps the Lith.-Lettic verbs Kurschat calls "Punctiva" — those ending in (Lith.) *-terė́ti -telė́ti*, as *kir̃sterė́-ti* 'I rough-hew a little' — are to be connected with Slavonic *nomina agentis* in *-tel-* (Idg. *-ter-*), as *žrĭtel-ĭ* 'offerer' (II § 122 p. 389). Then comes the question whether the Lith. present formation *kir̃ster-iu szvil̃ptelu* (i. e. *-el-i̯u*) represents or not the type of Skr. *rajas-yá-ti.* The conjugation in the dialects is sometimes *-terė́jau -telė́jau*, *-terė́ti -telė́ti*, and sometimes *-teriau -telau*, *-terti -telti* (Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. und Märchen, 313 f.), the latter like *lūkuriau lūkurti* beside *lūkuriu* 'I wait quietly'.

(2) Beside the endings Lith. *-o-jū* O.C.Sl. *-a-ją* = Idg. *-ā-i̯ṓ*, as Lith. *łankó-ju* O.C.Sl. *ląka-ją* (§ 769 p. 284), we meet with Lith. *-ė-ju* O.C.Sl. *-ě-ją* instead of Idg. *-e-i̯ṓ*, e. g. Lith. *gůdė-jů-s* O.C.Sl. *razumě-ją* (§ 770 p. 288), and Lith. *-y-ja* instead of Idg. *-i-i̯ṓ*, as *daly-jù* (§ 771 p. 289). In these formations the long *-ē-* and *-ī-* are to be explained on the same principle as the long vowels in the Greek dialectic forms ἀδικήω κονΐω and so forth (§ 775 p. 293): they have been imported from the non-present stems; thus *gůdė-jů-s* follows *-ė-siu -ė-ti-s*, *razumě-ją* follows *-ě-chŭ -ě-ti*, and *daly-jù* follows *-ý-siu -ý-ti*, and so forth. At the same time, something is due to such present forms as Lith. *byrė-ju* O.C.Sl. *gově-ją*, in which verbs the non-present forms had the same endings as have the present stems now in question (e. g. *byrė́-ti* like *gůdė́-ti-s*, *gově-ti* like *razumě-ti*); see § 735 p. 262, § 740 pp. 264 f.

Similarly sprang up the present in *-ů-ju*, as *jůků'-ju*, by analogy of *-ů-ta-s* (§ 773 p. 291), due to the same principle as the Boeotian *δᾱμιώοντες* (§ 775 p. 293). This happened first in Baltic, or at any rate in the proethnic stage of Balto-Slavonic. The preterite of these verbs is odd; it ends in *-avau* (*jůkavaũ*), while we should expect **-ů-jau*; the latter ending appears in Lettic as *-ůju*, the shape it would naturally take there. I assume, with Wiedemann (Lit. Prät., 198), that *-avau* is due to the analogy of verbs in *-au-ti* (pres. *-au-ju* pret. *-avau*, see below, 3).

In Slavonic, where Idg. *ō* and *ā* ran together, verbs of the same kind as Lith. *jůků'ju* may be buried in the class which has the termination *-ają*. This is all the more likely because such forms as *rogatŭ* and *ragů'ta-s* cannot be well separated (§ 773 p. 291).

(3) The denominative type exemplified by such forms as Skr. *adhvar-yá-ti* (from *adhva-rá-s*) and Gr. *ἀγγέλλω* (from *ἄγγελο-ς*) is represented, firstly, by Slavonic presents like *trepeštą* 2nd sing. *-ešteši* (from *trepetŭ*). See § 770 p. 287.

Secondly, Lithuanian denominatives in *-auju* (inf. *-au-ti*, pret. *-avau*), and those in Slavonic ending in *-u-ją* (inf. *-ova-ti*), have to be examined; e. g. Lith. *rė́kau-ju* 'I make a noise' O.C.Sl. *dlŭgu-ją* 'I owe'. They come from the most diverse noun-stems, but it is impossible to tell offhand with what stems the class began. If they are derived from *u*-stems (*dlŭgovati* from *dlŭgŭ* 'debt' gen. *dlŭgu*, *sladovati* 'to be sweet' beside *sladŭ-kŭ* Lith. *saldù-s*), they must be connected with Idg. verbs in **-u-i̯ō* (§ 772 p. 289). But if so, one cannot understand why the stem-final *-u-* should have been exchanged in the verb for the strong grade *-eu̯-* or *-ou̯-* (pr. Balto-Slav. *-ou̯-* may be either, see I § 68 p. 59). I therefore think it far more likely that the contained nouns had stems in *-e-u̯o- -e-u̯ā-* (cp. Skr. *kēśa-vá-s* 'longhaired' from *kḗśa-s* 'hair', etc., see II § 64 pp. 133 ff.). This view is supported by Slav. *běsovati* 'to be frenzied' beside *běsovŭ* 'devilish, mad' from *běsŭ* 'demon',

kraljevati 'to be king' beside *kraljevŭ* 'royal' from *kraljĭ* 'king', *vračevati* 'to be a physician, to heal' beside *vračevŭ* 'pertaining to a physician' from *vračĭ* 'physician', *vinovati* 'to accuse' beside *vinovĭnŭ* 'guilty of something' from *vina* 'cause, guilt' (*vinovĭnŭ* presupposes **vinovŭ*), and many more; Lith. substantives in *-ava -java* are collected by Leskien, Die Bildung der Nomina im Lit., 199 ff. In Lettic (and Prussian too) the verbs in *-auti* do not appear at all; and partly for that reason, partly because the large majority of Lith. verbs in *-auti* are Slavonic in origin, it is at least not improbable that this *au*-conjugation has been borrowed bodily from the Slavonic. However, the borrowing must have taken place very early, when Slav. *ū* was still *ou*.

Genuine Baltic examples of the type of Skr. *adhvar-yá-ti* would therefore be impossible to find.

(4) Side by side with the ending *-ō-ju*, Baltic has another present inflexion with *-ā-* and without *-i̯o-*. This occurs, firstly, in the 2[nd] sing. imper. always without exception; e. g. *dovanó-k*, which is to be compared with Lat. *plantā* etc. (§ 957). Secondly, in Frequentatives and Causals with *-au* (inf. *-y-ti*), some of which were certainly derived from nouns; e. g. Lith. *jů'stau* 'I gird (frequently)' from *jů'sta* 'girdle', *pelnaŭ* 'I earn' from *pel̃na-s* 'earnings', *vė́tau* 'I fan, winnow' beside Skr. *vā́-ta-s* Gr. ἀή-τη (II § 79 p. 223). The forms *jů'sto jů'sto-me jů'sto-te* answer to Lat. *planta-t -ā-mas -ā-tis* Lesb. τῑμᾱ-μεν O.Ir. *no chara-m* Goth. *salbō-m* etc., but the 1[st] and 2[nd] sing. *jů'stau jů'stai* show the same analogical change as do the primary forms *bijaŭ-s* 'I fear' *buvaŭ* 'I was', see § 586 p. 127. This Lith. present class, as the non-present forms show (inf. *jů'sty-ti* pret. *jů'scziau*), stands in very close connexion with the Idg. verbs in *-éi̯ō* (Class XXXII), and we must discuss it again in §§ 789 and 807.

The orig. *ā*-flexion without *-i̯o-* is also seen in Pruss. *waitia* 'he speaks' 1[st] pl. *waitiā-mai* (inf. *waitiā-t*) beside O.C.Sl. *věšta-ją* 'I speak, advise' (inf. *věšta-ti*), beside Pruss. *caria-woyti-s karige-wayte* 'address to the army, review' O.C.Sl. *věšte* n. advice'.

(5) Slavonic has no distinct present class to correspond to the Lith. present class *-y-ju* (*daly-jù*, no. 2, p. 308) which represents the Idg. verbs in *-i-i̯ō*. These verbs in *-i-i̯ō* in this branch of Idg. were merged in the class of Causals etc. with *-i-ti* (Class XXXII); e. g. *gošt̨ą* 'I entertain, receive hospitably' 2nd sing. *gosti-ši* inf. *gosti-ti* from *gostĭ* 'guest', *čĭštą* 'I honour' from *čĭstĭ* 'honour', *mĭštą* 'I take vengeance' from *mĭstĭ* 'vengeance', *branją* 'I strive' from *branĭ* 'strife', *myšlją* 'I think' from *myslĭ* 'thought'. The Idg. endings *-éi̯ō* and *-i-i̯ó* in Slavonic were sure to run together after *-ei̯-* became *-ĭj-* (I § 68 p. 60), and in both classes the endings *-ją -iši -itŭ* etc. have undoubtedly taken *-ī-* from the infinitive. We shall see in § 789 p. 322 how very probable it is that *-ī-* first got into the Causals, and afterwards spread to *i*-denominatives.

§ 783. Certain endings of the denominative verbs become types.

(1) Verbs in (Lith.) *-ō-ju* (O.C.Sl.) *-a-ją* from *ā-* and from *o*-stems; as Lith. *lanko-ju* O.C.Sl. *ląka-ją* from *lankà ląka* and Lith. *kilnó-ju* from *kìlna-s*, *mìrksnio-ju* from *mìrksni-s*, O.C.Sl. *prija-ją* beside Skr. *priyá-s*, are cited in § 769 pp. 284 f.

Other Baltic examples are: Lith. *klúpo-ju* 'I continue kneeling' from *klúpa* 'kneeling, curtsey', *dárgano-ja* 'it is rainy weather', from *dárgana* 'rainy weather', Lett. *jaudá-ju* 'I have power, I can' from *jauda* 'power', *sukká-ju* 'I comb' from *sukkas* pl. 'comb', *scháulá-ju* 'I flutter', from *schául-s* 'fluttering', *wájá-ju* 'I weaken' from *wáj-sch* 'weak', *jōká-ju* 'I jest' from *jōk-s* 'jest', Lith. *való-ju* (i. e. **vali̯ó-ju*) 'I compel' from *valà* (i. e. **vali̯à*) 'will', *vadžió-ju* 'I lead about' from *vádžios* pl. 'leading-string, leash', *gyló-ju* 'I prick repeatedly' from *gylỹ-s* 'sting', *vynió-ju* 'I wrap up' beside *kakla-vynỹ-s* 'necktie'; also derived from *-i̯ē*-stems, as Lith. *páinio-ju* 'I confuse, entangle' from *páinė* 'a confusion, entanglement, hindrance', *ránkio-ju* 'I keep picking up' (berries, for example) from *rankė* 'a gleaning or gathering'. The predominant meaning of Lith. verbs in *-oju* is 'to do, to

be occupied with' the thing denoted by the noun whence the verb comes, as *dovanó-ju* 'I make a present to some one'; and it is easy to see that where there was any verb of this sort and a primary verb containing the same stem, the former might get some kind of frequentative meaning by way of distinction. Thus *lanko-ju* 'I busy myself with bending' means practically 'I bend to and fro' to make pliant or supple, whilst *lenkù* means simply 'I bend'. We shall soon meet this same Frequentative class in Slavonic; and we may therefore with some probability infer that it belongs to the proethnic period of Balto-Slavonic. But I would suggest that the type is still older, and was not produced at that time out of the later stratum of denominatives; for there is no objection to comparing forms like Lith. *lìndo-ju* O.C.Sl. *sŭn-ědają* with Lat. *juvāre* Goth. *mitōn* etc., and placing them in the older denominative stratum. See §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.

The ending *-i̯oju*, both with and without some part of the foregoing stem adhering to it, became an independent suffix. Alone: *lankioju* beside *lanko-ju*, *brádžio-ju* 'I wade about' from *bradà* 'a wading' (but Lett. has *braddáju*) *lándžioju* 'I crawl about' beside *į-landa* 'place to crawl into' (but Lett. has *lōdáju*), *lakióju* 'I fly about' from *lakà* 'place to fly in and out of, entrance to a beehive', *sakióju* 'I follow, *sagióju* 'I attach, fix, sew on'. *-loju* (i. e. *-*li̯ōju*): *pirszlóju* 'I woo, am a suitor on behalf of some one' from *pirslỹ-s* 'suitor, wooer' (*perszù piřsti* 'to woo, to be suitor'), *mìrkloju* 'I blink' from *mirklỹ-s* 'blinker' (*mérkiu mérkti* 'I close my eyelids') and others; by analogy of these *žirg-lóju* 'I go straddling about' (*žergiù* 'I step, stride'), *tep-lóju* 'I smear or grease over' (*tepù* 'I smear'), *mėt-lóju* 'I throw about' (*metù* 'I throw' *mẽtau* 'I throw about'). *-czioju* *-szczioju*: *badmirszczióju* 'I almost starve, suffer hunger' from *badmirtė̃* 'starvation', and others; which set the type for such forms as *mirk-czióju mirk-szczióju* 'I blink', *trúk-czioju trúk-szczioju* 'I throb repeatedly', *ráisz-czioju* 'I keep tying'. *-urioju -uloju* (with parallel endings *-uriů́ju -ulů́ju* by § 785) for frequentatives: *vỹburioju* 'I wag my tail, fawn upon' from

vyburȳ-s 'one who wags the tail', *krūtuloju* 'I stir myself a little' from *krūtuli-s* 'a stirring of oneself, levy, militia', *grōmuloju* 'I chew the cud' from *gromulȳ-s* 'cud', etc.; by this analogy *kȳb-urioju* 'I kick or struggle a little', *vōb-uloju* 'I chew something tough'. *-aloju* is used in the same way; in this ending *-ịoju* interchanges with *-ịůju* far oftener than in the endings *-urioju -uloju* (§ 785):[1] *sárgaloju* 'I am sickly' cp. *sargal-ìnga-s* 'sickly', *darbaloju* 'I keep on working, I work vigorously', *isz-vartaloju* 'I tumble down' and many more, Lett. *pirkaĺáju* 'I buy by retail' beside Lith. *pirkala-s* 'wares', cp. Lith. *svam̃balůju* 'I dangle' from *svam̃bala-s* 'that which dangles, plummet'.

Other Slavonic examples (observe that some of the Slav. verbs in *-a-ti* may possibly answer to Lith. verbs in *-ů-ti*, see § 782. 2 p. 309): O.C.Sl. *igra-ją* 'I play' from *igra* 'game', *sŭ-vraska-ją* 'I am wrinkled' from *vraska* 'wrinkle', *klevata-ją* 'I calumniate' (beside *klevešta*, see § 770 p. 287) from *kleveta* 'slander', *gněva-ją sę* 'I am angry' from *gněvŭ* 'anger', *kašĭlja-ją* 'I cough' from *kašĭlĭ* 'cough'. As in Baltic, these verbs were distinguished by a secondary frequentative meaning from parallel primary verbs. They were associated with the group of frequentatives derived from verbs, whose beginnings go back to the older denominative *ā*-series; thus *-ěda-ją* was associated with *ja(d)-mĭ* 'esse', *-črĭpa-ją* with *črĭpą* 'I make', *-gněta-ją* with *gnetą* 'I press', *čita-ją* 'I read' with *čĭtą* 'I count, reckon'; some of these could also be conjugated in the present like *glagolją* (*glagola-ti*) *trepeštą* (*trepeta-ti*), etc. (§ 770 p. 287), as *na-ričą* 'I name' (inf. *na-rica-ti*) beside *na-reką*. As some of these frequentatives had originally a strong grade of root-vowel, it became a rule for new forms of the same model, that if the primary verb had the vowels *e*, *o*, *ĭ*, or *ŭ*, the frequentative had *ě*, *a*, *i*, or *y* (see the comparisons in Leskien's Handbuch, pp. 14 f.).

1) The distinction between *o* and *ů* is in many Lith. writings so incompletely kept, that it is often impossible to say whether an ending be *-oju* or *-ůju*.

In vowel-stems, *-vaja* is found as a frequentative suffix; e. g. *o-ba-vają* 'incanto' beside *ba-ją* 'fabulor', *o-dě-vają* 'I clothe' beside *dě-ją dežda̜* 'I lay', *pi-vają* 'I drink' beside *pi-ją* 'I drink'; *o-kleveta-vają* beside *kleveta-ją klevešta̜* 'I slander', *razumě-vają* beside *razumě-ją* 'I understand'. The origin of *-vają* was the noun-suffix *-u̯o- -u̯ā-*: *piva-ją* from *pi-vo* 'a draught', *vŭ-liva-ją* 'I pour in' (beside *bi-ją* 'I pour') from **li-vŭ* Mod.Slov. *liv* 'funnel' *na-liv* 'shower of rain' Russ. *na-livŭ* 'the time when the corn grows full' *pro-livŭ* 'strait, channel', *na-sěva-ją* 'I sow' a field (beside *sě-ją* 'I sow') from Russ. *sě-vŭ* 'sowing, seed time'. Other similar nouns having *v*-suffixes may be regarded as derivatives with the suffixes *-ŭkŭ -ŭka*: cp. O.C.Sl. *pri-dě-v-ŭkŭ* 'cognomen' Mod.Slav. *o-dě-v-ka* 'dress' beside *-děvają*, Russ. *do-bi-v-ka* 'a complete driving in' (of stakes) beside *raz-bivają* 'I knock to bits, destroy' (*bi-ją* 'I strike'), Mod.Slov. *po-mi-v-ek* 'rinsing pail' beside *u-myvają* 'I wash' (*my-ją* 'I wash'). But the *v* of *davają* 'I give' and of *stavają* 'consisto' may be taken as original, even if it is not to be put in just the same category as the *u*-suffix of the aforementioned forms; cp. Lith. *dovanà*, Skr. *dāvánē* and O.C.Sl. *stava stavŭ po-stavŭ stavlją* = Goth. *stōja*, Lith. *stovà*. Since *piva-ti dava-ti* were regarded as intimately connected with *pi-ti* and *da-ti*, the ending *-vati* became itself a type, and hence we have *-znava-ti* beside *zna-ti* 'knows', *-klevetava-ti* beside *klevata-ti*, and so on. The endings *-vają -vati* were very convenient for making frequentatives from verbs with a vowel stem-final; hence their frequency.

Remark. Frequentatives of derivative verbs, as *o-klevetavati razuměvati veličavati*, must be regarded, because of their meaning, as an imitation of primary Frequentatives, and must not be derived from nouns in *-avŭ* and *-ěvŭ* (such as *veličavŭ* 'grandiloquent').

§ 784. (2) Verbs from *o*-nouns in (Lith.) *-ė-ju* (O.C.Sl.) *-ě-ją*, as Lith. *gůdė-jů-s* from *gũdu-s*, O.C.Sl. *razumě-ją* from *razumŭ*, are cited in § 770 pp. 288 f.

Other Baltic examples are: Lith. *szyksztė-ju* 'I am covetous' from *szýkszta-s* 'covetous', Lett. *labbé-ju* 'I better

myself' from *lab-s* 'good', *prátė-ju* 'I subtilize, play the wiseacre' from *prát-s* 'reason', *galė-ju* 'I finish' from *ga'l-s* 'end', *mistrė-ju* 'I mix, mingle' from *mistr-s* 'hotch-potch'. In Lithuanian these verbs mean 'to be or practise' anything. They are formed from other stems besides those in *-o-*, as Lith. *žygė-ju* 'I go an errand' from *žỹgi-s* 'errand, course', *malonė́ju* 'I much wish to have' from *malonù-s* 'gracious', *seilė́ju* 'I slaver, drivel' from *séilė* 'slaver', Lett. *brídė́ju* 'I delay' from *brídi-s* 'while, period', *aurė́ju* 'I blow the hunting horn' from *aure* 'hunting horn'. They are linked with the older group of Verbs in *-ėju*, as *kylė-ju* (§ 740 p. 265), in the same way as verbs like *dovanóju* are linked with those like *lìndoju* (§ 783 p. 312).

In Lithuanian the ending *-inėju* was converted into a new type for Frequentatives. First came verbs like *tekinė-ju* 'I run about a little' from *tẽkina-s* 'running', *dilbinė-ju* 'I glower, glare from beneath my brows' from *dil̃bina-s* 'one who glowers'. The next step was *smil-inė́ju* 'I keep eating dainties, picking and tasting', *lind-inėju* 'I crawl about', *vag-inėju* 'I filch' and others. Verbs already frequentative often add *-inėju*, and thus form a frequentative of the second power, so to say; thus we have *laist-inėju* from *láistau láistyti* 'to pour repeatedly', itself frequentative of *lė́-ti* 'to pour', *žarg-inėju* from *žargaũ žargýti* 'to straddle or stretch the legs repeatedly', freq. of *žer̃k-ti* 'to spread the legs'; cp. *pilst-aloju* 'to pour, shed or drop repeatedly' from *pìlstau pìlstyti* freq. of *pìl-ti* 'to pour, shed' (§ 783 p. 313).

Other examples from Slavonic, where almost all verbs in *-ěją* are intransitive and most of them mean to get into some condition: *o-slabě-ją* 'I get weak' from *slabŭ* 'weak', *o-malě-ją* 'to get little' from *malŭ* 'little', *buja-ją* 'I get daft' from *bujĭ* 'daft', *obŭ-ništa-ją* 'I get poor' from *ništĭ* 'poor', *o-krilě-ją* 'I wing myself' from *krilo* 'wing'; *vŭz-mą-žają* 'I make a man of myself, take courage' from *mąžĭ* 'man'. These too can be formed from other besides *o*-stems, as *želěją* 'I wish' from *želja* 'wish, longing'.

-lěją as an independent suffix. On the analogy of

o-mŭdĭlĕ-ją o-mŭdlĕ-ją 'I am slow, linger', from *mŭdĭlŭ mŭdlŭ* 'slow, lingering', and like forms, we find *prokazĭlěją* 'I make evil plots' from *prokaza* 'evil plot', *mąžĭlěją* 'I become a man' from *mąžĭ* 'man', *pečatĭlěją pečatlěją* 'I seal' from *pečatĭ* 'seal'.

§ 785. (3) The Lith. suffix *-ů-ju* (§ 773 p. 291, § 782. 2 p. 309), which began with *o*-stems, has the same function as *-o-ju*. For further examples take the following: Lith. *melů'-ju* Lett. *melů-ju* 'I lie' from Lith. *melaĩ* Lett. *meli* pl. 'lies', Lith. *żalů'-ju* Lett. *ſalů-ju* 'I grow green' from Lith. *żãla-s żale-s* Lett. *ſa'l'-sch* 'green', Lith. *balnů'-ju* 'I saddle' from *balna-s* 'a saddle', *dagů'-ju* 'I harvest' from *dãga-s* 'harvest', *púlů-ju* 'I fester' from *púlei* (*púl-ịai*) 'matter, pus'. Derived from other than *o*-stems: *ãszarůju* Lett. *assarůju* 'I pour out tears' from *aszarà assara* 'tear', Lith. *vagů'ju* Lett. *waggůju* 'I draw furrows' from *vagà wagga* 'furrow', Lith. *dejů'ju* 'I lament' from *dejà* 'a lament', *prãvardżiůju* 'I furnish with a surname' from *pravardẽ* 'surname'.

In the Lith. frequentative endings *-urioju uloju* and *-aloju* (§ 783 p. 312), particularly in the last, there are variants *-ịůju* and *-ịoju*: here *-ịoju* must be regarded in general as the older ending. Examples are: *żiburiů'ju* 'I flare, flicker' from *żiburỹ-s* 'light, torch', *sklidurịůju* 'I slide, swim', *tyvulůju* 'I spread widely'; *svam̃balůju* 'I dangle' from *svam̃bala-s* 'that which dangles, plummet', *mar̃galůju* 'I shine with varied hues', *svaigalůju* 'I reel'.

We have already remarked (§ 782. 2 p. 309), that the Lith. verbs in *-ůju* may possibly have their counterparts in Slavonic, where the class *-ają* may contain some of then.

§ 786. (4) Lith. verbs in *-yju* from *i*-stems have been cited in § 771 p. 289; to Lith. *szir̃dy-jů-s* answers Lett. *si'rdí-jů-s* 'I take to heart'. Here are some further examples: Lith. *rūdy-jù* 'I rust' from *rūdì-s* 'rust', *kirmy-jù* 'I am eaten of worms' from *kirmi-s* 'a worm', which was orig. an *i*-stem although inflected as a stem in *-ịo-* (II § 97 p. 289), Lett. *áusí-jů-s* I listen' from *áus-s* (Lith. *ausì-s*) 'ear'. From

other stems: Lith. *rómyju* Lett. *râmíju* 'I castrate' (properly 'I tame') from *roma-s romù-s râm-s* 'calm, tame, gentle', Lith. *vaĩdyjů-s* 'I quarrel' from *vaĩda-s* 'a quarrel', *giñczyjů-s* 'I strive' from *giñczia-s* 'strife', *gaĩdryje-s* 'clears up' (of the weather) from *gaidrù-s* 'cloudless, bright', *krūvyju* 'I heap' from *krūvà* 'a heap', Lett. *gůdíju* 'I make myself decorous or agreeable' from *gůd-s* 'demeanour, honour' (stem *gůda-*), *skáustíju* 'I tighten, wedge tight' from *skáust-s* 'wedge' (stem *skáusta-*), *meddíju* 'I hunt something' from *mesch* (Lith. *mẽdi-s -džio*) 'forest'.

Remark. Since there were Lith. denominatives in *-inu*, as *lìnks-minu* (§ 624 p. 161), whose future *-įsiu* became identical with that of the verbs we are now discussing, verbs in *-inu* and verbs in *-yju* were mixed up together. Compare Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. und Märchen, pp. 314 f. No special examination has been made to find out the local distribution of this confusion, or how far it went.

On Slavonic verbs in *-ją* from *i*-stems, see § 782. 5 p. 311, § 789 p. 322.

§ 787. (5) The Slavonic ending *-ują* (inf. *-ovati*) we have already traced to its beginning with the stems in *-ovŭ* (§ 782. 3 p. 309). As an independent suffix it became very common, especially to denote condition, possession of a dignity, and the like. Examples: *mirĭnują* 'I am peaceful, keep the peace' from *mirĭnŭ* 'peaceful', *prĭvują* 'I am first' from *prĭvŭ* 'first', *vojują* 'I am a warrior, I make war' (inf. *vojevati*) from *vojĭ* 'warrior', *sŭvěděteljują* 'I am witness' from *sŭvěděteľĭ* 'witness', *sŭvěděteľĭstvują* 'I give evidence' from *sŭvěděteľĭstvo* 'evidence', *obědują* 'I take a meal' from *obědŭ* 'meal', *imenują* 'I name' from *imę* 'name'.

Remark. In the same way this ending was fertile in Lithuanian, where it took the shape of *-auju* (see § 782. 3 p. 309). On the model of *karaláuju* = O.C.Sl. *kraljują* 'I am king' we have *vëszpatáuju* 'I rule', *karáuju* 'I make war', and others.

K. CLASS XXXII.

ROOT + -*éi̯o*- FORMING THE PRESENT STEM.

§ 788. The Verbs which here come under our consideration are those which are called Causal in Sanskrit grammars, because in Sanskrit their prevailing meaning is causal.

The Skr. accentuation -*áya*- must be regarded as original. Germanic also shows evidence that the accent lay after the root syllable; compare Goth. *fra-vardja* with *d*, but *vaírþa* with *þ* (I § 530 p. 383), and Goth. *marzja* 'I vex' O.Sax. *merriu* 'I stop, hinder, disturb' with pr. Germ. *z* for *s* (I §§ 581 f. p. 434).

In all languages except Sanskrit, -*éio*- ran together with other present suffixes without possibility of distinction. But in Sanskrit this ending was differentiated by its accent from that of derivatives from *o*-nouns: *vēd-áya-ti* 'gives to understand, informs' is contrasted with *vasna-yá-ti* from *vasná-s* (§ 770 p. 288); on the later confusion of these two classes, see § 793. In Greek both are alike, and *φορέ-ω* 'I carry about with me, I wear' looks just the same as *φιλέ-ω* 'I treat as a friend' from *φίλο-ς* (§ 770 p. 288, § 776. 2 p. 296); how it came to pass that the two classes agreed in the verb infinite as well, where we should expect **φιλεόντες* in contrast to *φορέοντες*, has been explained in § 527 Rem. 1 p. 89. In Latin there is no distinction either, but *mon-eō* (-*ē-s*) is just like *claude-ō* (-*ē-s*) from *claudu-s*, and like *videō* for **vidē-i̯ō* 2nd sing. *vidē-s* (§ 738 p. 263, § 777 p. 300). In Irish, there was a confluence of -*éi̯ō* (*ad-suidim* 'I prolong, postpone'), -*e-i̯ó* (*scorim scuirim* 'I unharness' § 770 p. 288), -*i-i̯ó* (*fo-dālim* 'I divide up § 771 p. 289), and -*i̯ō* (-*lēc-iu* 'I let, allow', § 719 p. 251). The same is true of Germanic: Goth. *fra-vardja* 'I bring to nothing, destroy' = Skr. *vart-áyāmi* like *haúrnja* 'I blow the horn' (-*e-i̯ó*) from *haúrna*-, like *dulþja* 'I keep a feast' (-*i-i̯ó*) from *dulþi*-, like *glitmun-ja* 'I shine' from **glitmun*- (§ 768 p. 282), and like *vaúrk-ja* 'I work' (§§ 720 ff. pp. 251 ff.), compare § 781. 2 pp. 306 f. Slavonic examples: *buždą* 'I wake' *budi-ši* (Skr.

bōdháya-ti) like *gošt̨ą* 'I entertain' *gosti-ši* from the *i*-stem *gostĭ* (§ 782. 5 p. 311) and like *bŭždą* 'I am awake, watch' *bŭdi-ši* = Skr. *búdh-yāmi* (§ 702 p. 230, § 727 pp. 257 ff.).

Lith. has *-au*, a wide departure from the original form: *vartaũ* 'I turn, keep on turning about', 3rd sing. *vaȓto*, contrasted with O.C.Sl. *vraštą vrati-tŭ* Skr. *vart-áyāmi* Goth. *fravard-ja*, cp. *bijaũ-s* § 586 p. 217 and *jů́stau* § 782. 4 p. 310.

To the same class, as we shall see in § 790, belong some verbs with a weak grade of root, and one of these is Idg. **u̯-éi̯ō*: Skr. *v-áyāmi* 'I weave', Lith. *v-ejù* O.C.Sl. *v-ĭją* 'I wind or twist'. In this verb, and in this only, the original Idg. inflexion has been kept in Balto-Slavonic.

I therefore regard as original the inflexion *-ei̯ō -ei̯e-si -ei̯e-ti* etc., with *-ei̯o-* and *-ei̯e-* interchanging, as may be clearly seen in Aryan and Greek. What we see in Germanic may also be the same, with for the most part only regular changes; only we must regard such forms as O.H.G. 2nd sing. *denis legis* (1st sing. *dennu* 'I stretch' *leggu* 'I lay' = Goth. *þanja lagja*) as being ad-formates of *hevis ligis* etc. (§ 781. 2 p. 306). In Latin, the only form directly representing the Idg. is the 1st person singular in *-eō*; but perhaps the persons with *-ei̯e-*, which must have become *-ē-* in proethnic Italic, are also preserved in *monēs* etc. But *monēmus monent*, like *claudēmus claudent*, must be ad-formates of *tacē-mus tacent*. See on this matter § 777 p. 300. Lith. *vartaũ* and O.C.Sl. *vraštą* will be explained in the next few paragraphs.

§ **789.** The distinction between the *i̯o*-verbs which we have placed in Classes XXVI—XXXI, and verbs with *-éi̯o-*, is that in the former the *i̯o*-element was confined to the present from the proethnic stage onwards; whilst in the latter the perf. part. pass. and the forms closely connected with it show after the root a certain element which seems to be etymologically akin to the present formative suffix. This element is *-i-* or *-ī-*. Sanskrit and Germanic as a rule have *-i-*; e. g. Skr. *varti-tá-s* Goth. *fra-vardi-þ-s*, and so in the Lat. *moni-tu-s qu-i-tum.*

-ī- is regular in Balto-Slavonic, as Lith. *vartý-ti* (*vartý-siu*) O.C.Sl. *vrati-ti* (*vrati-chŭ*). *-ī-* is also seen in the following. Gr. (ϝ)-ῑ-τέα 'willow' (beside (ϝ)-ί-τυ-ς 'felloe'), Lat. *v-ī-ti-s*, O.H.G. *w-ī-da* 'willow' (beside *w-i-d* 'cord of twisted withes'), Lith. *v-ý-ti-s* 'cane, switch' O.C.Sl. *v-i-tĭ* 'res in modum funis torta', which along with inf. Lith. *v-ý-ti* O.C.Sl. *v-i-ti* are connected with Idg. **u̯-éi̯ō* (see § 788 p. 319). Skr. *gr̥bh-ī-tá-s* (*a-grah-ī-ṣ-ṭa grah-ī-ṣya-ti*) beside *gr̥bh-áya-nt-*, *háv-ī-tavē* beside *hv-áya-ti*, *mr̥ḍ-ī-ká-m* 'pity, compassion' beside *mr̥ḍ-áya-ti*. Lat. *noc-ī-vo-s* is doubtless related to *noceō* as O.C.Sl. *chodivŭ* is to *chodi-ti*, or *ljubivŭ* to *ljubi-ti* (cp. II § 64 Rem. 2 p. 136, and pp. 137 f.).[1])

From these facts it follows that we have in this verbal class what may be called a Root-Determinative *-i-*, parallel to the determinative *-u-*; thus Skr. *v-áya-ti*: Gr. (ϝ)-ί-τυ-ς O.H.G. *w-i-d* = Skr. *sr-áva-ti* : *sr-u-tá-s* (see § 488 pp. 46 f.). The only difference is that whilst *-u-* was restricted to some few examples (compare however § 596. 2 pp. 136 f. for what is said on the present suffix *-nu-*), the *-i-* was fertile even in proethnic Idg. itself. If this view of the *-éi̯o-* class is correct, the class must be very closely connected with present forms like Skr. *am-ī-ti* (§§ 572 ff. pp. 114 ff.). Skr. *v-áya-ti* : *am-ī-ti* = *sr-áva-ti* : *tar-u-tē* (§ 596. 2 pp. 136 f.).

Now are *-éi̯o-* and *-ī-* connected in any way with the *-i̯o-*suffix of Classes XXVI—XXXI? It is an obvious conjecture that there may be the same relation between *-ei̯o-* and *-i̯o-* as between *-eu̯o-* and *-u̯o-* (*v-áya-ti* : *hár-ya-ti* = *sr-áva-ti* : *bhár-va-ti*, see § 488 p. 47), or *-eno-* and *-no-*, or between *-eso-* and *-so-* (*-esko-* and *-sko-*). I do not venture either to assert or to deny this; but seeing how uncertain the matter is, I think it best not to group the *-éi̯o-*class with the *-i̯o-* classes.

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1) Cp. Skr. *á-mī-vā* 'pain' beside *amī-ti* beside which we have Avest. *amayavā-* 'pain', which form Bartholomae uses to postulate an Avest. pres. **amaye-iti* (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 178).

We now return to the Balto-Slavonic present exemplified by *vartaũ vraštą*.

The simplest explanation of the Slavonic present inflexion is that -ī- has come in from the infinitive stem: *vrati-ši vrati-tŭ* then follow *vrati-ti*, a process which has an exact parallel in the change of **gostĭją -ĭješi* etc. to *gošťą gosti-ši* by analogy of *gosti-ti gosti-chŭ* (§ 782. 5 p. 311).

Remark. Another explanation of the origin of this Slavonic present type is possible. Sanskrit has a mid. optative e. g. *vēday-ī-ta* beside *vēdáya-tē*, injunctive *dhvanay-ī-t* (cp. *á-brav-ī-t*), and participle *vēday-āna-s*. See § 574 pp. 115 f., § 951. The indicative to *vēday-ī-ta* would be **(a-)vēdē-ta*, and Bartholomae conjectures that certain forms usually regarded as *oi̯*-optative may be this very indicative (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 127). This would make it possible to derive 3rd sing. *vrati-tŭ* from **u̯ortei̯-t(i)*. I should give more weight to this explanation were it not for a very strong suspicion that these Aryan forms are due to analogy, and are not proethnic at all.

The Lith. inflexion *-au -yti* is found in Lettic too (*-u -ít*) and also in Prussian (*billā* 'speaks' inf. *billī-t billī-twei*); it therefore is proethnic in Baltic. Its origin is a confusion of the old inflexion of our class with both the earlier and the later group of *ā*-denominatives, that is to say, with verbs like *bijaũ-s* (§ 586 p. 127) and verbs like *jů'stau* (§ 782. 4 p. 310). But why was it this confusion went so far that the *ā*-flexion drove the *ei̯o*-flexion quite out of the present, but yet *-ā* did not drive *-ī-* out of the infinitive? (contrast *bijaũ-s bijó-ti-s*.) I explain this by supposing that Baltic once possest verbs like Lat. *cubāre sonāre*, which had the *ā*-suffix in the present only. O.C.Sl. *ima-mĭ* 'I have' likewise shows *ā*-flexion only in the present (inf. *imě-ti*). The Lith. present stems containing Idg. *-o-* in the root syllable, such as *vartō-* = **u̯ortā-* (√ *u̯ert-*), seem to have a parallel in Lat. *domā-* (*domō domās*) O.H.G. *zamō-* (*zamōm zamōs*) = Idg. **domā-* from √ *dem-*, since this is best explained as a contamination of **dm̥mā-* (Skr. *damā-yá-ti*) and **domēi̯o-* (Goth. *tamja* O.H.G. *zemm(i)u*). *laižaũ* 'I lick' (*laižý-ti*) is the equivalent of Goth. *bi-láigō* 'I lick over'.

The question next arises when *-ā-* got the better of *-e̯i̯o-*, as the Baltic shews it did at some time or other. I am inclined to place the change in the proethnic period of Balto-Slavonic. What inflexion came just before the type actually found in Slavonic, *vraštą vratiši* and so forth, is not at all clear. It may very well have been one answering to the Lith., that is 3rd sing. **vortā-tĭ* 1st pl. **vortā-mŭ*, cp. *ima-tŭ ima-mŭ*, and on this supposition it is easier to explain the actually found *ī*-forms, than if we suppose the Slavonic to have passed direct from **vortĭje-tĭ* to **vortī-tĭ*. But then we must also assume that **gostĭją *-ĭješi* = Idg. **-i-i̯ṓ *-i-i̯é-si* (§ 782. 5 p. 311) changed to *gošta gostiši* only on the analogy of *vraštą vratiši*. For the Baltic *i*-denominatives like Lith. *daly-jù szir̃dy-jů-s* prove that these forms sprang up within the Slavonic area.

A complete levelling of the Causal conjugation with the *i*-Denominative is not unknown in Baltic. Here the *i*-denominative takes the lead. I find only a few examples in Lith., as *paisyju -yti* instead of *paisaũ -ýti* 'to knock the beard off the barley, thresh' (cp. Skr. *pēṣáya-ti*). There are more in Lettic; e. g. *rů/iju rů/īt* 'to stretch' instead of Lith. *rą̃žau rą̃žyti*, *pe'lniju pe'lnít* 'to earn' instead of Lith. *pelnaũ pelnýti.*

§ 790. In *éi̯o*-verbs with roots of the *e*-series, the root-syllable has and originally had generally the 2nd strong grade, *o*; as Gr. φοβέω beside φέβομαι, Lat. *moneō* from √ *men-*, Goth. *satja* beside *sita*, Lith. *vartýti* O.C.Sl. *vratiti* for **vortītī* from √ *u̯ert-*. This is why Aryan has *ā* in open syllables, as Skr. *bhāraya-ti* Avest. *bārayeiti* from √ *bher-*, if the hypothesis set forth in vol. I § 78 p. 69 is correct.[1])

The European languages make it improbable that there were in the very oldest times any forms with the root-grade *e*. Aryan forms with *-a-*, as Skr. *jaráya-ti* from √ *ĝer-*, *janáya-ti* from √ *ĝen-*, may be explained by the admixture

1) No explanation of *ā* in *bhāraya-ti* which is in the least degree satisfactory has hitherto been put forward by those who deny this. The European forms adduced as parallel by Bechtel (Die Hauptprobleme der idg. Lautl., 169 f.) prove nothing at all. Compare § 843, Rem.

with denominatives derived from *o*-stems which will be described in § 793; on this supposition, *jaráya-ti* and *janáya-ti* would belong to the nouns *jára-* and *jána-* just as much as *mantráya-ti* belongs to the noun *mántra-*. Or they may be explained in another way: In Aryan, the *éi̯o-* formation was often made from the connected primary verb instead of being built up on the root (see § 796), so that *pātáya-ti* would stand to *patáya-ti* (beside *páta-ti*) as *kartaya-ti* to *kr̥ntaya-ti* (beside *kr̥ntá-ti*).

On the other hand, *éi̯o*-verbs with a weak grade of root have been found from the proethnic period onwards. They are commonest in Aryan, e. g. Skr. *gr̥bháya-ti*. The following are proethnic Idg.: Skr. *v-áya-ti* 'weaves' Lith. *v-ejù* O.C.Sl. *v-ěją v-iją* 'I wind, turn, wrap', beside Gr. *ἰ-τέα* Lat. *v-ī-ti-s* O.H.G. *w-ī-da* Lith. *v-ý-ti-s v-y-ti* O.C.Sl. *v-i-tĭ v-i-ti* and Gr. *ἴ-τυ-ς* O.H.G. *w-i-d* (§ 789 p. 320); root without determinative in Skr. *ó-tu-m u-tá-s* perf. 3rd pl. *ūv-úr* pass. *ū-ya-tē*, extended by *ā* in *v-ā́-tavē* and others (Whitney, Skr. Roots, pp. 157 f.).[1]) Skr. *śv-áya-ti* 'swells, thrives, is strong' beside Gr. *κυ-έω* 'I am pregnant', Lat. *qu-eō*, with supine *qu-i-tum* (the resemblance of *eō* : *itum* made the conjugation of *queō* run like *eō* — *quīmus quībō* etc.); the same root in Skr. 3rd pl. *śū-śuv-ur śū-ná-s á-śv-a-t śáv-as* Gr. *ἄ-κῡ-ρος κῦ-μα* Lat. *in-ciēns* for **-cu̯-i̯ens* (§ 715 p. 248, § 717 p. 250), and with *ā*-extension in Skr. *śv-ā-trá-s* Gr. El. *ἐπ-εν-πήτω* and others (§ 737 p. 263). Skr. *dhun-aya-tē* 'roars' (beside *dhvan-a-ti* 'makes a sound') O.Sax. *duniu* Mid.H.G. *düne* O.Icel. *dyn* 'I roar, rumble, groan'. Of the same kind are: Skr. *hv-áya-ti* 'calls' Avest. *zb-ayę-iti zuv-ayę-iti* beside Skr. *háv-a-tē* perf. *ju-hā́v-a* aor. *á-hv-a-t á-huv-a-t*, Lat. *ci-eō* beside *ac-ciō ci-tu-s* Gr. *κί-ω κί-νυ-μαι*; O.H.G. *zunt(i)u* 'I kindle' with Goth. *tandja* 'I kindle' beside Mid.H.G. *zinden* (strong verb) 'to burn, glow'. Uncertain: Gr. *φλ-έω* 'I overflow' beside *ἐκ-φλαίνω* Lat. *fl-ē-re*;

1) From this *u̯ei̯- u̯ī- u̯i̯-*, which had become a root again before the end of proethnic Idg., a present was again formed by means of *-éi̯o-*; Skr. *vy-áya-ti* 'winds up, wraps up, covers, hides', Lat. *vi-eō*.

Goth. *ga-nsja* 'I cause' from √‿*nes-*, originally 'I make to come forward'; O.C.Sl. *briją* (*brĭją*) *bri-ti* 'to shear, shave' beside Skr. *bhur-íj-* Gr. *φάρ-ο-ς*, and others.

§ 791. In all branches of our group, the verbal class now being discussed has two distinct meanings, both of which must be regarded as holding for the original language. Each of them serves to contrast a verb with a simple verb from the same stem.

First there is the Causal sense; the subject of the *éi̯o-* verb sets some one in motion, impels him to do something; in fact, makes him do the action of the simple allied verb. Skr. *bōdháya-ti* O.C.Sl. *budi-tŭ* 'wakes up, makes wake' beside *bṓdha-ti bŭdi-tŭ* 'is awake'. Skr. *tarṣáya-ti* 'makes languish, thirst' beside *tŕ̥ṣya-ti* 'languishes, thirsts', Lat. *torreō* 'I dry up, make dry', O.H.G. *derr(i)u* (same meaning) beside Goth. *þaúrsei-þ mik* 'I am athirst'. Gr. *φοβέω* 'I make to flee, scare away' beside *φέβομαι* 'I flee'. Lat. *moneō* 'I make some one think, remind' beside *meminī*. Goth. *satja* 'I make sit, I place' (Skr. *sādáya-ti*) beside *sita* 'I sit'.[1])

Secondly, they express a meaning which may be called Intensive, Iterative, or Frequentative. This is often weak and elusive, and in many cases was certainly extinct at the time when we find the verb actually used. Skr. *vi-vāhayati* beside *vi-vahati* 'leads away (a bride), leads her home' Avest. *vāďayę-iti* 'leads home', O.C.Sl. *voždą vodi-ti* freq. of *vedą* 'I lead', √‿*u̯edh-*. Gr. *(ϝ)οχέομαι* pass. 'I am taken backwards and forwards, I am carried', Goth. *vagja* 'I move' beside *ga-viga* 'I move', O.C.Sl. *vožą voziti* freq. of *vezą* 'I carry, convey', √‿*u̯eǵh-*. Skr. *mar-daya-ti* beside *mr̥dnā-ti marda-ti* 'presses, crushes', Lat. *mordeō* beside perf. *momordī* = Skr. *mamarda*. Skr. *ā-tānayati* 'stretches, makes stiff' beside *ā-tanōti* 'stretches, pulls up' a piece

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1) Sometimes these verbs are causal to the Passive of the simple verb; as Goth. *ga-tarhja* 'I cause to be seen' *fra-atja* 'I divide for food, cause to be eaten' O.H.G. *ezzu* 'I cause to be grazed upon, use for pasture' (also 'I let eat, give a taste').

of weaving, Goth. *-þanja* 'I lengthen, stretch'. Skr. *pēṣaya-ti* beside *pinā́ṣ-ṭi* 'treads or crushes to atoms' Lith. *paisý-ti* 'to knock (barley, in order to free it from the beard)'. O.Ir. *for-tugim* 'I cover, hide', O.H.G. *decch(i)u* 'I cover' beside Lat. *tegō*. Skr. *dhāráya-ti*, beside *dharati* (very rare), 'holds fast, keeps', *nōdaya-ti* 'drives on' beside *nudá-ti* 'knocks, strikes away, pulls', *rājyą kārayati* and *karōti* 'is king, uses lordship'. Gr. φορέω 'I carry about with me, wear' beside φέρω 'I carry', ποτέομαι 'I fly about, flutter' beside πέτομαι 'I fly', στροφέω 'I turn round and round excitedly' beside στρέφω 'I twist, turn', τροπέω beside τρέπω 'I turn', ὀχέω 'I hold fast' beside ἔχω 'I hold, have'. Lat. *lūceō* (in O.Lat. also causal 'to make shine'), *haereō*, *tondeō*, and others. Goth. *uf-rakja* 'I reach up' beside Gr. ὀρέγω 'I reach out', Goth. *þragja* 'I run' beside Gr. τρέχω 'I run', O.Sax. *kenniu* 'I beget' beside Skr. *jána-ti* 'begets'. The Intensive or Frequentative meaning is clearest in Balto-Slavonic: cp. further Lith. *ganý-ti* 'to keep (animals), pasture them' O.C.Sl. *goni-ti* 'to drive' freq. of *ženą gna-ti* to drive, hunt', √ *ghen-* 'strike, kill', Lith. *grą̄žý-ti* freq. of *grēžiù grę̃szti* 'to turn, twist, bore', O.C.Sl. *vlači-ti* freq. to *vlěką vlěšti* 'to pull, drag along'.

I shall not go into the question of the relation between these two original uses. An attempt to explain it is made by Gaedicke, Der Acc. im Veda, pp. 276 f.

§ 792. Considering the very real and living connexion which existed between the *éi̯o*-present and the primary present stems, e. g. Skr. *bōdháya-ti* and *bṓdha-ti*, *vāráya-ti* and *vṛṇṓ-ti*, it is easy to understand why *éi̯o*-forms were often built up on a complete present stem, not on the root. Thus Skr. *jīváya-ti* O.C.Sl. *živi-ti* beside *jī́-vāmi ži-vą* (inf. *ži-ti*) 'I live' (§ 488 p. 47), Skr. *dhūnaya-ti* beside *dhū-nā́-ti dhū-nṓ-ti* 'shakes, shatters' (cp. Gr. θυνέω § 801), *kṛntaya-ti* with *kartaya-ti* beside *kṛntá-ti* 'cuts', Lat. *misceō* beside a form **miscō* for **mic-scō* √ *mei̯k̑-*, O.H.G. *scein(i)u* beside *scī-nu* 'I shine'. Other examples will be given below.

§ **793.** There are often nouns which most closely resemble these verbs both in form and meaning. The result of this was that *éi̯o*-verbs were formed from nouns direct. If, for instance, people derived Skr. *vāj-áya-ti* 'hastens, conquers, spurs on, makes something use its power' (= Goth. *us-vakja* 'I wake up') from *vā́ja-s* 'speed, power' — which was really inevitable, as there was no such parallel stem as **vaja-ti* — it was easy to form *mantráya-tē* 'advises' from *mán-tra-s* 'advice'. It was, as has been observed in § 487 p. 43, the action of the same principle which produced in Gothic *fullnan* from *full-s* 'full' by analogy of *af-lifnan áuknan*, in Lithuanian *lìnksmin-ti* from *liñksma-s* 'glad' by analogy of *krùvin-ti kùpin-ti*, *rentù* from *rēta-s* 'thin' following *tenkù tèkti*, *gelstù gel̃sti* from *gel̃ta-s* 'yellow' following *virstù vir̃sti mirsztù mir̃szti* (§ 623 p. 160, § 624 p. 161, § 635 p. 173, § 686 p. 217). Compare further Skr. *muṣ-ṇā́-ti* 'steals' from *mū́ṣ-* 'a mouse' § 599 Rem. p. 143.

These *éi̯o*-denominatives are commonest in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, and one or two of these new formations occur in both branches: Goth. *fulljan* O.C.Sl. *plŭni-ti* 'to fill' from *full-s plŭnŭ* 'full' (**pl̥-no-s*), Goth. *háiljan* O.C.Sl. *cěli-ti* 'to heal' from *háil-s cělŭ* 'whole, healthy'. But it is quite possible that these two developements are independent.

§ **794.** Pr. Idg. Examples with monosyllabic root, as Skr. *v-áya-ti* Lith. *v-ejù* O.C.Sl. *v-ĭją*, Skr. *śv-áya-ti* Lat. *qu-eō*, have already been cited in § 790 p. 323.

As regards the following examples, which shew a strong grade of root, it is to be remembered that this formation was always an active living type in Aryan, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic; so that it is not unlikely that all these languages hit upon the particular forms independently. I therefore give by preference such examples as are found in Greek or Italic as well, where the type was less prolific.

**bhor-éi̯ō* √ *bher-*: Skr. *sam-bhāraya-ti* 'causes to be gathered', Gr. *φορέω* 'I carry about, wear'. **tor-éi̯ō* √ *ter-*: Skr. *tāráya-ti* 'gets carried over, transports, furthers', Gr. *τορέω*

'I make to pierce, shout loudly'. **u̯ol-éi̯ō* √‿*u̯el-*: Skr. *pra--vāraya-ti* 'appeases, offers, offers for sale', Goth. *valja* 'I choose', O.C.Sl. *voli-ti* 'to wish, to prefer'. **mon-éi̯ō* √‿*men-*: Skr. *mānáya-ti* 'honours, shows honour'[1]) Avest. *mąnayę-iti* 'causes to believe, regards' (for *ą* cp. I § 200 pp. 168 f.), Lat. *moneō* (O.H.G. *manēm manōm* 'I imagine' with different inflexion), Lith. *isz-manýti* 'to understand'. **ton-éi̯ō* √‿*ten-*: Skr. *ā-tānaya-ti* 'stretches, stiffens' *są-tānaya-ti* 'gets carried out, brings to conclusion', Goth. *uf-þanja* 'I stretch, lengthen out'. **qi̯ou̯-éi̯ō* √‿*qi̯eu̯-* (Hom. ἔ-σσευε): Skr. *cyāváya-ti* 'sets in motion, moves from its place', Gr. σο(ϝ)έω in ἐσσοημένον · τεθορυβημένον, ὡρμημένον Hesych. (I § 489 p. 360).[2]) **poi̯-éi̯ō* √‿*pei̯-* (Skr. *páy-a-tē*): Skr. *pāyáya-tē* 'gives to drink', O.C.Sl. *poji-ti* 'to give to drink' (1st sing. *poją*). **tors-éi̯ō* √‿*ters-* 'to be dry, thirsty': Skr. *tarṣáya-ti* 'makes to thirst or pine', Lat. *torreō*, O.H.G. *derr(i)u* (pr. Germ. **þarzi(i̯)ō*) 'I make dry, cause to wither'. **mord-éi̯ō* √‿*merd-*: Skr. *mardaya-ti* 'presses, oppresses, crushes', Lat. *mordeō*. **u̯ort-éi̯ō* √‿*u̯ert-*: Skr. *vartaya-ti* 'sets circling, rolls, causes to take a certain bent or direction', Goth. *fra--vardja* 'I bring to nought, destroy, make away with', Lith. *vartýti* O.C.Sl. *vrati-ti* freq. 'to turn, twist'. **k̑roth-éi̯ō* √‿*k̑reth-*: Skr. *śrāthaya-ti* (*śratháya-ti*) loosens, frees', O.H.G. *rett(i)u* (Goth. **hradja*) 'I tear away, rescue'. **bhloĝ-éi̯ō* √‿*bhleĝ-*: Skr. *bhrājaya-ti* 'causes to gleam or shine',[3]) O.H.G. *blecch(i)u* (Goth. **blakja*) 'I make visible, show'. **logh-éi̯ō* √‿*legh-*: Goth. *lagja* 'I lay', O.C.Sl. *loži-ti* 'to lay'. **month-éi̯ō* √‿*menth-*: Skr. *manthaya-ti* 'causes to be stirred

1) The meaning of this verb was influenced by the subst. *mā́na-s mā́na-m* 'opinion, high opinion, esteem, honour', in the same way as H.G. *blenden* (O.H.G. *blenten* 'to daze, darken, blind' = O.C.Sl. *blęditi* 'to wander' Mod.Slov. *bluditi* 'lead astray, deceive') by the adj. *blind*, whose factitive the verb is now used for, though originally the factitive was Goth. *-blindjan* A.S. *blindan*. Compare § 681 p. 213 on Skr. *lṓṣṭa-tē*.

2) Parallel verb σοῦμαι = σοόομαι, a denominative, see W. Schulze in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 264 f.

3) This may also be formed from the pres. *bhrā́ja-tē* = Idg. **bhlēĝe--tai̯* (§ 494 p. 55), by analogy.

up', O.C.Sl. *mąti-ti* 'to bring into perplexity'. **tonəg-éi̯ō* √ *tenəg-*: Lat. *tongeō*, Goth. *þagkja* 'I think over, think about', but cp. § 804. **nok̑-éi̯ō* √ *nek̑-*: Skr. *nāśáya-ti* 'causes to disappear, destroys', Lat. *noceō.*[1]) **lou̯q-éi̯ō* √ *leu̯q-*: Skr. *rōcáya-ti* 'causes to shine, lights up', Lat. *lūc-eō* 'I shine, am bright' and O.Lat. 'I make shine'. **lou̯bh-éi̯ō* √ *leu̯bh-*: Skr. *lōbháya-ti* 'excites some one's desire, attracts' Goth. *us-láubja* 'I allow', O.C.Sl. *ljubi-ti* 'to love'. **ǵou̯s-éi̯ō* √ *ǵeu̯s-*: Skr. *jōṣáya-tē* 'likes, takes pleasure in, approves', Goth. *káusja* 'I taste, try'. **su̯op-éi̯ō* √ *su̯ep-*: Skr. *svāpáya-ti* 'sends to sleep', O.H.G. *int-swebb(i)u* 'I send to sleep' O.Icel. *svef* 'I pacify, quiet'. **u̯oǵh-éi̯ō* √ *u̯eǵh-*: Skr. *vāhaya-ti* 'conveys, makes (a carriage or horses) go, drives', Gr. ὀχέω 'I convey, make ride' pass. 'I am carried about, am carried, I ride on', Goth. *ga-vagja* 'I move', O.C.Sl. *vozi-ti* 'to carry (in a vehicle), vehere'. **u̯oi̯d-éi̯ō* √ *u̯ei̯d-*: Skr. *vēdaya-tē* 'gives to know, informs', O.H.G. *weiz(i)u* 'I give to know, I show'. **bhoi̯d-éi̯ō* √ *bhei̯d-*: Skr. *bhēdaya-ti* 'splits, divides', O.H.G. *beiz(i)u* 'I make to bite, I bait'. **pot-éi̯ō* √ *pet-*: Skr. *pātáya-ti* 'makes to fly or fall', Gr. ποτέομαι 'I fly, flutter'. **dhogh-éi̯ō* √ *dhegh-*: Skr. *dāhaya-ti* 'causes to be burnt', Lat. *foveō* 'I warm, keep warm, cherish, take care of'.[2]) **bhog-éi̯ō* √ *bheg-*: Skr. *bhājáya-ti* 'drives away',[3]) Gr. φοβέω 'I make to flee, scare or hunt away'. **tjog-éi̯ō* √ *tjeg-*: Skr. *tyājaya-ti* 'bids leave alone', Gr. σοβέω 'I drive off quickly, scare away'. **sod-éi̯ō* √ *sed-*: Skr. *sādáya-ti* 'gets seated, sits', O.Ir. *ad-suidim* 'I prolong, postpone' (Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 97), Goth. *satja* 'I seat, place'. **od-éi̯ō* √ *ed-*: Skr. *ādaya-ti* 'causes to eat, feeds, fattens', Goth. *fra-atja* 'I divide up for a meal' O.H.G. *ezz(i)u* 'to make eat, give to eat, feed'. **pāk̑-éi̯ō*

1) The construction *nocēre alicui* is doubtless due to the analogy of *obesse officere* etc.

2) Compare *fōmes* 'kindling, tinder' (for **fovimes*) with Lett. *dagli-s* 'tinder'.

3) Skr. *bhaj-* is contaminated of two distinct roots, that of φαγεῖν (Fick, Wtb. I[4] 87) and that of φέβομαι Lith. *bĕgu* (*id. ib.* 490).

√‾*pāk̂-*: Skr. *pāśáya-ti* 'binds', O.H.G. *fuog(i)u* O.Sax. *fōgiu* 'I make fit, join, bind together'. Skr. *hrādaya-ti* 'causes to make a sound' (*hrāda-tē* 'sounds'), O.H.G. *gruoz(i)u* O.Sax. *grōtiu* 'I address, speak to'; if another, Goth. *grēta* 'I wail out', is of this kin, then we must assume Idg. **ĝhrōdéi̯ō*. Goth. *af-daui-þs* 'exhausted' pres. **dōja* for **dōu̯i̯ō* in the first instance (I § 179 p. 156), O.C.Sl. *davi-ti* 'to strangle'. —

In the following, *-éi̯ō* was not added immediately to the root; see § 792 p. 325.

**tons-éi̯ō* from the stem *ten-s-*: Skr. *tąsaya-ti* 'pulls about, tugs, tears, shakes', Lith. *tą̃sý-ti* 'to drag about'; cp. Skr. *tąsa-ti* Lith. *tę̃s-iù* § 657 p. 191. **u̯os-éi̯ō* from stem *u̯-es-*: Skr. *vāsáya-ti* 'causes to put on, clothes with something', Goth. *ga-vasja* O.H.G. *weriu* 'I clothe'; cp. Skr. *v-ás-tē* Gr. *ἐπί-εσ-ται* § 656 p. 191.

**rōdh-éi̯ō* stem *rē-dh-*: Skr. *rādhaya-ti* 'brings about', O.Ir. *no rāidiu* 'I speak', Goth. *rōdja* 'I speak', O.C.Sl. *radi-ti* 'to consider, care for'; cp. Skr. *árādha-t* Goth. *ur-rēda* § 689 p. 220. **i̯ou̯dh-éi̯ō* **i̯udh-éi̯ō* stem *i̯eu̯-dh-* 'to stir, set in motion': Skr. *yōdháya-ti* 'involves some one in war, fights against', Lat. *jubeō* properly 'I set in motion' (cp. Lith. *jùdinu* 'I move, cheer up, exhort'); cp. Skr. *yōdha-ti* etc., *loc. cit.*; the O.Lat. *joubeō* is only once found (S. C. de Bacch., 27), and *ou* was perhaps only caused by the spelling of *jousiset* which precedes.[1])

Goth. *stōja* 'I direct' for **stōu̯i̯ō* (I § 179 p. 156), O.C.Sl. *stavlją* 'I place, stay, stem' with Goth. *staua* 'court of law' (see *ibid.*) O.C.Sl. *stavŭ* 'compages' *po-stavŭ* 'loom-frame, or web' *stava* 'joint, limb' Lith. *stovà* 'place' from √‾*stā-* 'stand'; to argue from Gr. *στύω στῦ-λο-ς* Skr. *sthū-lá-s*, we had best assume *stū- stāu̯-* (cp. § 488 pp. 44 ff.).

The causal Skr. *jīváya-ti* 'makes living, lets live' O.C.Sl. *življą* 'I make alive' is probably derived from the present

1) If *joubeō* is a genuine form, it may be a variant of *jūbeō* like Skr. *śōcáya-ti* beside *śucáya-ti*.

jī-va-ti *ži-ve-tŭ* 'lives' (§ 792 p. 325), whilst Goth. *ga-qiuja* 'I make alive' is a denominative causal from *qiu-s* 'living' (§ 793 p. 326, § 806).

§ 795. Aryan. A pass. part. in *-i-tá-* formed from all verbs with strong grade of root syllable; see § 789 pp. 319 f.

Skr. *dhāráya-ti* Avest. *dāraye-iti* 'holds fast, carries, supports, strengthens, preserves', O.Pers. *dārayāmīy* 'I hold, possess', √ *dher-*. Skr. *vāráya-ti* Avest. *vāraye-iti* 'holds back, keeps off, hinders': Goth. *varja* 'I hinder, protect, defend', √ *u̯er-*. Skr. *nāmaya-ti namaya-ti* Avest. *nāmaye-iti* 'makes bend, bends' (tr.), √ *nem-*. Skr. *śrāváya-ti śraváya-ti* Avest. *srāvaye-iti* 'causes to hear, recites, informs', √ *k̑leu̯-*. Skr. *cāyaya-ti cayaya-ti* 'ranges together, collects', √ *qei̯-*. Skr. *nāyaya-ti* 'causes to be carried away'. Skr. *vardháya-ti* Avest. *varđaye-iti* 'causes to grow, increases, furthers'. Skr. *bandhaya-ti* 'causes to be bound, chains', Avest. *bandaye-iti* 'binds', √ *bhendh-*. Skr. *raṃháya-ti* Avest. *renjaye-iti* 'expedites, despatches', √ *leəgh-* (I § 199 p. 167). Skr. *jambháya-ti* Avest. *zembaye-iti* 'grinds to powder, destroys', √ *ĝembh-*. Skr. *rōcáya-ti* 'causes to shine, illuminates', Avest. *raocaye-iti* 'lights up, illuminates': Lat. *lūceō*, see § 794 p. 328. Skr. *rēcaya-ti* 'makes empty, lets free, deserts', Avest. *raecaye-iti* 'deserts', √ *lei̯q-*. Skr. *sādáya-ti* 'places', Avest. *ni-šāđaye-iti* 'causes to sit down, brings under, subdues' O.Pers. *niy-ašādaya-m* 'I made sit down, arranged' (for *š* in the O.Pers. cp. I § 556 p. 410): Goth. *satja*, § 794 p. 328. Skr. *bhāyaya-ti* 'causes fear to, frightens', √ *bhai̯-*.

Many Skr. forms are proved by their root syllable to be re-formates. E. g. *arjaya-ti* (as also *árja-ti* and suchlike), from √ *reĝ-* 'to stretch oneself' (*rájiṣṭha-s*, Gr. ὀρέγω), is a transformate of *ṛ́jya-ti* following *ardháya-ti* : *ṛdhya-tē ṛdhnṓ-ti* etc. *tōlaya-ti* 'lifts, weighs' formed from *tul-* (*tulaya-ti* etc.) = Idg. *tḷ-* (I § 287 p. 229, § 290 p. 232), follows *bōdháya-ti* : *budh-* and the like.

Forms with weak grade of root. Skr. *v-áya-ti* 'weaves': Lith. *v-ejù*, see § 790 p. 323. *śv-áya-ti* 'swells, thrives, is

strong': Gr. *κυ-έω* Lat. *qu-eō*, see *ibid.* Skr. *hv-áya-ti* Avest. *zb-ayę-iti zuv-ayę-iti* 'calls'. Skr. *dhun-aya-tē* 'roars': O.Sax. *duniu*, see *ibid.* *tul-aya-ti* beside *tōl-aya-ti*, see just above. *gr̥bh-áya-ti* 'grasps'. *śuc-áya-ti* 'shines, beams'. *pīḍ-aya-ti* 'presses' for **pi-zd-eįe-ti* ('makes sit down') from √*sed-*, see I § 591 p. 447. Avest. *urūpayę-iti* 'does harm'. Add doubtless Skr. *chad-áya-ti* beside *chandaya-ti* from the pres. *chant-ti* 'appears'.

§ **796.** Many new forms from Primary Present Stems (see § 792 p. 325):

Skr. *īráya-ti* 'sets a-going, excites, arouses' beside *īr-tḗ* Idg. **r̥̄-taį*, *pūráya-ti* 'fills' beside *pūr-dhí* Idg. **pl̥̄-dhi*, Class I § 497 p. 57.

A group of fairly common forms, such as Skr. *patáya-ti* Avest. *patayę-iti* beside Skr. *pātáya-ti*, have been derived from forms of Class II *A*, as has been already said (§ 790 pp. 322 f.). The following may be connected with stems of Class II *B*: Skr. *gūhaya-ti* Avest. *guzayę-iti* (but not O.Pers. *gaudayāhy* 2nd sing. conj.), cp. Skr. *gūha-ti* 'hides' Avest. mid. *guza-tę*; Skr. *turáya-ti*[1]) (beside *tāráya-ti*), cp. *turá-ti* 'gets through, makes oneself master of'. But this view is not the only one possible, since the *éįo*-verbs themselves could have a weak grade of root syllable (§ 790 p. 323, § 795 p. 330).

Avest. *titārayę-iti* 'seeks to overcome, or strike down' beside Skr. *ti-tar-ti* Avest. *ti-tar-a-þ* Classes III, IV, § 540 p. 100, § 548 p. 105.

Skr. *sajjaya-ti* 'fastens on' beside *sajja-tē* for **sa-zj-a-* Class VI § 562 p. 110.

Causal of the Intensive class. Skr. *dādhāraya-ti* 'causes to hold fast' from *dā-dhar-ti*, *jāgaráya-ti* 'awakes, enlivens' from *jā-gar-ti*, Class V § 560 p. 109. Skr. *dandaśayi-tvā* gerund 'having caused to be severely bitten' beside *dán-daś- āna-s* partic., from *daś-* 'to bite', *varīvarjáya-nt-* 'turning

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1) O.Pers. *atarayāma* may be the same formation (I § 290 p. 232).

backwards and forwards' beside *várī-vr̥j-at-* partic., from *varj-* 'to turn, twist' Class VII § 568 p. 113.

Skr. *prīṇaya-ti* 'gladdens, delights, makes inclined' from *prī-ṇá-ti*, *dhūnaya-ti* 'moves to and fro, shakes' from *dhu-nā-ti*, Class XII § 599 pp. 142 f.; *dhūnaya-ti* is perhaps identical with Gr. θῡνέω, § 801.

Skr. *iṣaṇaya-nta* from *iṣaṇa-t* Class XIV, and *iṣaṇyá-ti* Class XIX (§ 619 pp. 156 f., § 743 p. 266), cp. Gr. *ὀλιγο-δρανέων* beside *δραίνω* § 801.

From Present Stems of Classes XV and XVI, §§ 625 ff. pp. 162 ff. Skr. *kr̥ntaya-ti* (beside *kartaya-ti*) Avest. *kerᵉntayę-iti* 'cuts, splits' from Skr. *kr̥ntá-ti* Avest. *kerᵉnta-iti*. Skr. *rundhaya-ti* 'stems, holds back, torments' (beside *rōdhaya-ti*) from *ruṇaddhi rundh-a-ti*. Skr. *śundhaya-ti* 'cleanses' (beside *śōdhaya-ti*) from *śunaddhi śundh-a-ti*. Skr. *limpaya-ti* 'besmears, anoints' (beside *lēpaya-ti*) from *limp-á-ti*. Skr. *br̥haya-ti* 'strengthens' (beside *barhaya-ti*) from *br̥h-a-ti*. Skr. *dr̥haya-ti* 'makes fast, fixes firmly' from *dŕ̥h-a-ti*. Avest. *bunjayę-iti* 'cleanses' from *bunj-a-iti*.

O.Pers. 3rd pl. *a-kū-nav-ayatā* 'they made' beside *a-kū-nav-am* 3rd sing. *a-kū-nav-a*, Classes XVII and XVIII, § 640 p. 178, § 649 p. 185.

Skr. *pinvaya-ti* 'makes swell or abound' from *pí-nva-ti*, Class XVIII § 651 p. 186.

From unreduplicated Presents, Classes XIX and XX, § 656 pp. 190 f. Skr. *vāsáya-ti tąsaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 329. Skr. *vakṣaya-ti ukṣaya-ti* Avest. *vaxšayę-iti* 'makes grow' from Skr. *úk-ṣa-ti* Avest. *vax-ša-iti*. Skr. *bhīṣáya-tē* 'frightens, overawes' (beside *bhāyaya-ti*) from *bhy-ása-ti* § 659 p. 195. Avest. *aiwy-āxšayęinti* 'they inspected' beside O.Pers. *patiy-axšaiy* 'I inspect' § 659 p. 194.

From reduplicated *s*-Presents (Desideratives), Class XXI §§ 666 f. pp. 198 ff. Skr. *cikīrṣaya-ti* from *cí-kīr-ṣa-ti* 'wishes to make, begins, purposes', *śikṣaya-ti* from *śikṣa-tē* 'learns' for **śi-śk-ša-tai̯*.

prachaya-ti (gramm.) from *pr̥chá-ti* 'asks' ground-form

**pṛ(k̂)-sk̂e-ti*, *ichaya-ti* (beside *ēṣaya-ti*) from *ichá-ti* 'desires', Class XXII §§ 670 f. pp. 202 f.

mṛḍáya-ti 'is gracious' from *mṛḍá-ti* for **mṛž-da-ti* Class XXV § 692 p. 222.

chāyaya-ti from *cha-ya-ti* 'cuts up', Class XXVI § 707 p. 237. *pyāyáya-ti* from *pyā́-ya-tē* 'swells', Class XXVIII § 736 p. 262.

§ 797. Near kin to the *éi̯o*-forms cited in the preceding paragraphs, are the Skr. groups ending in *-payati* and *-apayati*, as *sthā-payati* and *sn-apáya-ti.*

In these endings, as in *glei̯-p-* and *lei̯-p-* (§ 634 pp. 170 f.), *-p-* must be counted one of the Root-Determinatives which have been discussed in § 488 pp. 44 ff.[1]) In principle, these do not differ from ordinary present suffixes.

(1) *-payati.* The following may be considered as the forms which originated this type in Sanskrit. *sthāpaya-ti* causal of *ti-ṣṭh-a-ti* 'stands', cp. Lith. *stapy-ti-s* 'to stand still' O.H.G. *stab* 'staff' *stabēm* 'I get stiff', √ *stā- stə-.* *dāpaya-tē* causal of *dā́-ti d-yá-ti* 'divides, gives a share', cp. Gr. *δάπ-τω* 'I divide up, tear in pieces' *δαπ-άνη* 'expenditure' Lat. *daps*, √ *dā- də-.* *dīpáya-ti* causal of *á-dī-dē-t* 'shone' imper. *di-dī-hí*, cp. *dī́p-ya-tē* perf. *didīpē* part. *dīp-ta-s.* On the analogy of such as these arose forms like *dhā-paya-ti* from *dhā-* 'to set, place', *snā-páya-ti* from *snā-* 'to wash', *kṣē-paya-ti* (beside *kṣay-áya-ti*) from *kṣi-* 'to stay, dwell', *ar-páya-ti* from *ar-* 'to raise oneself'.

Then again *smāpaya-ti* beside *smāy-aya-ti* from *smi-* 'to smile', *māpaya-ti* instead of **māy-aya-ti* from *mi-* 'minuere', *adhy-āpaya-ti* beside *praty-āyaya-ti* from *i-* 'to go'. There were two causes for this set of forms. Firstly, the participles came in contact, *smi-ta-s smi-tvā* seeming to be parallel with e. g. *sthi-tá-s sthi-tvā́*; secondly, *pāy-áya-ti* 'gives to drink'

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1) Compare now Per Persson's *Wurzelerweiterung* pp. 49 ff. In this work *p* is taken to be a root determinative in many words where we have regarded it as part of the root proper, as in Skr. *sárpa-ti* Lat. *serpō*, which the writer derives from the root of Skr. *sár-a-ti* 'moves, flows'.

(beside *pī-tá- páy-a-tē*) was compared with *pā-paya-ti* 'gives to drink' (from *pā́-ti*), and *gāy-aya-ti* 'makes sing' (beside *gī-tá- -gē-ṣṇa-*) compared with *gā-paya-ti* 'makes sing' (beside *gā-ti gā-sya-ti*). Then a further step was taken, and the resemblance of *sthi-tá-s* to *vardhi-tá-s dīkṣi-tá-s* produced *vardhāpaya-ti* from *vardháya-ti* 'helps, arouses, causes a pleasant excitement', *dīkṣā-paya-ti* from *dīkṣaya-ti* 'consecrates'; and again we have have on the analogy of these *bhuñjāpaya-ti* from *bhōjaya-ti* 'gives to eat' (pres. *bhunák-ti*), and others.

(2) *gl-apaya-ti* 'brings to decay, ruins, exhausts' (beside *glā-páya-ti glā-ti glā́-ya-ti*) beside opt. *glapē-t* (Whitney, Skr. Roots p. 41), Gr. *βλ-έπω* 'I look, see' (cp. *βαλεῖν ὄμματα* or *ὄσσε εἴς τι* or *πρός τι*).[1] √ *gel-*. *sn-apáya-ti* 'washes, bathes' (beside *snā-páya-ti snā́-ti snā-ya-tē*) compared with Lat. *Nep- -tūnu-s*. *śr-apáya-ti* 'boils, roasts, burns' (beside *śrā́-ya-ti śrā-tá-s*) is connected with *su-śrápa-s* 'easy to cook'; *jñ-apaya- -ti* 'instructs' (beside *jñā-paya-ti jñā-sya-ti*) beside *jñap-tá-s* 'instructed' *jñap-ti-ṣ* 'attainment of knowledge'. *ml-apaya-ti* beside *mlā-páya-ti* 'makes languid, takes away the elasticity'.

Remark. Other forms with *-ep-* are: Gr. *κλ-έπ-τω* Lat. *cl-epō* Goth. *hl-ifa* 'I steal' beside O.Ir. *celim* O.H.G. *hilu* 'I hide'; Gr. *δρ-έπω* 'I break off, cut off, pluck' *δρέπανο-ν* 'sickle' beside *δέρ-ω* 'I flay'; Lat. *tr-ep-idu-s*, O.C.Sl. *tr-epe-tŭ* 'to tremble' beside Skr. *tar-alá-s* 'trembling'. Compare the Author, Morph. Unt. I 40, 48, 49; Per Persson, Wurzelerw. 50 ff.

§ 798. A Denominative *éi̯o*-formation like Skr. *mantráya- -tē* (§ 793 p. 326) can only be definitely maintained for Sanskrit; we know nothing of the Old Iranian accent, and therefore cannot say whether Avest. *fraγrāraye-iti* 'wakes up' would answer to a Skr. **grāráya-ti* or **grārayá-ti*. Other examples from Sanskrit are: *ṛtáya-nt-* 'behaving in due form and order' from *ṛ-tá-m* 'order, rite', *artháya-tē* 'allows oneself to be persuaded' from *ár-tha-m* 'goal, business'; *pāláya-ti* 'watches, protects' from *pā-lá-s* 'guardian' is used in Sanskrit as causal

1) *βλέφαρον* seems to be a transformate of *γλέφαρον*, which comes from another root, on the analogy of *βλέπω*.

of *pā́-ti*, and *ghātaya-ti* 'causes to be killed, kills' (aor. *a-jīghata-t*) from *ghā-ta-s* 'blow, killing' as causal of *hán-ti*.

It may be mentioned that when a root-final *k*-sound is not changed to *c* before *-aya-*, this proves the form to be denominative; for we have seen in vol. I § 445 p. 331 that a *k*-sound must become *c* before *-ei̯o-* in proethnic Aryan, as it does in *rōcáya-ti*. We know therefore that *mr̥gáya-tē* 'sets on the trail of a quarry' is derived from *mr̥gá-s* 'wild animal, game', *tarkáya-ti* 'conjectures' from *tarka-s* 'guess', and so with others.

§ 799. In Sanskrit, the present in *-áya-ti* served as the foundation for a desiderative formation in *-ayiṣa-ti*, as *lu-lōbhayiṣa-ti* from *lōbháya-ti*.

The passive is formed with *-yá-tē*, *-aya-* being dropt; e. g. *bhāj-yá-tē* from *bhājaya-ti*. How this passive originated is not at all clear. It may be supposed that it had no special connexion properly with the *éi̯o*-present, any more than had the aorist of Class IV (§ 548 p. 105).

§ 800. Armenian. There are no clear traces of this *éi̯o*-group, which appears to have been absorbed into the class of verbs ending with *-em*. For instance, *lizem* 'I lick' may answer equally well to Skr. *lēháya-ti* or to Gr. λείχω. Compare § 774[a] p. 293, on *gorcem* etc.

§ 801. Greek. Here this *éi̯o*-class ran into one group with the denominative present in *-e-i̯ō*, such as φιλέω from φίλο-ς. Hence arose φορήσω ἐφόρησα etc., following φιλήσω ἐφίλησα (§ 773 p. 290). Hence again, in the present itself, Lesb. ποθήω like ἀδικήει (§ 775 p. 293), and φόρημι like φίλημι (§ 589 p. 131).

I arrange the forms about to be cited according as they had one or other of the two original functions of this class (§ 791 p. 324).

Causal (or Factitive). τορέω, (ϝ)οχέω, φοβέω, σοβέω, see § 794 pp. 326 ff.

Intensive (or Iterative). φορέω, σοέω (ἐσσοημένον Hesych.), ποτέομαι, see *ibid.* ὀχέω 'I hold fast, hold out, hold' for *σοχεω

beside ἔχω: Skr. *ut-sāhaya-ti* 'helps some one to endure, strengthens, gives heart'. ποθέω 'I desire' beside θέσσεσθαι Avest. *jaidye-iti* √ *ghedh-* (§ 706 p. 234): O.Ir. *no guidiu* 'I pray' first for **godiu*. στροφέω 'I turn round and round' beside στρέφω. τροπέω 'I turn, twist' beside τρέπω. ῥοφέω 'I swallow' beside Lith. *sreb-iù* √ *srebh-*; Lat. *sorbeō* seems to be an *éi̯o*-form with weak grade of root, like *jubeō* Skr. *gr̥bháya-ti*, and others (§ 790 p. 323). βρομέω 'I hum, buzz' beside βρέμω. σκοπέω 'I watch, look at, ponder' beside σκέπτομαι. So perhaps ὀρχέομαι 'I hop, spring, jump, tremble, quake' beside ἔρχομαι 'I go'; in that case the word will be akin to Skr. *r̥ghāyá-ti* 'quakes, throbs'. ὠθέω 'I push': cp. Skr. *vadhaya-ti* 'strikes down' Avest. *vādaye-iti* 'knocks back'; ὠθέω will be equivalent to Skr. *bādhaya-ti* 'subdues', if in this word *b* is for *v-* (cp. p. 225 footnote 1).

Looking at these verbs in -εω from the Greek point of view only, it must be admitted that they mostly look like derivatives from substantives; cp. φορέω φόρο-ς, ποθέω πόθο-ς, στροφέω στροφή and so forth. However, it can hardly be doubted that they had their origin rather in this *éi̯o*-class, in as much as the earliest verbs of the kind ended in *-éi̯ō*. After the Greek verb had lost the original Idg. accent (cp. § 527 with the Rem., p. 89), present stems in *-éi̯ō* and denominatives in *-e-i̯ṓ* were bound to run together.

However, another possibility must not be forgotten: to wit, that before the time in question some few denominative causals, of the type of Skr. *mantráya-ti* (§ 793 p. 326, § 798 pp. 334 f.) may have been formed.

-εω is not uncommon after present formative suffixes (cp. § 792 p. 325). So far as one can see, the new verb meant much the same as the old unextended verb.

εἱλέω 'I press' beside εἴλω for *ϝελ-νω (§ 611 p. 150). Ion. inscr. conj. βουλέωνται beside βούλομαι 'I wish' for *βολ-νο- (§ 611 p. 150). πιτ-νέω 'I fall' beside πίτ-νω, whose preterite ἔπιτνον became aorist by contrast with πιτνέω (see Curtius, Verb[2] I 268, II 12); ι in the root syllable instead of ε (√ *pet-*)

as in *κίρ-νη-μι* etc., § 602 p. 144. *δαμνεῖ · δαμάζει* (Hesych.) beside *δάμ-νη-μι*. *ἱκνέομαι* 'I arrive' beside Hom. *ἱκάνω* for **ἰκ-ανϝω* § 652 p. 187. *οἰχ-νέω* 'I go, go away, I am off'. Cret. *ἀγ-νέω* 'I lead, bring'.

ὀλιγο-δρανέω 'I am faint, weak' beside *δρ-αίνω* (§ 621 p. 159) like Skr. *iṣ-aṇ-aya-nta* beside *iṣ-aṇ-yá-ti* (§ 796 p. 332).

With Skr. *pi-nv-aya-ti* § 796 p. 332 may be compared the following. *ἀγῑνέω*, beside *ἀγίνω* 'I lead, bring' for **ἀγι-νϝω*. *ἐξίνει*, beside *ἔζῑνε-ν* for **zgi-nu̯ō*. See § 652 p. 187. Perhaps also *δῑνέω* 'I eddy' beside *δίνω*, and *θῡνέω* 'I move wildly, storm' beside *θύνω*, see *loc. cit.*; but still these may be denominatives, derived later from *δῖνο-ς* and *θῦνο-ς*; *θῡνέω* moreover may be identified with Skr. *dhū-n-aya-ti* (§ 796 p. 332). We are still quite in the dark whether *-nu̯-éi̯ō* or *-n-éi̯ō* (*-ne-i̯ṓ*) is to be assumed for *κῑνέω* 'I move from its place' beside *κί-νυ-μαι*, *βῡνέω* 'I stop up' beside *βύνω* and *βύω* fut. *βῡσω*, *βῑνέω* 'coeo' beside Skr. *ji-nā́-ti* 'overpowers, oppresses' partic. *jī-tá-s*.

πεκτέω beside *πέκτω* 'I comb', § 680 p. 212.

γηθέω beside *γήθομαι* 'I am glad' seems to fall here along with Lat. *gaudeō* for **gāvideō*, § 694 p. 223. *μινυθέω* (Hippocr.) beside *μινύ-θω* 'minuo'.

μυζέω (Hippocr.) beside *μύζω* 'I suck'. *χρηίομαι* (Chalc. *χρηείσθω* Boeot. *χρειεῖσθη*) and Gort. *λῆϊω* (for **ληέω*) beside *χρήομαι* **λήω* perhaps like Skr. *pyāy-áya-ti* beside *pyā́-ya-tē* 'swells', see § 737 p. 263.

These forms in *-εω* are also found in association with present stems which have no special characteristic, as *ἑλκέω* beside *ἕλκω* 'I pull'.

Now comes the question — are all these forms with *-εω* to be brought into close connexion with the Idg. *-éi̯ō*, and did they originally have an Intensive or Frequentative meaning? We saw in § 578 p. 119, § 756. 4 p. 275, that from the very earliest period non-present forms with an *ē*-suffix occur side by side with present forms which have no *ē*-suffix; as *μελήσει*

ἐμέλησε μεμέληκε beside *μέλει*, *τυπτήσω* beside *τύπτω*. It is therefore possible, that at first the only forms used were, say, *ἕλκω ἑλκήσω*, *πέκτω πεκτήσω*, and that it was only their *ē*-forms which brought these stems in contact with the *εω*-class, and produced *ἑλκέω πεκτέω*.

§ 802. Italic. On the Latin present inflexion see § 788 pp. 318 f. The part. pass. ends sometimes in *-i-tus*, see § 789 p. 319.

We have already mentioned *moneō*, *torreō*, *mordeō*, *tongeō*, *noceō*, *lūceō*, *foveō*, and *jubeō joubeō*, see § 794 pp. 326 ff.

Besides these there are but few words which can with any certainty be called *éi̯ō*-formations. *spondeō*, beside Gr. *σπένδω* 'I pour a libation, offer it', mid. 'I make a solemn compact'. *doceō*, beside *discō* for **di-tc-scō* (§ 678 p. 210), perhaps from the same root as *decet*, and identical with Gr. *δοκέω* (cp. Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 66, 452). *voveō*, although there are doubts as to its origin (cp. I § 428 *c* p. 316; Fick, Wtb. I⁴ 408; Osthoff, Morph. Unt. v 82). *tondeō*, beside Gr. *τένδω* 'I bite' for **τεμ-δω* (§ 695 p. 224). *haereō*: Goth. *us-gáisja* 'I frighten' properly 'I make stiff, or congeal'. Umbrian has *tursitu* tusetu 'terreto' *tursiandu* 'terreantur' from a pres. **torséi̯ō*, beside Lat. *terreō* Gr. *ἔτερσεν· ἐφόβησεν* (Hesych.), all from √ *ter-s-*, see § 657 p. 192.

The root syllable has a weak grade in: Lat. *qu-eō*, identical with Skr. *śv-áya-ti*, *ci-eō*, see § 790 p. 323; *sorbeō* beside Gr. *ῥοφέω*, see § 801 p. 336; *jubeō*, parallel stem *joubeō* once found, see § 794 p. 329.

We should also add, it seems, the following: *misceō*, see § 792 p. 325; *augeō*, cp. Lith. *áugu* 'I grow'; *suādeō* 'I make a thing acceptable to some one', cp. Gr. *ἥδομαι* § 690 p. 221.

Remark. It is hardly possible to prove that the *éi̯o*-formation became denominative in Latin as it did in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, *dēnseō* 'I make thick' beside *dēnsu-s* is certainly not to be explained like Goth. *fulljan* beside *full-s*, and other such; tempting though it be to draw this parallel. See § 777 Rem. p. 301.

§ 803. Keltic. Only a few examples which are anything like certain.

We have already cited the following: O.Ir. *for-tugim* 'I cover over': O.H.G. *decch(i)u* 'I cover', √ *teg-* § 791 p. 325; *ad-suidim* 'I prolong, postpone': Goth. *satja* 'I place', √ *sed-* § 794 p. 328; *no rāidiu* 'I speak, say': Goth. *rōdja* (same meaning), *ibid.*; *no guidiu* 'I pray': Gr. *ποθέω* 'I desire, crave for', √ *ghedh-*, § 801 p. 337. Further examples: *do-luigim* 'I let off, forgive' perhaps connected with *legaim* 'I fail, perish, go to pieces' (Thurneysen, Rev. Celt. VI 316). *luadim im-luadim* 'I set in motion' beside *do-lod* 'I went'. *no-m-mōidim* 'I boast, exult' beside *miad* 'pride, honour'. *guirim gorim* 'I heat, warm' from √ *gher-*.

§ 804. Germanic. On the confusion of this type with other present classes see § 781. 2 p. 306. The present inflexion in Gothic may be regarded as regularly growing out of the original one (I § 142 p. 125 f.); but in O.H.G. such forms as 2nd sing. *denis* (1st sing. *denn(i)u* = Goth. *þanja*) *beizis* (1st sing. *beiz(i)u* = Goth. **báitja*) are a re-formation following *hevis* and suchlike (1st sing. *heff(i)u* = Goth. *hafja*), Class XXVI. The partic. pass. in pr. Germanic ended in *-idá-*, as Goth. *fra-vardiþs* stem *-vardida-*, *nasiþs* stem *nasida-* O.H.G. *gi-nerit*, see § 789 p. 319.

The class was productive, from proethnic Germanic onwards, in the Causal or Factitive use, where the primary verb has some simple meaning. Only a few examples, as O.H.G. *decch(i)u* 'I hide', still keep the Idg. Intensive or Frequentative meaning (§ 791 p. 324); but this meaning very early became so weak, that soon no difference was felt between the original verb and the secondary verb in *-éi̯o-*, for which reason the former was generally dropt altogether out of use.

Goth. *varja* O.H.G. *weriu* 'I hinder, guard': Skr. *vāráya-ti*, see § 795 p. 330. O.H.G. *zeriu* O.Sax. *teriu* 'I destroy, tear to pieces': Skr. *dāraya-ti* 'makes burst, splits'. Goth. *valja* O.H.G. *well(i)u* 'I choose': Skr. *pra-vāraya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327.

Goth. *uf-þanja* 'I stretch out' O.H.G. *denn(i)u* 'I stretch': Skr. *ā-tānaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. O.H.G. *wenn(i)u* O.Icel. *ven* (inf. *venja*) 'I accustom': Skr. *są-vānaya-ti* 'makes inclined, accustoms to', √ *u̯en-* 'to like'. O.H.G. *flouw(i)u* 'I rinse' (2nd sing. *flewis*, cp. Braune O.H.G. Gr.[2] pp. 84, 253): Skr. *plāvaya-ti* 'floods, pours over', Serv. *plovi-ti* 'to make flooded', √ *pleu̯-* 'flow, swim'. Goth. *fra-vardja* 'I bring to nought, destroy, disfigure', O.H.G. *wert(i)u* 'I destroy': Skr. *vartaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *marzja* 'I hurt, vex', O.H.G. *merr(i)u* 'I hold back, hinder, disturb, mislead' (orig. 'cause any one to make an oversight'): Skr. *marṣaya-ti* 'looks after, carries off, lets alone' (*mṛ́ṣya-ti* 'forgets, neglects, bears patiently'), √ *mers-* 'forget, take no notice of'. O.H.G. *derr(i)u* 'I make dry, wither up': Skr. *tarṣáya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *ga-tarhja* 'I mark out, blame': Skr. *darśáya-ti* 'shows', √ *derk̑-* 'see'. Goth. *uf-rakja* 'I reach up', O.H.G. *recch(i)u* 'I reach, stretch out' from √ *reĝ-* (Gr. ὀρέγω). O.H.G. *(h)rett(i)u* 'I tear away, rescue': Skr. *śrāthaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *þragja* 'I run', beside Gr. τρέχω 'I run' (fut. θρέξομαι) from √ *threkh-*.[1]) O.H.G. *blecch(i)u* 'I make visible, show': Skr. *bhrājaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *lagja* O.H.G. *legg(i)u* 'I lay': O.C.Sl. *loži-ti*, see § 794 p. 327. Goth. *þagkja* O.H.G. *dench(i)u* 'I ponder, think': Lat. *tongeō*, see § 794 p. 328; the irregular pret. *þāhta dāhta* partic. **þāht-s gi-dāht* (variant *gi-denkit*) — for *aŋ* becoming *ā* see I § 214 p. 181 — arose on the analogy of the corresponding preterite of *þugkja dunch(i)u* (Goth. *þūhta* etc.), which verb we have placed in Class XXVI (§ 722 p. 252); it is true *þagkja* may also be placed in this class, as it may come from **tm̥g-i̯ō*, which would have a grade of root shown apparently in Osc. *tangin-om* 'sententiam' (not so Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 123). O.H.G. *blent(i)u* 'I darken, blind': O.C.Sl. *blądi-ti* 'to go astray', orig. transitive like

1) We must believe that the root is *threkh-*, not *thregh-* (I § 553 p. 406), because of O.Icel. *þrǣll* for **þrā́χ-ila-*. Then the Gothic verb, like *fra-vardja* and *marzja*, shows in its root-final the regular voiced consonant.

Mod.Sloven. *bluditi* 'to lead astray, deceive' (Miklosich, Vgl. Gr. II 437), √*bhlendh-*; cp. p. 327 footnote (1). Goth. *us-láubja* O.H.G. *ir-loub(i)u* 'I allow': Skr. *lōbháya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *káusja* 'I taste, try': Skr. *jōšáya-tē*, see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *ráupja* O.H.G. *rouf(i)u* 'I pick, pluck, tear out': Skr. *rōpaya-ti* 'makes a tear, breaks off', √*reup-reub-* (I § 343 p. 270, § 469. 7 p. 345). Goth. *dráusja* 'I make fall, throw', O.H.G. *trōr(i)u* 'I make trickle, shed', beside Goth. *driusa* 'I fall'. O.H.G. *int-swebb(i)u* 'I lull to sleep': Skr. *svāpáyati*, see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *ga-vagja* O.H.G. *wegg(i)u* 'I move': Skr. *vāhaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 328. Goth. *us-vakja* 'I wake up', O.H.G. *wecch(i)u* 'I wake': Skr. *vājáya-ti* 'excites, drives on', √*ueg-*. O.H.G. *weiz(i)u weiʒ(i)u* 'I give to know, show': Skr. *vēdaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 328; O.H.G. *beiz(i)u beiʒ(i)u* 'I cause to bite, corrode, bait': Skr. *bhēdaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 328; originally *weiz(i)u weiʒis* etc., *beiz(i)u beiʒis* etc., whence by levelling in both directions *weiz(i)u weizis* and *weiʒ(i)u weiʒis*, *beiz(i)u beizis* and *beiʒ(i)u beiʒis* etc. (cp. *flōz(i)u flōʒ(i)u* § 805). Goth. *láisja* O.H.G. *lēr(i)u* 'I teach', √*leis-* 'learn'. Goth. *satja* O.H.G. *sezz(i)u* 'I set, place': Skr. *sādáya-ti*, see § 794 p. 328. O.H.G. *heng(i)u* 'I cause to hang, hang' beside O.H.G. *hāhu* 'I hang' for **haŋhu* (*hiang gi-hangan*). Goth. *uf-hlōhja* 'I make some one laugh', O.Icel. inf. *hlœgja*, beside Goth. *hlahja* 'I laugh' (pret. *hlōh*). O.H.G. *fuog(i)u* O.Sax. *fōgiu* 'I make fit, join, tie up': Skr. *pāśáya-ti*, see § 794 p. 329. O.H.G. *gruoz(i)u gruoʒ(i)u* O.Sax. *grōtiu* 'I address, speak to': Skr. *hrādaya-ti*, see § 794 p. 329.

§ **805**. Where the *éio*-verb, and the primary verb from which it was formed, had come to have a different articulation in the final consonant of the root, through the action of Verner's Law (I §§ 529 f. p. 384 f. § 581 p. 434), the final of the *éio*-verb was very often in Gothic levelled back to match that of the other. Of the examples cited in § 804, the following show this change: Goth. *-tarhja* instead of **-targja* following a lost **taírha*, *káusja* instead of **káuzja* following *kiusa*, *dráusja* instead of **dráuzja*

= O.H.G. *trōr(i)u* following *driusa*, *láisja* instead of **láizja* = O.H.G. *lēr(i)u* following *láis* 'knows', *-hlōhja* instead of **-hlōgja* = O.Icel. *hløge* following *hlahja*.

The following *éi̯o*-forms arose from present stems with some characteristic suffix (see § 792 p. 325).

O.H.G. *hlein(i)u* 'I cause to lean' trans. of *hli-nē-m* O.Sax. *hli-nō-n*, Class XII, § 605 p. 146.

O.H.G. *scein(i)u* 'I make visible, show' beside *scīnu*; *swein(i)u* 'I make disappear, diminish' beside *swī-nu* 'I disappear'; *bi-swell(i)u* 'I make swell, dam up' beside *swillu*; *scell(i)u* 'I cause to sound, dash in pieces' beside *scillu*: Class XIII, § 614 pp. 151 f.

Goth. *sagqja* O.H.G. *sench(i)u* 'I make sink, push under' beside *sigqa*; O.Sax. *thengiu* 'I complete' beside *thīhu* 'I thrive' for pr. Germ. **þeŋχō*; O.H.G. *meng(i)u* O.Sax. *mengiu* 'I mingle, mix' beside a pr. Germ. **mingō*; O.H.G. *spreng(i)u* 'I make burst, I burst' beside *springu*: Class XVI § 628 pp. 164 ff., § 634 pp. 170 ff. With these were associated *éi̯o*-formations made from presents with a *t*-suffix and a nasal infix: Goth. *vandja* O.H.G. *went(i)u* 'I turn' from *vinda* √ *u̯ei̯-*; O.H.G. *swent(i)u* 'I make disappear, I annihilate' from *swintu* beside *swī-nu*, see § 634 p. 172, § 685 p. 216.

Goth. *kannja* 'I make know, inform', O.H.G. *ir-chenn(i)u* 'I make know, understand', beside *kann kun-nu-m*, Class XVII § 646 p. 183.

Goth. *ur-rannja* 'I make arise' O.H.G. *renn(i)u* 'I make run, or make run quickly', beside Goth. *rinna*; Goth. *ga--brannja* 'I cause to be burnt up, I burn up', O.H.G. *brenn(i)u* 'I make burn, I burn' beside *brinna*: Class XVIII, § 654 pp. 187 f.

Goth. *ga-vasja* O.H.G. *weriu* 'I clothe' (Goth. *-vasja* instead of **-vazja*, see p. 342): Skr. *vāsáya-ti*, from *u̯-es-* (Class XIX) √ *eu̯-*, see § 794 p. 329.

O.H.G. *frōr(i)u* 'I make freeze' beside *friu-su*, Class XX § 664 p. 197.

O.H.G. *ir-lesk(i)u* 'I cause to be quenched, I quench' beside *ir-lisku*, Class XXII, § 676 p. 208.

Goth. *rōdja* 'I speak, say' beside *-rē-da*: Skr. *rādhaya-ti* etc., see § 794 p. 329; O.H.G. *flōz(i)u flōʒ(i)u* Mid.H.G. *vlœtze vlœʒe* 'I make flow, cause to swim off, to float (trans.)' (cp. *weiz(i)u weiʒ(i)u* § 804 p. 341) beside *fliu-ʒu*; Class XXV § 699 p. 225.

§ 806. Denominative *éi̯o*-verbs (see § 793 p. 326) are common. We have already given some examples found both in Germanic and in Balto-Slavonic (*loc. cit.*), to wit, Goth. *fullja* O.H.G. *full(i)u* 'I fill' from *full-s* 'full' and Goth. *háilja* O.H.G. *heil(i)u* 'I heal' from *háils heil* 'whole, healthy'. Other examples are: Goth. *háuhja* O.H.G. *hōh(i)u* 'I make high, raise aloft' from *háuh-s hōh* 'high'; Goth. *ga-blindja* 'I make blind' Engl. *to blind* (distinguish this from O.H.G. *blent(i)u*, see § 804 p. 340); Goth. *ga-qiuja* 'I make living' from *qiu-s* (cp. § 794 p. 330); O.H.G. *sterch(i)u* 'I make strong, strengthen' from *starc* 'strong'; *fest(i)u* 'I make fast, fortify' from *festi* 'fast'.

If Germanic did not inherit *éi̯o*-denominatives from pre-Germanic times, we have to turn for an explanation of their existence in this branch to those instances, where, connected with an old primary causal, there is some adjective having the same grade of root-syllable, as Goth. *gramja* O.H.G. *gremm(i)u* 'to provoke, make angry': O.H.G. *gram* O.Icel. *gram-r* 'angry, provoked'; Goth. *hnáiwja* 'I lower, degrade' O.H.G. *(h)neig(i)u* 'I bend, incline, sink' tr.: Goth. *hnáiw-s* 'low, humble'; O.H.G. *ga-fuog(i)u* 'I make to fit, I join': *ga-fuogi* 'fitting, suiting'. Once these verbs came to be regarded as derived from the adjectives in question, it is easy enough at once to explain new forms like *fullja*.

§ 807. Balto-Slavonic. The original present system, *-ei̯ō -ei̯esi* and so forth, is still represented by the Lith. *v-ejù* O.C.Sl. *v-ĭją v-iją* 'I wind, turn, twist', as we have already seen in § 788 p. 319. How the place of this series was usurped by Lith. *-au -ai* ......, O.C.Sl. *-ją -iši* ...... has been explained in § 789 pp. 321 f.

This type was very fertile in Balto-Slavonic; and we meet with both the original meanings, — the Causal, and the Intensive or Frequentative (§ 791 p. 324).

We may mention as further examples Lith. ***vartaũ vartý-ti*** O.C.Sl. ***vraštą vrati-ti***, O.C.Sl. ***volją voli-ti***, ***poją poji-ti***, ***ložą loži-ti***, ***mąštą mąti-ti***, ***ljublją ljubi-ti***, ***vožą vozi-ti***, ***davlją davi-ti***, Lith. ***isz-manaũ -maný-ti*** § 794 pp. 326 ff., Serv. ***plovi-m plovi-ti***, O.C.Sl. ***bląždą blądi-ti*** § 804 pp. 339 f. Others are: O.C.Sl. ***morją mori-ti*** 'to kill' (causal): Skr. ***māráya-ti*** 'makes die, kills', √ *mer-*. Lith. ***daraũ darý-ti*** 'to make' beside ***deriù*** 'I bargain, hire, am of use' (cp. Leskien, Der Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lit., 99), √ *der-*. Lith. ***ganaũ ganý-ti*** 'to tend (cattle), to pasture' O.C.Sl. ***gonją goni-ti*** 'to drive' (freq.), √ *ghen-* 'strike'. Lith. ***ramaũ ramý-ti*** 'to soften, calm' (causal): Skr. ***rāmaya-ti*** 'brings to a standstill', √ *rem-*. Lith. ***žargaũ-s žargý-ti-s*** 'to stretch the legs apart' (freq.) beside ***žergiù*** 'I stretch my legs'. Lith. ***praszaũ praszý-ti*** 'I ask, pray', O.C.Sl. ***prošą prosi-ti*** 'to ask, pray', √ *prek̑-*. Lith. ***láužau láužy-ti*** 'to break' trans. (freq.) beside ***láuszti*** 'to break' trans. O.C.Sl. ***buždą budi-ti*** 'to wake' (causal): Skr. ***bōdháya-ti*** 'causes to awakes, wakes, makes aware', √ *bheu̯dh-*. Lith. ***snaĩgo snaigý-ti*** 'to snow' (freq.) beside ***snìk-ti*** 'to snow', √ *snei̯gh-*. Lith. ***szvaitaũ szvaitý-ti*** O.C.Sl. ***svěštą světi-ti*** 'to make clear, light up' (causal), √ *k̑u̯ei̯t-*. O.C.Sl. ***běždą bědi-ti*** 'to compel': Goth. ***báidja*** 'I compel', √ *bhei̯dh-*. Lith. ***maiszaũ maiszý-ti*** O.C.Sl. ***měšą měsi-ti*** 'to mix', √ *mei̯k̑-*; the verb may just as well be derived from **moi̯k̑éi̯ō*, **moi̯k̑-s-éi̯ō* (Skr. ***mēkṣaya--ti*** cp. Classes XIX and XX, §§ 656 ff. pp. 190 ff.), or **moik̑--sk̑-éi̯ō* (cp. Lat. ***misceō***, see § 792 p. 325). Lith. ***sakaũ saký-ti*** 'to say', O.C.Sl. ***sočą soči-ti*** 'to point out': O.H.G. ***segg(i)u*** 'I say', √ *seq-* (Gr. ἐνι-σπε Lat. *īn-sece*). Lith. ***kasaũ kasý-ti*** 'to scratch' (freq.), √ *qes-* (O.C.Sl. ***česa-ti***). O.C.Sl. ***toplją topi-ti*** 'to warm, beat' (causal): Skr. ***tāpáya-ti*** 'warms', √ *tep-*. O.C.Sl. ***točą toči-ti*** 'to make run, make flow, pour' (causal): Avest. ***tācayę-iti*** 'makes flow', √ *teq-*.

§ **808.** New formation from Primary presents, in which a present root-extension of the *éi̯o*-form has been handed down (§ 792 pp. 325 f.):

Class XVI §§ 635 ff., pp. 172 ff. — Lith. *rą́žau rą́žy-ti* 'to reach' (freq.) beside *isz-si-rę̃szti* 'to reach out, extend, resist', √ *reĝ-* (Gr. ὀρέγω). Lith. *grándau grándy-ti* 'to shave, scrape' (freq.) beside *gréndu grę́sti* 'to rub, scour', doubtless connected with O.Icel. *krota* 'to dig in, dig down' O.H.G. *chrazzōn* 'to scratch'. O.C.Sl. *ląčą ląči-ti* 'to separate' beside *lęką* 'to bend', √ *leq-*. O.C.Sl. *kraštą krąti-ti* 'to turn, twist' (freq.) beside *kre̜(t)-ną* 'deflecto', √ *qert-*. O.C.Sl. *izŭ-sąčą -sąči-ti* 'to make exhausted, dry up' Pol. *w-sączy-ć* 'to make trickle in' (causal) beside O.C.Sl. *sęk-ną* 'I dry up', √ *sei̯q-*. O.C.Sl. *trąšą trąsi-ti* 'to shatter' (freq.) beside *tręsą* 'I shatter', perhaps derived from *tr-es-* (Class XX, § 636 p. 174, § 657 p. 192).

Class XX, §§ 657 ff., pp. 191 ff. — Lith. *tą́sau tąsý-ti* 'I pull or tear about' (freq.) beside *tę̃-s-iù*, √ *ten-* (§ 794 p. 329). Compare too the above mentioned O.C.Sl. *trąsi-ti*.

Class XXII, §§ 670 ff., pp. 202 ff. — Lith. *draskaũ draskȳ́-ti* 'to tear about' (freq.) beside *dreskiù* 'I tear' *driskaũ* 'I am torn'. Compare § 807 p. 344, on Lith. *maiszȳ́-ti* O.C.Sl. *měsiti*.

Class XXV, §§ 688 ff. pp. 218 ff. — O.C.Sl. *raždą radi-ti* 'to consider, care for': Skr. *rādhaya-ti* etc., stem **rē-dh-* (§ 794 p. 329). Lith. *valdaũ valdý-ti* 'to rule', beside *veldu* 'I rule', stem *u̯el-dh-*; *skardau skardy-ti* 'to shred, cut about' (causal) beside *skérdžiu* 'I burst', stem *sqer-dh-*; *gìrdau* 'I give to drink' (causal) beside *geriù* 'I drink', stem *ger-dh-*; *púdau* 'I cause to rot' (causal) beside *pū̃v-ù* 'I rot', stem *pū-dh-*. *spráudau spráudy-ti* (freq.) beside *spráudžiu* 'I push forcibly into an interstice', stem *spreu̯-d-*; *száudau száudy-ti* (freq.) beside *száu-ju* 'I shoot', stem *skeu̯-d-*. With *-dh-* or *-d-*, uncertain which: *maldaũ maldý-ti* 'to beg' (freq.) beside *mel-džiù* 'I beg'; *skáldau skáldy-ti* 'to split' (freq.) beside *skelù* (**skel-iù*) 'I split', both trans. (*skė̃l-du* and *skė̃l-džiu* 'I split' intrans.). Starting from verbs of this kind, the ending *-dau -dy-ti* became independent, like *-dinu -din-ti*, and was the type for others: *spár-dau* 'I kick'

(freq.) beside *spir-iù*, *gý-dau* 'I heal' (causal) beside *gy-jù* 'I get well' (cp. Leskien, Der Ablaut der Wurzels. im Lit., 182 ff.).

Lastly, we may mention once again O.C.Sl. *življą živi-ti* 'to make alive' (causal), beside *ži-vą* 'I live', see § 794 p. 329.

§ 809. Denominative verbs in Lith. *-y-ti* O.C.Sl. *-i-ti* (see § 793 p. 326) are common. Examples found in both Germanic and Slavonic are O.C.Sl. *plŭni-ti* 'to fill' and *cěli-ti* 'to heal', mentioned above (*loc. cit.*).

Lith. denominatives such as *jů'stau jů'sty-ti*, a class which is mixed up with the *ā*-denominatives, have been cited already § 782. 4 p. 310. Some more Slavonic exx. may be mentioned: *pravlją pravi-ti* 'to make right, direct' beside *pravŭ* 'right', *oštrją ostri-ti* 'to point, sharpen' beside *ostrŭ* 'pointed, sharp', *divlją divi-ti sę* 'to wonder' beside *divo* 'wonder', *dělją děli-ti* 'to divide' beside *dělŭ* 'part', *darją dari-ti* 'to present' beside *darŭ* 'a present', *měrją měri-ti* 'to measure' beside *měra* 'measure', *kramolją* 'I disturb, confuse' beside *kramola* 'disquiet, noise, uproar'. It must also be mentioned that the Idg. denominatives from *i*-stems, ending in *-i-i̯ō*, have run into this Class; see § 782. 5 p. 311.

THE s-AORISTS.[1])

§ 810. We saw in § 485 p. 38 f., and § 655 p. 190, that thematic and non-thematic *s*-Preterites belonged to our Present

1) On the Indo-Germanic *s*-Aorist in general: — The Author, Zur sigmatischen Aoristbildung im Griech., Ital., Kelt. und Ar., Morph. Unt. III 16 ff.

Aryan. Whitney, On the Classification of the Forms of the Sanscrit Aorists, Proceed. Amer. Or. Soc. 1875—76 pp. XVIII f. *Idem*, The *siṣ*- and *sa*-Aorists in Sanskrit, Amer. Journ. Phil. VI 275 ff. Bartholomae, Zur Bildung des sigmatischen Aorists [in Avestic], Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 288 ff.

Greek. Inama, Degli aoristi greci, Rivista di filol. II 249 ff. L. Meyer, Griech. Aoriste, Berl. 1879. T. H. Key, On the Formation of Greek Futures and First Aorists, Transact. Philol. Soc. 1861 pp. 1 ff. Leskien, Die Formen des Futurums und zusammengesetzten Aorists mit

Classes XIX and XX. The reason why I treat these stems again by themselves has been given in the first of those two places.

Before *-s-* we have (1) either the bare Root, as Skr. *á-dik-ṣ-i á-dik-ṣa-t* Gr. *ἔ-δειξ-σ-α* Lat. *dīc-s-it*, Skr. *á-dhā-s-am* O.C.Sl. *dě-chŭ*, or (2) Root + Suffix of some kind (Root-Determinative, or what not), as Skr. *á-hv-ā-s-ta* O.C.Sl. *zŭv-a-chŭ*, Skr. *á-vēd-i-ṣ-am* Gr. *(ϝ)είδ-ε-(σ)-α* Lat. *vīd-i-s-tis*, Skr. *á-yō-t-s-am* Lat. *jussit* for **ju-t-s-e-t* (pres. *yō-dha-ti ju-b-eō*). Under the second heading, a special class is composed of forms like Skr. *ávēdiṣ-am* Gr. *(ϝ)είδε-α* Lat. *vīdis-tis*, and others

αι in den homer. Gedichten, Curtius' Stud. II 65 ff. P. Cauer, Die dor. Futur- und Aoristbildungen der abgeleiteten Verba auf *-ζω*, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. pp. 126 ff. G. Mekler, Die Flexion des activen Plusquamperfects, in: Beitr. zur Bildung des griech. Verbums, Dorpat 1887, pp. 43 ff.

Italic. J. V. Netušil, Ob aoristach v latinskom jazykě (The Aorist in Latin), Charkow 1881. Corssen, Kein Aoristus I im Lateinischen, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. pp. 556 ff. *Idem*, Die synkopierten Formen des Futurum II und Conjunctiv des Perfects auf *-si*, *-a-ssi*, *-e-ssi*, *-i-ssi*, *ibid.* pp. 523 ff. Ch. Blinkenberg, Om resterne af det sigmatiske aorist i Latin, Kort Udsigt det Kjöbenh. phil. Samf. XXXI. Madvig, De formarum quarundam verbi Latini natura et usu [on *faxō faxim* and the like], Kopenh. 1835 and 36 = Opusc. ac. alt. pp. 60 ff. G. Hermann, De I. N. Madvigii interpretatione quarundam verbi Lat. formarum, Leipz. 1843 = Opusc. VIII 415 ff. G. Curtius, De verbi Lat. futuro exacto et perfecti coniunctivo (issued in welcome of the Congress of Philologers), Dresd. 1844. E. Lübbert, Gramm. Stud. I: der conj. perf. und das fut. ex. im älteren Lat., Bresl. 1867. *Idem*, Paralipomena zur Geschichte der lat. Tempora und Modi II [on *faxim* and the like], Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. II 223 ff. Fr. Cramer, Das lat. futurum exactum, *ibid.* IV 594 ff. P. Giles, The Origin of the Latin Pluperfect Subjunctive and other etymologies, Cambridge Phil. Transact. 1889 pp. 126 ff. — For other works which deal with the lat. *s*-Aorist associated with the Perfect, see under Perfect, § 843.

Keltic. D'Arbois de Jubainville, Du futur sigmatique [in Irish], Mém. d. l. Soc. d. ling. VI 56. Thurneysen, Der *s*-Aorist im Ir., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 151 ff. H. Zimmer, Die Schicksale des idg. *s*-Aorists im Ir. und die Entstehung des kelt. *s*-Präteritums, *ibid.* XXX 112 ff. Thurneysen, Zu den ir. Verbalformen sigmatischer Bildung, *ibid.* XXXI 62 ff.

Slavonic. Miklosich, Zusammengesetzter Aorist [in Old Slovenian], Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXXXI 110 ff.

associated closely with these, such as Skr. *á-yā-s-iṣ-am* Gr. δείξειαν for *δεικ-σ-ε(σ)-ιαν Lat. *dīc-s-is-tis*. Another subdivision includes the forms with *-s-s-*, as Gr. ἔσβεσσα ἐκάλεσσα Lat. *vīdissem capessō amāssō* O.Ir. *ro-charus* for **carāss-*.

A. STEMS IN *-S-* AND *-SO-*.

I. Non-Thematic *s*-stems.

§ 811. Roots of the *e*-series appear in three vowel grades; and the original Idg. division of these grades was as follows.

The Indic. Act. Sing. had the *ē*-grade: as O.C.Sl. *vĕs-ŭ* [1]) Skr. *á-vākṣ-am* from √*u̯eĝh-*; whether *ē* in Lat. *vēx-i-t* is this *ē* unchanged, is doubtful. The Indic. Act. Plural and Dual, and the whole of the Indic. Middle, had the weak root: as Skr. *á-vit-s-i* Gr. ἴσ-αν from √*u̯eid-*. The Conjunctive had the *e*-grade: as Skr. *pákṣ-a-t* Gr. πέψ-ω from √*peq-*, Avest. *varᵉš-a-itī* Gr. ἔρξ-ω from √*u̯erĝ-*. The Optative had the weak root; as Skr. *mas-īya* from √*men-*. With this ablaut compare Skr. indic. *stāú-ti stu-mási stu-tē márṣ-ṭi mṛj-ánti*, conj. *stáv-a-t márj-a-t*, opt. *stuv-ī-tá* (§ 494 p. 55).

The Conjunctive stem of this *s*-aorist is identical with the Indicative stem of the XX[th] Present Class; e. g. Skr. *tąsa-t(i)* and indic. *tąsa-ti* = Goth. *þinsa*, Lat. (fut.) *dīxō* and indic. pret. *dīxi-t dīxi-mus*, so too the conj. Skr. *áy-a-t* and indic. *áy-a-tē* = Lat. *eō* (§ 489 p. 47, § 493 pp. 51 f.).

§ 812. Pr. Idg. Skr. *kṣar-* Gr. φθερ- 'cause to run off, make disappear' (cp. Kretschmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 431): *á-kṣārṣ-am* 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. *á-kṣār*, Gr. ἔφθειρα (ἔφθερσα Lycophron). √*der-* 'split, flay': Skr. conj. *dárṣ-a-t(i)*, Gr. ἔδειρα. √*bher-* 'carry': Skr. *á-bhārṣ-am*, Gr. ἔφερσεν· ἐκύησεν

1) In the Indicative system of several languages forms of some other inflexion were associated with the non-thematic forms. This will be examined under the headings of the languages in question.

(Hesych.), Lat. conj. *ferrem*. √ *u̯el-* 'choose, wish': Skr. 1st sing. mid. *á-vr̥ṣ-i* Avest. 1st sing. conj. mid. *varᵉš-ānē̜*, Lat. *vellem*. √ *ten-* 'stretch out, lengthen, tighten': Skr. *á-tā̜s-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-tān* mid. 1st sing. *á-tas-i* 1st pl. *á-ta̜s-mahi*, Gr. ἔ-τεινα. √ *men-* 'think, mean': Skr. mid. 3rd sing. *á-ma̜s-ta* conj. *má̜s-a-tē* opt. 1st sing. *mas-īya*, Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) *mį̄s-me mį̄s-te*. √ *ghen-* 'strike': Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *ghān* (*gh-* instead of *h*-following **ghas-* = **ghn̥-s-*), Gr. ἔθεινα, Lith. injunct. *gį̄s-me -te* O.C.Sl. 2nd and 3rd sing. *po-žę*. √ *rem-* 'rest': Skr. *á-ra̜s-am* mid. *á-ra̜s-ta*, Lith. injunct. *rem̃s-me -te* (trans.) and *rìms-me -te* (intrans.). Lat. *dēmpsī prōmpsī* opt. *emps-i-m*, Lith. injunct. *im̃s-me -te* O.C.Sl. *jęs-ŭ*. √ *qei̯-* 'to inflict punishment' etc.: Skr. *á-cāiṣ-am*, Gr. ἔ-τεισ-α. Skr. *kṣi-* Gr. φθι- 'destroy': Skr. mid. *kṣēṣ-ṭa*, Gr. ἔ-φθεισ-α. √ *pleu̯-* 'swim': Skr. mid. *á-plōṣ-ṭa*, Gr. ἔ-πλευσ-α, Lith. injunct. *pláus-me -te* O.C.Sl. *pluch-ŭ*. √ *k̑leu̯-* 'hear': Skr. *á-śrāuṣ-am* O.C.Sl. *po-sluchŭ*. √ *terp-* 'satisfy, content': Skr. *á-trāps-am á-tārps-am* (gramm.), Gr. ἔ-τερψ-α. √ *u̯ert-* 'vertere': Skr. mid. *á-vr̥ts-i*, Lith. injunct. *vers̃-me -te* (trans.) and *virs̃-me -te* (intrans.). √ *serp-* 'serpere': Skr. *á-srāps-am á-sārps-am* (gramm.), and perhaps also mid. *ásr̥pta* for **a-sr̥ps-ta* (§ 816), Gr. εἷρψ-α (late), Lat. *serps-ī*. √ *derk̑-* 'see': Skr. *á-drākṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-drāk* mid. 3rd pl. *á-dr̥kṣ-ata* conj. *darkṣ-a-t*, Gr. ἐ-δερξ-άμην (late). √ *u̯erĝ-* 'work': Avest. conj. *varᵉš-a-itī*, Gr. ἔρξ-α. √ *merĝ-* 'stroke, brush': Skr. *á-mārkṣ-am*, Gr. ἀμέρξ-αι ὀμόρξ-αι. √ *melĝ-* 'milk': Gr. ἀμέλξ-αι, Lat. *muls-ī*, Lith. injunct. *mìlsz-me -te*. √ *lei̯q-* 'leave': Skr. *á-rāikṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-rāik* mid. *á-rikṣ-i*, Gr. ἔ-λειψ-α, Lith. injunct. *lìks-me -te*. √ *u̯ei̯d-* 'know, learn, find': Skr. mid. *á-vits-i*, Gr. mid. ἐ-είσ-ατο 3rd pl. act. ἴσ-αν, Lat. *vīs-ī* (pres. *vīsō* § 662 p. 197), Lith. injunct. *isz-výs-me -te*. √ *lei̯p-* 'besmear': Skr. mid. *á-lips-i*, Gr. ἀλεῖψ-αι, Lith. injunct. *lìps-me -te*. √ *dei̯k̑-* 'show': Skr. mid. *á-dikṣ-i*, Gr. ἔ-δειξ-α, Lat. *dīx-ī dīx-ō dīx-i-m*. √ *nei̯g-* 'wash': Skr. *á-nāikṣ-am* mid. *á-nikṣ-i*, Gr. ἔ-νιψ-α. √ *stei̯gh-* 'climb': Gr. ἐ-στειξ-α, O.Ir. injunct. 3rd sing. *for-tē*. √ *jeu̯g-* 'yoke to, fasten': Skr. *á-yōkṣ-am* and

á-yāukṣ-am (gramm.), Gr. *ἔ-ζευξ-α*; cp. Skr. *á-yuəkṣ-mahi* Lat. *jūnx-ī* Lith. injunct. *jùnks-me -te* § 813. √ *meuq-meug-* 'strip off, let go': Skr. *á-māukṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-māuk* mid. *á-mukṣ-i* Gr. *ἀπ-έμυξα*, Lith. injunct. *maũks-me -te*; Lat. *ē-mūnxī*. √ *bheudh-* 'awake, notice': Skr. mid. *á-bhuts-i*, Lith. injunct. *-bùs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *bljus-ŭ*. √ *uegh-* 'vehere': Skr. *á-vākṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-vāṭ* conj. *vákṣ-a-t*, Lat. *vēx-ī*, Lith. injunct. *vèsz-me -te* O.C.Sl. *vĕs-ŭ*. √ *uedh-* 'to lead': O.Ir. *don-fē* 'let him lead us' for **vets-t*, Lith. injunct. *vès-me -te* O.C.Sl. *vĕs-ŭ*. √ *dhegh-* 'burn': Skr. *á-dhākṣ-am á-dhāk* conj. *dhákṣ-a-t(i)*, Lith. injunct. *dèks-me -te* O.C.Sl. *žach-ŭ* for **žěch-ŭ* (I § 76 p. 66) beside *žegą* for **degą* (§ 522 pp. 85 f.). √ *sed-* 'sedere': Skr. conj. *sáts-a-t*, Gr. *ἕσσ-α*, Lith. injunct. *sẽs-me -te*. √ *peq-* 'coquere': Skr. conj. *pákṣ-a-t*, Gr. *ἔ-πεψ-α*, Lat. *coxī* for **quex-ī*. √ *seq-* 'to be with, follow': Skr. mid. *á-sakṣ-i* conj. *sákṣ-a-t*, Lith. *sèks-me -te*. √ *reĝ-* 'regere': Gr. *ὀρέξ-αι*, Lat. *rēx-ī*, O.Ir. 2nd sing. *comēir* for **cóm-ex-rex-s*. √ *leg-* 'legere': Gr. *ἔ-λεξ-α*, Lat. *-lēx-ī*. √ *plek-* 'fold': Gr. *ἔ-πλεξ-α*, Lat. *plēx-ī*. √ *ed-* 'eat': Lat. conj. *ēss-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *ẽs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *jas-ŭ*. √ *dhē-* 'set, place, lay': Skr. *á-dhās-am* mid. *á-dhiṣ-i*, Lat. conj. *con-derem*, Lith. injunct. *dẽs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *děch-u*. √ *spē-* 'help onwards, further': Avest. conj. *spåŋh-a-iti*, Lith. injunct. *spẽs-me -te* O.C.Sl. *spěch-ŭ*. √ *dō-* 'give': Skr. mid. *á-diṣ-i* conj. *dās-a-t*, Lat. conj. *dar-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *dů̃s-me -te* O.C.Sl. *dach-ŭ*; compare also Alban. *δaše* 'I gave' (G. Meyer, Kurzgef. alb. Gr., 38). √ *stā-* 'stand': Skr. mid. *á-sthiṣ-i* Avest. conj. *ståŋh-a-þ*, Gr. *ἔ-στησ-α* 3rd pl. Hom. *ἔ-στασ-αν*, Lat. conj. *stār-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *stós-me -te* O.C.Sl. *stach-ŭ*.

The following examples are a group by themselves, having peculiar vocalism in the root (*ū*, *ī*, *r̄*). √ *bheu-* 'be, become': Gr. *ἔ-φυσ-α*, conj. (fut.) Umbr. fust *fust* Osc. *fust* 'erit', Osc. conj. fusíd 'foret', Lith. injunct. *bús-me -te* O.C.Sl. *bych-ŭ*; cp. fut. Avest. *būšyęiti* etc. § 748 p. 271. √ *dheu-* 'shake': Skr. mid. *á-dhūṣ-ta*, Gr. *ἔ-θυσ-α*. √ *gei-* 'live': Lith. injunct. *gýs-me -te* (inf. *gý-ti* pres. *gy-jù*) O.C.Sl. *žich-ŭ* (inf. *ži-ti*

pres. *ži-vą*). Skr. 3[rd] pl. *á-kīr̥ṣ-ata* from *kar-* 'scatter'. Gr. ἔ-στρωσ-α from στερ- 'sternere'.

§ 813. Forms with the root-suffixes *-ā-*, *-ē-* *-ō-* (§§ 579 ff. pp. 121 ff., §§ 734 ff. pp. 261 ff.). **dr-ā-* 'run': Skr. conj. *drās-a-t*, Gr. ἀπ-έδρᾱσα (late). **tr-ā-* 'to press through, succeed in traversing': Skr. 1[st] pl. mid. *á-trās-mahi* Avest. 2[nd] pl. mid. *þrāz-dūm*, Lat. conj. *in-trārem*. **ĝh(i)i̯-ā-* 'hiare': Lat. conj. *hiār-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *žiós-me -te*. **ĝh(u)u̯-ā-* 'call': Skr. mid. *á-hvās-ta*, O.C.Sl. *zŭvach-ŭ*. *arā-* 'plough': Lat. conj. *arār-e-m*, O.C.Sl. *orach-ŭ*. **pl-ē-* 'fill': Skr. *á-prās-am* 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. *á-prās*, Lat. conj. *-plēr-e-m*; whether Gr. ἔπλησα comes in here is doubtful (see § 750. 3 p. 272). **sn-ē-* 'weave, spin, sew': Gr. ἔ-νησ-α, Lat. conj. *nēr-e-m*. **bhs-ē-* 'chew, devour': Skr. *á-psās-ī-t* (gramm., cp. § 816), Gr. ἔ-ψησ-α. **ĝn-ē ĝn-ō-* 'learn, know': Skr. *á-jñās-am*, Gr. ἀν-έγνωσα, O.C.Sl. *znach-ŭ*. **u̯id-ē-* 'see': Lat. conj. *vidēr-e-m*, Lith. injunct. *pa-vydės-me -te* O.C.Sl. *viděch-ŭ*. **rudh-ē-* 'blush': Lat. conj. *rubēr-e-m*, O.C.Sl. *rŭděch-ŭ*. Lat. conj. *favēr-e-m*, O.C.Sl. *gověch-ŭ* 'veneratus sum', cp. § 590 p. 132. With these aorists are associated the *s*-preterites of the later denominative group, as Gr. ἐ-τίμᾱσ-α Lat. conj. *plantār-e-m* Lith. injunct. *lankós-me* O.C.Sl. *ląkach-ŭ* (cp. § 769 p. 286), Gr. ἐ-φίλησ-α Lat. *claudēr-e-m* Lith. *gùdės-mė-s* O.C.Sl. *cělěch-ŭ*, Gr. ἐ-κόνῑσ-α Lat. *fīnīr-e-m* Lith. *dalýs-me* O.C.Sl. *gostich-ŭ*, Gr. ἐ-δάκρῡσ-α, Gr. ἐ-μίσθωσ-α Lith. *jùkū's-me* (cp. § 773 p. 290 f.). Venetian *zonas-to* 'donavit' (cp. p. 53 footnote 2).

As this *s*-formation must be regarded as original for stems with the suffixes *-ā-*, *-ē-* *-ō-*, so too for certain roots with a dental suffix. From *qei̯-t-* 'to observe' (§ 680 p. 212): Skr. 3[rd] sing. *á-cāit*, O.C.Sl. *čis-ŭ*. From *i̯eu̯-dh-* 'disturb, set moving, drive' (§ 689 p. 219 f.): Skr. *á-yōts-am yuts-mahi*, Lat. *juss-ī* O.Lat. *jous-ī*.

Of the remaining *s*-forms with roots having some extra suffix, those which are associated with Classes XV and XVI deserve particular mention. Skr. 1[st] pl. mid. *á-yuṅkṣ-mahi* Lat. *jūnx-ī* Lith. *jùnks-me* beside Skr. *yuṅk-tē* Lat. *jungō*

Lith. *jùngiu*, from √ *jeu̯g-* 'yoke, join'; cp. the associated forms Skr. *á-yōkṣ-am* Gr. *ἔ-ζευξ-α* § 812 p. 349. Gr. *ἔ-πλαγξ-α* Lat. *plānx-ī* beside Gr. *πλάζω* for **πλαγγ-ι̯ω* Lat. *plangō*, from √ *plāq-* *plāg-* 'strike': cp. Gr. *ἐ-πληξ-α* Lith. *plàks-me*. Of course these examples, with many more from Greek, Latin, or Baltic, may all be regarded as new analogical formations in the separate languages.

§ 814. Aryan. First, a few more examples to supplement those given in §§ 812 and 813. √ *dher-* 'hold fast': Skr. *á-dhārṣ-am* (gramm.), Avest. 3rd sing. *dārᵉš-t* *dōrᵉš-t* (*ō* for *ā*) O.Pers. 1st sing. mid. *a-darš-iy* (O.Pers. *darš-* may be either **dhers-* or **dhr̥s-*). √ *per-* 'bring across, transfer, translate': Skr. conj. *párṣ-a-t(i)*: Gr. *ἔ-πειρ-α*. √ *u̯en-* 'win, conquer': Skr. mid. *vą́s-i* conj. *vą́s-a-t(i)* opt. *vas-ī-mahi* *vąs-ī-mahi*, Avest. Gathic conj. *vēṅgh-a-itī* = Skr. *vą́sati*. √ *gem-* 'go': Skr. mid. *á-gas-mahi* *á-gąs-mahi*, Avest. conj. Gath. *jēṅgha-itī*. Skr. *yam-* 'cohibere': *á-yą̄s-am* 3rd sing. *á-yān* conj. *yąs-a-t(i)*. Ar. *nai̯-* 'lead': Skr. *á-nāiṣ-am* mid. *á-nēṣ-i* conj. *nḗṣ-a-t(i)*, Avest. conj. *naęš-a-þ*. Skr. *jai̯-* 'conquer': *á-jāiṣ-am* mid. *á-jēṣ-i* conj. *jḗṣ-a-t(i)*. Skr. *dhī-* 'notice': Avest. 2nd sing. *dāiš*, cp. partic. *dīšemna-* Skr. *dhī́ṣamāṇa-s* § 833. Avest. *þrau̯-* 'nourish' (*þr-u-* beside *þr-ā-*, cp. § 579 p. 121 f.): 2nd pl. act. *þraoš-tā* 3rd sing. mid. *þraoš-ta*. Skr. *sarj-* 'let go': Skr. *á-srākṣ-am* mid. *á-sr̥kṣ-i* conj. *srakṣ-a-t(i)*. √ *prek̂-* 'ask': *á-prākṣ-am* mid. *á-praṣ-ṭa*, Avest. mid. *fraš-ī* *fraš-tā* imper. *ferašvā*. Skr. *chand-* Avest. *sand-* 'appear': Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-chān* conj. *chants-a-t(i)*, Avest. 2nd and 3rd sing. *sąs*. √ *dei̯k̂-* 'show, point': Skr. mid. *á-dikṣ-i*, Avest. opt. *diš-yā-þ*: Gr. *ἔ-δειξ-α* etc., see § 812 p. 349. Skr. *viś-* 'enter': 1st pl. mid. *á-vikṣ-mahi*. √ *u̯eq-* 'speak': Avest. conj. *vaxš-a-þ*. √ *ped-* 'go': mid. *á-pats-i*. √ *bhag-* 'enjoy': Skr. *á-bhākṣ-am* 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-bhāk* mid. *á-bhakṣ-i* conj. *bhakṣ-a-t(i)*, Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *baxš-ta*. √ *dhē-* 'place' and *dō-* 'give': Skr. *á-dhās-am* *á-dhiṣ-i* *á-diṣ-i* *dās-a-t(i)*, Avest. 2nd sing. opt. mid. *dāh-ī-ša*: Lat. *con-derem* etc., see § 812 p. 350. √ *k̂ō-* 'sharpen, cut':

Avest. 2nd pl. *sāz-dūm*. Skr. *hā-* 'go, yield' (*já-hā-ti ja-hi-mas*): *á-hās-am* 3rd sing. *á-hās* 1st pl. *á-hās-ma*.

§ 815. There are many deviations in Sanskrit and Avestic[1]) from the original distribution of these three vowel grades, as set forth in § 811.

The weak stem (as Skr. *ta-s-* from √*ten-*) is hardly found outside its original sphere; but no longer in the plural and dual indic. act., only in the Indic. Middle and the Optative: e. g. Skr. *á-dhiṣ-i dhiṣ-īya á-gas-mahi mas-īya*, Avest. *a-mēh-maidī diš-yā-þ*. Irregular: Skr. 2nd sing. conj. mid. *dṛkṣ-a-sē* instead of **drakṣ-a-sē*.

In Sanskrit the *ā*-grade (as *tą̄-s-*) spread from the Sing. indic. act. to the Plural and Dual; e. g. *áchāntsur ájāiṣma ábhārṣṭām* following the sing. *áchāntsam* etc.; cp. *ádhāma* instead of **á-dhi-ma* following *á-dhā-m* (§ 495 p. 55), *spar-tam* instead of *spṛ-tam* (§ 499 p. 62), and the like. But beyond this line Sanskrit has very few other examples of *ā*; one is mid. *á-yą̄s-i*. In the Gatha dialect *ā* is quite restricted to its original sphere. But in later Avestic it has crept into *nāš-ī-ma*, if this be the optative to an indic. **nāš-em* (O.C.Sl. *nĕs-ŭ*); cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr., II 166.

The *a*-grade (as Skr. *tą-s-*) spread from the Conjunctive, where it is still the usual form in Sanskrit and Avestic, through the whole Indicative and Optative moods; and in particular it occurs with the weak stem; e. g. indic. 3rd sing. Skr. *á-mąs-ta* Avest. *mąs-tā* opt. Skr. *mąs-ī-máhi* (variant, Avest. Gath. *a-mēh-maidī* Skr. *mas-īya*) following the conj. Skr. *mą́s-a-tē*, Skr. 1st pl. *jēṣ-ma* (beside *á-jāiṣ-ma*), Avest. Gath. 2nd pl. *þraoš-tā*, 3rd pl. *vēəgh-en*; within the orig. sphere of the *ā*-grade, Skr. *á-rąs-am á-yōkṣ-am*.

§ 816. In Sanskrit, the 2nd and 3rd sing. indic. act. became identical by regular change (*ájāiṣ* = **a-jāiṣ-ṣ* and **a-jāiṣ-ṭ*); and if a consonant preceded the aorist sign, the aorist sign was dropt as well as the personal ending (*árāik* = **a-rāikṣ-ṣ* and

1) Here we have to disregard Old Persian, from lack of material.

**a-rāikṣ-t*), and sometimes this was done even to the root-final (*á-chān* = **a-chānts-s* and **a-chānts-t*). The inconvenience thus caused served to root the forms with *-s-ī-ṣ -s-ī-t* firmly in later Vedic, and these are the only ones used in classical Sanskrit (except *bhāiṣ* in the phrase *mā bhāiṣ* 'fear not'); e. g. *á-jāiṣ-ī-ṣ -ī-t*. These endings were borrowed from the *siṣ*-aorist (§ 839). For instance, *áyāsī-ṣ áyāsī-t* belonged originally to the series *áyāsiṣ-am áyāsiṣ-ma* etc., next displaced 2nd and 3rd sing. *áyās* (which belonged to the 1st sing. *áyās-am*); and the relation between *áyāsī-ṣ -t* and *áyās-am* produced *ájāiṣī-ṣ -t* beside *ájāiṣ-am*, *ábhārṣi-ṣ -t* beside *ábhārṣ-am*, and so forth.

A few times the 2nd sing. in *-āiṣ* (for **-āiṣ-ṣ*) produced a 3rd sing. in *-āi-t*, as *ánāit* by complementary analogy from *ánāiṣ* (*nī-* 'to lead').[1]) As this formation touched only roots with an *i*-vowel, it may be that the type was set by preterites like *áj-āi-t* beside *áj-āi-ṣ* from *aj-* 'agere' (§ 572 p. 114).

The Sanskrit grammars class under the *s*-aorist some forms of the 2nd and 3rd sing. which more properly belong to our Present Class I; such are *á-kṛthās* and *á-kṛta*, which by their structure belong not to *á-kṛṣ-i á-kṛṣ-mahi* but to *á-kr-i á-kr-ata*. The reason of this confusion was that in a certain number of consonantal roots the 2nd and 3rd sing. of both these series had become indistinguishable; e. g. *áchitthās áchitta* in the systems of *á-chid-i* (*á-chēd-i*) and *á-chits-i* both (cp. 2nd pl. *áchāntta* for **a-chānts-ta*, I § 557. 3 p. 413). Compare also the 2nd pl. *ámugdhvam* from *muc-* 'to let go', which may belong equally well to the aorist stem *muc-* (precative *muc-īṣṭa*) or to the aorist stem *mukṣ-* (3rd pl. *mukṣ-ata*).

§ **817.** *s*-aorists from Roots with characteristic, or from Present Stems.

Forms with the suffixes *-ā-*, *-ē- -ō-* have been cited in

1) Analogous formations outside the *s*-aorist are collected by Joh. Schmidt in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 403. Compare further 1st sing. *achinam* (Maha-Bh.) beside 3rd sing. *a-chinat* = **a-chinat-t* from *chid-* 'to cut off'.

§ 813 p. 351; add to those Skr. *á-yās-am* conj. *yā́s-a-t(i)* from *y-ā-* 'to go', *á-dhyās-am* from *dhy-ā-* 'to think'.

With the suffix *-ī- -āi-* (§ 498 pp. 61 f.); Skr. *á-grabh-ī-ṣ-am á-grah-āi-ṣ-am* beside *á-grabh-ī-t á-gṛh-ī-tām* from *grabh-* 'to seize' (§ 574 p. 116).

Skr. *á-yuə̄kṣ-mahi* from *yuj-*, see § 813 p. 351. Skr. *á-stāmps-am* beside *stambha-tē* 'fortifies or strenghthens itself', √ *stebh-*, see § 629 p. 166.

O.Pers. 3rd sing. *a-kū-nau-š* 'he made' *a-darš-nau-š* 'he durst' come from *nu-* presents (§ 640 p. 178). And so doubtless 3rd sing. *-āiš* 'he went' 3rd pl. *-āiša* arose in Persian itself in association with the present stem *ai̯-* (imperf. *-āy-am*), and is therefore not an orig. *s*-aorist as might be supposed from Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *adhy-āiṣṭa* (gramm.). The origin of these new forms lies perhaps in certain pairs of imperfect forms; 2nd sing. **āiš* 3rd sing. **āi*, 2nd sing. **akūnauš* 3rd sing. **akūnau* running parallel to 2nd sing. **abara* 3rd sing. *abara*, 2nd sing. **adadā* 3rd sing. *adadā*, and the like. If there were connected aorist forms such as 2nd and 3rd sing. **a-nāiš* = Skr. *á-nāiṣ*, the above 2nd sing. in *-š* might easily be looked upon as an *s*-preterite, which its use for both 2nd and 3rd sing. suggested. After that, *-āiš* would be complemented by 3rd pl. *-āiša*.

§ **818.** Armenian. So far no *s*-preterites have been found. Compare the remarks on the *ç*-aorist, § 672 p. 204.

§ **819.** Greek. First, a few examples shall be added to those given in §§ 812 and 813. Hom. ἔ-κερσ-α Att. ἔ-κειρ-α from κείρω 'I shave' fut. κερῶ. Hom. ἔ-κελσ-α from κέλλω 'I move, drive'. ἔ-στειλ-α (ἔστιλσεν in Hesych.) from στέλλω 'I order, arrange'. ἔ-πηλ-α for *ἐ-παλσ-α mid. πάλτο from πάλλω 'I shake, brandish'. On the relation of Lesb. ἔφθερρα Att. ἔφθειρα Dor. ἔφθηρα to Hom. ἔκερσα, and of Lesb. ἔστελλα Att. ἔστειλα Dor. ἔστηλα to Hom. ἔκελσα, and such like, see I § 563. 3 p. 419, Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 127 ff., the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 63. ἔμεινα Lesb. ἔμεννα Dor. ἔμηνα for *ἐ-μενσ-α from μένω 'I remain'. So ἔκτεινα from κτείνω

'I kill', *ἔνειμα* from *νέμω* 'I divide'. *ἔ-νευσ-α* from *νέ(F)-ω* 'I swim': Skr. mid. *á-snōṣ-ṭa* (gramm.). *ἔ-πνευσ-α* from *πνέ(F)-ω* 'I blow, breathe'. *ἔ-περσ-α* from *πέρθω* 'I sack, destroy'. *ἔ-τρεψ-α* from *τρέπω* 'I turn': Lat. *torsī* for **torcs-ī* from *torqu-eō*. *ἔ-γραψ-α* from *γράφ-ω* 'I write', √ *gerph-*. *ἔ-φρασ-α* from *φράζω* 'I give to understand, show' for **φραδ-ιω*: Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) *gìrs-me -te* from *girstù* 'I apprehend', √ *gherd-*. *βράξαι· συλλαβεῖν* (Hesych.) beside aor. *βρακεῖν*: Skr. *á-mrākṣ-ī-t á-mārkṣ-ī-t* from *mṛśá-ti* 'touches, grasps' (§ 527 p. 90). *ἔ-σπεισ-α* Cret. *ἔ-σπευσ-α* from *σπένδω* 'I offer, pour'. *ἔ-πεισ-α* from *πείθω* 'I persuade', √ *bheidh-*; *ἔπεισα* instead of **ἔφεισα* like Skr. *á-dukṣa-t* instead of *á-dhukṣa-t*, which is also found (§ 659 p. 195). *ἔ-γευσ-α* from *γεύω* 'I give to taste', √ *ĝeus-*. *εὖσ-α* from *εὕω* 'I burn': Lat. *ussī* from *ūr-ō*, √ *eus-*. *ἔ-γλυψ-α* from *γλύφω* 'I incise, engrave'. *ἔ-ζεσ-σα ἔζεσα* from *ζέ(σ)-ω* 'I boil, bubble'. *θέσσαντο* for **θετσ-* from *θέσσεσθαι* 'to beseech', √ *ghedh-* (§ 706 p. 234). *ἐ-δεξ-άμην δέκτο* for **δεκσ-το* from *δέχομαι* 'I receive'. *ἔ-κλαυσ-α* from *κλαίω* 'I weep' for **κλαF-ιω*. *ἡσ-άμην ἅσ-μενο-ς* from *ἥδομαι* 'I rejoice': Lat. *suās-ī* from *suād-eō*. *ἔ-πηξ-α πῆκτο* for **πηκσ-το* from *πήγνῡμι* 'I fix' √ *pāk̑- pāĝ-*. *ἔ-δησ-α* from *δί-δη-μι* 'I bind', √ *dē-*.

§ **820.** The *α* which is seen after *σ* came from the 1st sing. in *-σ-α* and the 3rd pl. in *-σ-αν* (whence, by complementary analogy, *-σα-ς -σα-τε -σα-ο* etc.). According to Osthoff, Perf. 407, *α* is regular also in *-σαμεν -σαμεθα -σαμην*, which endings he derives from **-s-m̥men* and so forth. The 3rd sing. in *-σε* properly belongs to the thematic conjugation; *ἔ-δειξ-ε* is like Skr. *á-dikṣa-t* Lat. *dīxi-t* (see § 833). The 2nd and 3rd sing. **ἔδειξ* = **ἐ-δεικ-σ-ς* and **ἐ-δεικ-σ-τ* were dropt for clearness; and it was the perfect forms (*λέλοιπε : λέλοιπα*) that caused a thematic form to take root in the 3rd singular and nowhere else.

The Conjunctive in Homer and elsewhere still shows the thematic vowel, as *τείσο-μεν*, instead of which we have later *τείσω-μεν* (§§ 914, 923). We have already seen (§ 747 p. 269)

that the indic. fut. in -σω was in all probability partly the conjunctive of the *s*-aorist; compare further in § 833.

The optative in -σαιμι is a re-formation on the analogy of the optative in -οιμι; see § 944. On forms like δείξειαν, see § 836.

The Participle Active shows in all its cases -σαντ-; see II § 126 pp. 399 f., and IV § 1099. 6.

Even before α had spread by analogy in the system of the σ-aorist, σ had dropt between a root-final consonant (explosive, liquid, or spirant) and a personal ending with consonant initial (I § 566 p. 423). Some forms of this kind lasted into the historical period: Hom. λέκτο 'laid itself' for *λεκσ-το, imper. λέξο for *λεκσ-σο, partic. -λέγμενο-ς for *λεκ(σ)-μενο-ς, beside ἔλεξα ἐλέξατο; ἔμεικτο 'mixed itself' for *ἐ-μεικσ-το, ἐμείχθης for *ἐ-μεικ-σ-θης (§ 589 p. 130), beside ἔμειξα; πάλτο for *παλσ-το, beside ἔπηλα; ἄρμενο-ς for *ἀρσ-μενο-ς, beside ἦρσα.

In forms like ἵστησα ἔδησα ἔμνησα ἐτίμησα ἐμίσθωσα (§§ 819, 822), σ seems to have been due to the analogy of consonantal stems, as ἔτερψα ἐκήρῦξα (cp. I § 564 p. 420), just as στήσω τῑμήσω got their σ by analogy of τέρψω κηρύξω (§ 755 p. 274). But σ drops, as it should, in ᾔδεα for *ἐ-ϝειδεσ-α (§ 836).

Remark. El. ἐποίηα has not kept unaltered the Idg. sounds. It is far more likely that σ disappeared in Elean itself; in the same way the change of σ to *h* in Lac. ἐνίκαἑ and Argive ἐποίϝηἑ belonged to these dialects separately.

The question might be asked whether the σ of ἔμνησα ἔμνησαν may not have returned to them unweakened at some time when the forms *ἐ-μνᾱσ(-ς) *ἐ-μνᾱσ(-τ) *ἐ-μνᾱσ-τε *ἐ-μνᾱσ-τον existed; just as ἦσαν (beside Boeot. παρ-εῖαν) got back its σ by analogy of ἦστε ἦστον ἤστην. I put the counter question, why we have ᾔδεα, not ᾔδεσα. It cannot be made probable that this *es*-formation was found in the singular only — if so, the state of things would differ widely from the *s*-aorist.

§ 821. The pr. Idg. differences in root-gradation (§ 811 p. 348) were largely levelled out in Greek.

Often the vocalism of the whole aorist was decided by the Present; and we saw in § 748 p. 270, that where this

dependence upon the present stem is seen, the σ-future always goes along with the aorist. Compare *ἔγραψα ἔγλυψα ὤμορξα ἔστιξα ἔσχισα ἔπηλα* (for **ἔπαλσα*) with *γράφω γλύφω ὀμόργνῡμι στίζω σχίζω πάλλω*, but *ἔτερψα ἔδειρα* (for **ἔδερσα*) *ἔστειξα ἔφθειρα* (*ἔφθερσα*) *ἔστειλα* (*ἔστελσα*) beside *τέρπω δέρω στείχω φθείρω στέλλω*. Thus there is no ground for believing that, say, *ἐσχισάμην* inherited from the parent language its grade *σχισ-* (cp. Skr. *áchitsi*), or that the conj. *δείρω* inherited **δερσ-* (cp. Skr. *dárṣ-a-t*).

The vocalism is independent of the present in *ἔτεισα* beside *τίνω*, or *ἔδειξα* beside Cret. *-δίκνῡτι* (Att. *δείκνῡσι*), amongst other examples. The ε of these forms was carried right through the aorist system. However, it need not come exclusively from the Conjunctive; η may have been shortened to ε in the indic. *ἔδειξα ἔτεισα*, and in *ἔζευξα ἔπλευσα ἔκερσα* etc., by the rule laid down in vol. I § 611 p. 461. In this case *ἔζευξα* would be equivalent to Skr. *áyāukṣam*. This shortening cannot have taken place in the 1st sing. *ἔμεινα ἔνειμα* for pr. Gr. **ἐ-μενσ-α *ἔ-νεμσ-α*, as is proved by Lesb. *μῆνν-ος* Att. *μην-ός* (see *loc. cit.*). But it may have come about in the 2nd and 3rd sing., at a time when these took the forms **ἐ-μηνσ(-ς)* and **ἐ-μηνσ(-τ)*, etc. On this view, the old vowel gradation must have been kept, or undergone nothing but regular change, in the conj. act. and mid. *δείξω δείξομαι* and in the sing. indic. act. *ἔδειξα*; while there has been analogical influence in the plural and dual indic. act., and in the whole of the indic. middle, *ἐδείξαμεν* etc., *ἐδειξάμην* etc.

Survivals of the original weak grade are *ἴσαν*, *ᾖσαν* for **ἤϝισαν*[1]) beside *ἐεισάμην*, Hom. *ἔστασαν* beside *ἔστησα*, *ἄσμενο-ς* beside *ἡσάμην ἥσασθαι* (Lat. *suāsī*).

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1) On *ἴσασι* Dor. 1st sing. *ἴσᾱμι* etc., which are due to the analogy of *ἴσαν*, see § 863.

§ **822.** Many σ-aorists come from roots with characteristic, or from present stems of different kinds (usually these have a similar σ-future associated with them).

(1) Forms with Reduplication. ἐδίδαξα from διδάσκω 'I teach' for *δι-δακ-σκω Class XXIII (fut. διδάξω). ἐτίτηνα from τιταίνω 'I stretch' for *τι-ταν-ι̯ω Class XXVII *B*. Hom. τέτρηνα from τε-τραίνω 'I bore', cp. ἔξηνα under (2). Hom. ἤιξα Att. ᾖξα from ἀίσσω 'I rush wildly' for *ϝαι-ϝικ-ι̯ω, ἐποίφυξα from ποι-φύσσω 'I blow, snort', ἐποίπνῡσα from ποι-πνύω 'I puff, pant' Class XXVII *A* (fut. ἀΐξω ᾄξω etc.).

(2) With a Nasal Suffix. ἔκλῑνα, ἔφηνα for *ἐ-κλινσ-α, *ἐ-φανσ-α, from κλίνω 'I bind' for κλι-ν-ι̯ω, φαίνω 'I cause to appear' for *φα-ν-ι̯ω. ἔξηνα for *ἐ-ξανσ-α from ξαίνω 'I scratch, comb' for *ξ-αν-ι̯ω. ὕφηνα from ὑφ-αίνω 'I weave' (on the ᾱ of ὕφᾱνα see the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] 58 p. 71, Solmsen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 66 f.). For these presents in -ν-ι̯ω and -αν-ι̯ω see under Class XXIX § 743 pp. 265 f. The aorists were formed on the analogy of ἔκτεινα from κτείνω, ἔπηλα from πάλλω, and so forth (§ 611 p. 150). The futures of these are κλινῶ φανῶ ὑφανῶ, § 757 p. 276 f.

Remark. αὔηνα for *(ἐ)-σαυσ-αν-σα should be compared with the Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. (fut.) saũs-i̯-s-me -te. But these forms are not equivalent. For *sau̯s-n̥-s-, which may be the ground-form of the Lith. aorist stem, would become *αὐ-ασ- in Greek. The Greek aorist was built upon the present, at a time when -n̥-i̯ō had become -αν-ι̯ω (-αινω).

(3) With Nasal in the root (cp. § 813 p. 351 f.). ἔπλαγξα from πλάζω 'I strike, beat' for *πλαγγ-ι̯ω Class XXIX: Lat. *plānx-ī*. ἔκλαγξα (fut. κλάγξω) from κλάζω 'I make a sound, cry' for *κλαγγ-ι̯ω Class XXIX and beside κλαγγ-άνω Class XIV. ἔσφιγξα (fut. σφίγξω) from σφίγγω 'I bind, tie' Class XVI. See § 621 p. 158, § 628 p. 166, § 631 p. 167, § 744 p. 266.

(4) Later group of Denominatives. Following ἔκτεινα : κτείνω, ἔπηλα : πάλλω, ἔστειλα : στέλλω, ἔπληξα : πλήσσω, ἔσφαξα : σφάζω were formed ὠνόμηνα from ὀνομαίνω 'I name', ἐτεκτηνάμην from τεκταίνομαι 'I carpenter' (ἐσήμᾱνα beside ἐσήμηνα like ὕφᾱνα, see above), ἤγγειλα from ἀγγέλλω 'I announce', ἐκήρῡξα from

κηρύσσω 'I proclaim', *ἥρπαξα* from *ἁρπάζω* 'I seize', *ἐσάλπιγξα* from *σαλπίζω* 'I sound the trumpet' (for **σαλπιγγ-ι̯ω*), *ἐτέλεσσα* Att. *ἐτέλεσα* from *τελέω* -*ῶ* 'I finish' (for **τελεσ-ι̯ω*). The futures are *ὀνομανῶ τεκτανοῦμαι ἀγγελῶ* like *κτενῶ* etc., but *κηρύξω ἁρπάξω σαλπίγξω τελέσσω* like *πλήξω* etc. Compare § 756. 3 p. 275.

Many analogical changes took place in the aorist forms from presents in -*ζω*, because these represent both -*δ-ι̯ω* and -*γ-ι̯ω*; e. g. *ἥρπασα* instead of *ἥρπαξα* following *ἐδίκασα* (*δικάζω* for -*αδ-ι̯ω*), and *ἐδίκαξα* instead of *ἐδίκασα* following *ἥρπαξα*. The ending -*ξα* became very common for *δ*-verbs in Doric and the N.-W. Greek dialects. The *σ*-future followed suit.

(5) *σ*-aorists from stems having the suffixes -*ā*-, -*ē*- or *ō* go back to the pre-Greek period. To those cited in § 813 p. 351, add the following: *ἔμνησα* Dor. *ἔμνᾱσα* from *mn-ā-* √ *men-* 'think, mean'; *ἔβησα* Dor. *ἔβᾱσα* from *g-ā-* 'to go' (§ 497 Rem. p. 57); *ἔζησα ἔζωσα* from *g̯i-ē- g̯i-ō-* √ *gei̯-* 'live'; *ἔχρησα* from *χρ-η-* 'to give an oracle'. Amongst dissyllabic aorist stems with these suffixes, those in -*η-σ*- take a prominent place; as *ἐμέλησε* from *μέλει* 'it is a care', *ἐθέλησα* from *θέλω* 'I wish', *ἐδέησα* Hom. Aeol. *ἐδεύησα* from *δέω* Hom. Aeol. *δεύω* 'I lack, need', with which were associated forms made from present stems with some characteristic, as *καθιζήσᾱς* from *ἵζω* 'I place' for **si-zd-ō*, *ἐτύπτησα* from *τύπ-τω* 'I strike', *ἐχαίρησα* from *χαίρω* 'I rejoice' for **χαρ-ι̯ω*, *ὤζησα* from *ὄζω* 'I smell' for **ὀδ-ι̯ω*. With these go similar futures, as *μνήσω βήσομαι μελήσει*, see § 750. 1 p. 271, § 756. 1 p. 275.

(6) Along with the forms mentioned under (5) go the aorists of later denominatives, as *ἐτίμᾱσα* Ion. *ἐτίμησα*, *ἐφίλησα*, *ἐμίσθωσα*, *ἐδάκρῡσα*, *ἐκόνῑσα*. See § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773 p. 290, § 813 p. 351.

§ **823.** Italic. Three Italic categories fall here.

(1) Forms of the perf. indic. ending in -*s-ī* (to the building up of which a great many things have gone, see § 367). We have already mentioned *dēmpsī prōmpsī serpsī*

torsī mulsī vīsī dīxī ussī vēxī cōxī -rēxī -lēxī plēxī suāsī jousī jussī, jūnxī ē-mūnxī plānxī; §§ 812, 813. Other examples are: *mānsī* from *maneō*. *tempsī* from *temnō*. *mixī* (*mīxī*?) and *mīnxī* from *mingō* √ *meiĝh-* 'to stale': Gr. ὤμιξα (ῑ ?), Lith. 1[st] and 2[nd] pl. injunct. (fut.) *mįsz-me -te*. *scrīpsī* from *scrībō*. *dī-vīsī* from *dī-vidō*. *frīxī* from *frīgō*: cp. Skr. *á-bhrākṣ-am á-bhārkṣ-am* (gramm.) from *bhr̥jjá-ti* (cp. § 524 p. 87). *dūxī* from *dūcō*. *clepsī* from *clepō*: Gr. ἔκλεψα from κλέπ-τω 'I steal'. *pēxī* from *pec-tō*: Gr. ἐπεξάμην from πεκ-τέω 'I comb'. *cōn-spēxī* from *-spiciō*. *ges-sī* from *gerō* for **gesō*. *auxī* from *augeō*: Lith. 1[st] and 2[nd] pl. injunct. (fut.) *áuks-me -te* from *áugu* 'I increase'. *haesī* for **haes-sī* from *haereō*. With internal nasal (cp. *jūnxī* etc., above): O.Lat. *nīnxi-t* from *ningui-t* √ *sneiĝh-* 'snow': cp. Gr. ἔνειψε (ἔνῑψε). *distīnxī* from *distinguō*: cp. Gr. ἔστιξα from στίζω 'I prick, pierce'. *sānxī* from *sanciō* beside *sacer*.

In the paradigm of *dīxī* there is not one form which can be held with any safety to be regularly derived from one of the unthematic forms of the pr. Idg. *s*-aorist. We cannot connect the 1[st] sing. with Skr. mid. *kr̥-ṣ-ē* beside *á-kr̥-ṣ-i* (§ 656 p. 191), because of its past meaning. It is as impossible to prove that *-imus* in *dīx-imus* represents a proethnic **-m̥mos*, as it is to prove that -αμεν in ἐ-δείξ-αμεν represents **-m̥men* (§ 820 p. 356). The short forms of the 2[nd] pl., e. g. *dīxtis accestis exclūstis*, may, it is true, be regarded one and all as *s*-aorist forms (cp. Stolz, Lat. Gr.[2] p. 372 footnote 3); but on the other hand there is nothing against the traditional view, namely, that they are contractions of *dīxistis accessistis exclūsistis* (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 216 ff.).

I would suggest that before the *s*-aorist had been drawn into any close connexion with perfect forms like *tu-tud-ī* and with aorists like *fid-i-t*, some thematic forms had intermingled themselves amongst the non-thematic forms of the *s*-aorist, just as happened in other branches of Indo-Germanic (§ 833). I regard as thematic aorist forms, originally with secondary personal ending, *dīxi-t* and *dīxi-mus* (cp. Skr. *á-dikṣa-t*

á-dikṣā-ma, Gr. *ἔ-δειξε*, O.C.Sl. *jęso-mŭ*), whose ending is equivalent to that of *fidi-t fidi-mus*; then between pret. *vīsi-t vīsi-mus* and present *vīsi-t vīsi-mus* there was the same relation as between pret. *scandi-t* and pres. *scandi-t* (the preterite forms originally had a secondary personal suffix). If aorists of this kind came to have the same syntactical value as perfect forms such as *totondit totondimus*, then *dīx-ī fid-ī* might be made on the model of *totond-ī*. To this group were attracted *vīdistis vīdistī*, which really belong to the *is*-aorist (possibly *vīderunt* also, see § 1023), and on the model of them sprang up *dīxistis dīxistī dīxerunt* (§ 841).

§ **824.** (2) The Conjunctive with -*e*- -*o*-, and the Optative with -*ī*-.

Lat. *dīxō dīxim*: Gr. *δείξω*. *axim*: cp. Gr. *ἄξετε* § 833. *empsim*, *in-cēnsim*, *capsō capsim*, *ob-jexim*, *faxō faxitur faxim*, *oc-cīsim*, *ausim*. Conj. *dīxō* beside indic. pres. *vīsō* indic. pret. *dīxi-t dīxi-mus*, like Skr. conj. *tą́sa-t(i)* beside indic. pres. *tą́sa-ti* pret. *(á-)tąsa-t*, see § 833.

The Umbr.-Osc. *s*-future is also a similar conjunctive (on the disappearance of the conj. vowel, see I § 633 p. 474, § 655. 5 p. 503 and the remarks on the ending -*e-d* of the 3rd sing. perf. in § 867. 7 below). Umbr. fust *fust* Osc. *fust* 'erit' Umbr. 3rd pl. furent: cp. Gr. *ἔφῡσα* etc., § 812 p. 350. Umbr. pru-pehast 'ante piabit'. Osc. *deivast* 'iurabit', *censazet* 'censebunt'. Compare the future with -*es*-, Umbr. ferest Osc. *pert-emest* § 837. The ending of the 3rd pl. Umbr. -*ent(i)* stands for *-*onti*, see § 1022 at the end.

(3) Conjunctive with -*ē*- (§ 926 *b*). Osc. fusíd 'foret', cp. § 812 p. 350. Lat. *essem*, cp. Gr. fut. *ἔσσομαι*. Lat. *ferrem vellem ēssem con-derem* ($\sqrt{}$ *dhē*-) *darem stārem*, see § 812 pp. 348 f. With the root-suffixes -*ā*-, -*ē*-: *in-trārem hiārem flārem nārem arārem juvārem*, -*plērem nērem flērem vidērem tacērem*; then denominatives as *plantārem claudērem fīnīrem*. See § 813 p. 351. Pelign. *upsaseter* 'operaretur' or 'operarentur'.

Compare the forms with *-es-* Lat. *agerem vīverem*, Osc. patensíns for **patenesēnt* § 837.

This *ē*-conjunctive from the *s*- and *es*-aorist was very closely connected in Latin with the Infinitive in *-se* for **-s-i* (loc. sing.); e. g. *esse ferre in-trāre -plēre plantāre claudēre fīnīre.* The same sort of thing occurs in Aryan and Greek; as Skr. inf. *ji-ṣ-ḗ* beside indic. *á-jāiṣ-am* (mid. **á-jiṣ-i*), inf. *r̥ñj-ás-ē* beside indic. *r̥ñj-as-ē* part. *r̥ñjas-ānā́-s*, Avest. inf. *ā nāš-ē̜* ('to make away with') beside *nāš-ī-ma* (§ 815), Gr. δεῖξαι μνῆσαι τῖμῆσαι κονῖσαι beside ἔδειξα etc. The infinitives belong to nominal *s*-stems (II § 132 pp. 414, 416, 418, § 162 pp. 489 f.), and are a proof of the etymological sameness of the *s*-suffix in the verb and in the noun; see § 655 p. 189, § 834.

§ **825.** As regards the relation of the vocalism in the root-syllable of the Italic *s*-forms to that of the parent language (§ 811 p. 348), all is obscure.

The vocalism has been influenced by non-aorist forms in many words; e. g. *mulsī* beside *mulgeō mulctum*, *torsī* beside *torqueō tortum*, compared with *tersī* beside *tergeō* (*tergō*) *tersum.* Sometimes the aorist goes along with the *to*-participle, and is different from the present; *ussī* : *ustu-s*, but *ūrō*; *dī-vīsī* : *dī-vīsu-s*, but *-vidō*; howbeit, *mīsī* is different from *missu-s.*

Whether *ē* in *-lēxī tēxī vēxī rēxī* in the Idg. *ē* of O.C.Sl. *těchŭ* Skr. *ádhākṣam*, is doubtful in the extreme. It appears to have been imported from forms like *lēg-ī* beside partic. *lēc-tu-s*, and suchlike. *coxī* (for **quexī*) like Gr. ἔπεψα, cp. partic. *coctu-s* (for **quectu-s*).

As regards forms like *serpsī dīxī* (for *deix-*) it must be remembered that *ē* may have been shortened to *e* as set forth in vol. I § 612 p. 462, *serps-* for **sērps-* and so on.

§ **826.** Keltic. In Irish the only indic. forms we have are the 2nd and 3rd sing., but without augment, and therefore really injunctive. The 2nd sing. is only used as a conjunctive (or hortative), the 3rd sing. both as conj. and future. Examples: 2nd sing. *comēir* 'raise thyself' for **cóm-ecs-recs-s* beside

con-ērgim 'I raise myself': Gr. *ὤρεξα*. 2nd sing. *tair* 'veni' for **tó-air-incs-s*, 3rd sing. *tair* 'veniat' for **-incs-t*, *co-tī* 'donec veniat' for **-t(o)-incs-t* beside *-icim*: cp. Skr. pret. mid. *ákṣ-i* beside pres. *ákṣa-tē* from *aś-nṓ-ti* 'reaches' (§ 659 p. 194). *for-tē* 'subveniat, iuvet' for **-steics-t* beside *tiagim* 'I step, go' (*for-tiagim* 'I come to the help'), √ *steigh-*: Gr. *ἔ-στειξ-α*; perhaps by contamination of *-tē* with the conjunctive *tēis* (see below) arose *-tēi*, which is used as equivalent to *-tē*. *do-n-fē* 'let him lead us' for **-vets-t*[1]) beside *fedim* 'I bring, lead': Lith. *vèsme* etc., see § 812 p. 350.

In all persons the Conjunctive is used with conj. meaning, and more rarely as a future. Examples: — from *tiagim*: sing. 1st pres. *-tias* 2nd *-tēis* 3rd (abs.) *tēis tēs*, pl. 1st *-tiasam* 2nd *-tēsid* 3rd *-tiasat*. On account of the relation between absolute and conjunct inflexion in the present, arose the new forms sing. 1st *tiasu* 2nd *tēisi*, pl. 1st *tēisme* 2nd *tēsit*. Other instances: *no tes* 'effugiam' from *techim* 'I flee': O.C.Sl. *těch-ŭ* from *teką* 'I run, flee': *at-resat* 'surgent' from *at-reig* 'raises itself', cp. *comēir* above; *co n-dārbais* 'ut demonstres' from *du-ad-bat* 'demonstrat' (pass. *-badar*); *ma fris-tōssam* 'si abiuraverimus' from *tongaim* 'iuro'.

Again, the so-called *t*-preterite comes in here, as far as it was derived from the 3rd sing. mid. of the *s*-aorist in **-s-to*; say *do-bert* 'he brought' for **-ber-s-to*, *celt* 'celavit' for **cel-s-to*, *ro-anacht* 'he protected' for **anek-s-to*. See § 506 p. 72 f.

§ 827. Germanic. A survival of the *s*-aorist is conjectured in O.H.G. *scri-r-un* 'they cried' opt. *scri-r-i* (part. pret. *gi-scriran*) beside pret. sing. *srei* 'he cried' pres. inf. *scrīan* 'to cry'; *-r-* = pr. Germ. *-z-*, see I § 581 p. 434. Later on, this *r*- formation got into the verb *spīwan* 'to spew', the participle being changed from *ge-spiwen* to *ge-spiren* (but, vice versa, O.H.G. 3rd pl. *er-scriwun* follows *spiwun*). See

1) The long vowel in *-fē* is not due to Compensatory Lengthening, but to the fact that monosyllables bearing the chief accent, and ending in a vowel, were all lengthened in Irish (III § 440. 2 p. 373).

Joh. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 599 f.; Kluge, Paul's Grundr. i 375. But this view of *scrirum* is very questionable; see G. Holz, Urgerm. geschloss. *ē*, pp. 47 f.; and Zarncke in P.-B. Beitr. XV 350 ff.

A few *s*-aorist forms have perhaps contributed to the system of the weak preterite, as Goth. *vissa* O.H.G. *wissa* 'he knew', whose plurals *wissum wissut wissun* may be compared with Gr. *ἴσαν*. Compare § 907.

§ **828.** Balto-Slavonic.

In Lithuanian, we find the 1st and 2nd plural and the 1st and 2nd dual injunctive used with future meaning. They have run into one paradigm with the future in *-siu* (§ 761 p. 278), and in certain dialects appear side by side with the future in *-sime -site* and *-siva -sita*. As the Lith. future could be used hortatively in the 1st and 2nd persons, there is the less reason for surprise at this commixture of the injunctive with the future in *-si̯o-*. In addition, the 3rd sing. in *-s* appears to belong to our *s*-aorist, at least partly. If, for example, we assume that *-s* comes from *-st*, it is easy to understand the vowel shortening in *bùs* (1st sing. *búsiu*) *rìs* (1st sing. *rýsiu*) *gaũs* (1st sing. *gáusiu*) and the like, of which more is said in I § 664. 3 p. 523. Then we may compare the use of the future in general statements as *kàs võks nepralõps* 'the thief never grows rich' with the similar use of the injunctive in Greek (§ 909. 1). And further, this view of the 3rd singular is favoured by the Prussian forms, used exclusively as conjunctive, *boūsai* (*boūsei boūse*) 'be he, be they', and the like, which cannot be separated from Lith. *su-gausai* beside *su-gaũs* etc., whose *-ai* moreover is the same affix as we see in *tasaĩ* beside *tàs* 'the, that' (§ 999). This would be making **būs* for **bū-s-t* proethnic Baltic.

O.C.Sl. *s*-aorist forms of this group are the 2nd and 3rd sing., plur., and dual; as sing. *ję ję*, pl. *jęste jęsę*, dual *jęsta jęste*; but the 1st persons are thematic (*jęsŭ jęsomŭ jęsově*); see § 833.

Of *s*-forms preserved in both branches we have mentioned in § 812 *gĩs-me -te* from *genù* 'I hunt, drive' O.C.Sl. *po-žę* from

žin-ją 'I cut, harvest', Lith. *im̃s-me* from *imù* 'I take' O.C.Sl. *ję̄s-ŭ* from *imą* 'I take', Lith. *pláus-me* from *pláu-ju* 'I rinse' O.C.Sl. *pluch-ŭ* from *plov-ą* 'I swim, sail', Lith. *pa--bùsme* from *pa-bundù* 'I awake' O.C.Sl. *bljusŭ* from *bljudą* 'I guard, protect, take care', Lith. *vèsz-me* from *vežù* 'I drive' (trans.) O.C.Sl. *věs-ŭ* from *vezą* 'I drive' (trans.), Lith. *vès-me* from *vedù* 'I lead' O.C.Sl. *věs-ŭ* from *ved-ą* 'I lead', Lith. *dèks-me* from *deg-ù* 'I burn' (trans. and intr.) O.C.Sl. *žachŭ* from *žeg-ą* 'I burn' (trans.), Lith. *ės-me* from *ė̃d-mi ė̃d-u* 'I eat' O.C.Sl. *jas-ŭ* from *jamĭ* 'esse', Lith. *dė̃s-me* from *de-d-ù* 'I lay' O.C.Sl. *děch-ŭ* from *dě-ją* 'I lay', Lith. *spė̃s-me* from *spė́-ju* 'I have leisure' O.C.Sl. *spěch-ŭ* from *spě-ją* 'I get on, have success', Lith. *dů̃'s-me* from *dů́'dų* 'I give' O.C.Sl. *dach-ŭ* from *damĭ* 'I give', Lith. *stós-me* from *stó-ju* 'I tread' O.C.Sl. *stach-ŭ* from *sta-ną* 'I place myself', Lith. *bús-me* from *bú-ti* 'to be' O.C.Sl. *bych-ŭ* from *by-ti* 'to be', Lith. *gýs-me* from *gy-jù* 'I revive, get well' O.C.Sl. *žich-ŭ* from *ži-vą* 'I live'. Forms with *-ā-*, *-ē-*, and denominative forms in § 813: Lith. *pa-vydė́sme* from *pa-výd-žiu* 'invideo' O.C.Sl. *viděchŭ* from *viždą* 'I see', Lith. *lankós-me* from *lankó-ju* 'I try to make soft or malleable' O.C.Sl. *ląkach-ŭ* from *ląka-ją* 'I cheat, deceive'.

§ **829.** Lithuanian. Besides the examples given in § 828 others were given in §§ 812 and 813, as *mìlsz-me* from *mélž-u* 'I milk', *sė̃s-me* from *sė̃d-u* 'I place myself, sit', *žiós-me* from *žió-ju* 'I open my mouth', *gůdė́s-mė-s* from *gůdė́-jů-s* 'I am greedy', *jůků̃'s-me* from *jůků̃'-ju* 'I play, sport'.

The vocalisation of the root in the forms under § 812 is always that of the *si̯o*-future. There is no trace left of the Idg. vowel gradation (§ 811 p. 348).

From present stems with internal Nasal: *jùnks-me* from *jùng-iu* 'I put in the yoke', *skų́s-me* from *skùnd-žiu* 'I lament' (cp. § 761 p. 278), to be compared with Skr. *á-yuṅkṣ-mahi* Lat. *jūnx-ī*. From presents in *-inu -enu*: *saũsįs-me* from *saũs-inu* 'I make dry', *gabę́s-me* from *gabe-nù* 'I push something

forward, help it on' (cp. § 761 p. 278), to be compared with Gr. *αὔηνα* for **(ἐ-)σαυσ-αν-σα* (§ 822. 2 p. 359), and again with O.C.Sl. *vrĭgnąch-ŭ*, granting the correctness of the hypothesis offered in § 615 Rem. p. 154.

§ **830.** Slavonic. Some examples were given in § 828, and more in §§ 812 and 813; as *po-sluchŭ* from *-slu-ją* 'I hear', *orach-ŭ* from *or-ją* 'I plough', *rŭděch-ŭ* from *rŭždą* 'rubeo', *cělěch-ŭ* from *cělě-ją* 'I get well'. On the aorist in *-nąch-ŭ*, as *vrĭchnąchŭ* from *vrĭg-ną* 'I throw', see § 615 p. 154 and § 829.

The general question of the *s*-aorist inflexion has been discussed in § 829 p. 366. In the 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. *-s-s* and *-s-t* dropt entirely by rule, which gave forms like *ję* the look of a preterite of our I[st] Present Class, those like *zna ora rŭdě* the look of preterites of Present Class X, and denominatives like *ląka* the look of preterites without *-i̯o-* such as Gr. Lesb. *ἐτίμᾱ* (for **-ā-t*). Probably, however, some of these forms really are what they look like; for instance *bě* 'eras, erat' may come from Idg. **bhu̯-ē-s -t* as well, and *da* 'thou gavest, he gave' may also come from Idg. **dō-s -t*.

With roots in a consonant, the 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. are found only when this root-final was a nasal, *r*, or *l*; as *ję* (*jęsŭ*), *žrě* and *žrĭ* (*žrěchŭ* for **žerchŭ* and *žrĭchŭ* from *žĭr-ą* 'I devour, offer'), *kla* (*klachŭ* for **kolchŭ* from *kol-ją* 'I slay'); otherwise the thematic aorist without *s* was used, as 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. *teče* beside *těchŭ těchomŭ* etc. The reason is that these roots were the only ones which according to the laws of Slavonic did not drop their final consonant.

The 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. often add *-tŭ*, the ending of the 3[rd] sing. pres.; as *pri-jętŭ* instead of *-ję*, *bitŭ* instead of *bi* (*biją* 'I strike'), *u-mrětŭ* instead of *-mrě* (*u-mĭrą* 'I die'); *dastŭ* instead of *da* following *dastŭ* 'dat'. This addition came up first in the 3[rd] sing. aorist, and then went on to the 2[nd] sing. because the two persons had the same form. Compare imper. *jaždĭ* both 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. § 949, and again Skr. 2[nd] and 3[rd] dual *cakr-áthur -átur* § 1038.

§ **831.** From what was said in § 811 p. 348 on the Idg. gradation of the root syllable, it follows that *ē* is original in such forms as *věsŭ něsŭ těchŭ rěchŭ* (*reką* 'I say'), and the *ā* = Idg. *ō* in *basŭ* (*bodą* 'I pierce', cp. Lat. *fodiō fōdī*); the long vowel was originally confined to the singular. Since a long vowel before *i̯*, *u̯*, liquid, or Nasal + Consonant was shortened, as laid down in vol. I § 615 p. 465, the same vowel-grade may be assumed for forms like *bich-ŭ* (**bhēi̯-s-*), *cisŭ* (*čĭtą* 'I count, reckon, honour', cp. Skr. *cāits-*), *po-sluchŭ* (Skr. *śrāuṣ-*), *mrěch-ŭ* for **merch-ŭ* (*mĭrą* 'I die', **mēr-s-*), *vrěs-ŭ* for **vers-ŭ* (*vrĭz-ą* 'I tie', cp. Lith. 1st and 2nd pl. injunct. *veȓsz-me -te* from *verž-iù* 'I tie', √*u̯ergh-*), *męs-ŭ* (*mętą* 'I stir up').

Where the root syllable has a weak grade, this is always seen in the infinitive stem as well, so that we are not justified in assuming that it comes from the Idg. weak form of the plural and dual active. E. g. *žrĭch-ŭ* (also *žrěch-ŭ*) beside *žrĭ-ti* (also *žrě-ti*), *klach-ŭ* for **kolch-ŭ* beside *kla-ti* for **kol-ti* from *ql̥-* like Lith. *káls-me -te* (§ 726 p. 256), *krych-ŭ* beside *kry-ti* 'to cover' as contrasted with Lith. *kráus-me kráu-ti*.

§ **832.** Roots ending in a consonant also make aorists with the ending *-ochŭ* in O.C.Sl.; e. g. beside *něsŭ*: sing. *nesochŭ*, pl. *nesochomŭ nesoste nesošę*, dual *nesochově nesosta nesoste*. The W.-Slav. languages have *-ech* etc. instead of S.-E.-Slav. *-ochŭ* etc. The conjecture as to this inflexion offered in vol. I § 110 p. 105, and supported now by Jagić, is untenable (Arch. slav. Phil., x 175, 191). It is far more likely that this is some peculiar Slavonic growth; probably a transformation of the aorist without *s* (*nesŭ*) on the analogy of the *s*-aorist. The relation of the 2nd and 3rd sing. *děla* to the 2nd pl. *dělaste* 2nd dual *-asta* 3rd dual *-aste* first caused the 2nd and 3rd sing. *nese* to change its forms *nesete -eta -ete* into *neseste -esta -este*, as the former were the same as those of the present. Next, *nesochomŭ nesochově* may have arisen beside *nesomŭ nesově*, and by and by the 1st sing. *nesochŭ* completed the group. Then

differences were levelled out, the West-Slavonic in all consistency putting *e-* in all persons (*nesech* etc.), while the other branch took *-o-*, and changed *neseste* to *nesoste* etc. A different view is taken by Wiedemann, Beitr. zur altbulg. Conj., 109 f.

II. Thematic *s*-stems.

§ 833. The forms which fall under this heading belong to our XX[th] Present Class. They have been partly given in §§ 657 ff., and the only reason for reverting to them here is that they are very intimately connected with the non-thematic *s*-aorist.

(1) Indicative. In Sanskrit, as we saw in § 659 p. 194, the use of the thematic vowel with the *s*-aorist was conditioned by the form of the Root, as *á-mṛkṣa-t*; but non-thematic inflexion is also found, as *á-dikṣ-i* beside *á-dikṣa-t* from *diś-* 'to show, point', *á-drākṣ-am* beside *á-dṛkṣa-t* from *dṛś-* to see', *á-srākṣ-am á-sṛkṣ-i* from *sṛj-* 'to free'. O.Pers. *niy-apišam* 'I wrote' seems to be similar to *á-dikṣ-a-m*, see *loc. cit.* above. An Avestic thematic form is *a-sąsa-þ* from *saṇh-* (*k̑ens-*) 'speak', with strong root.

In Greek, the 3[rd] sing. act. was thematic from the pro-ethnic stage; e. g. *ἔ-δειξε*, see § 820 p. 356. In the Epic dialect this is true of other persons, as *ἷξε-ς ἷξο-ν* beside *ἵξο-μαι* 'I will come', *ἐ-βήσε-το* beside *ἔ-βησ-α* fut. *βήσο-μαι* from *g-ā-* 'go' (see Curtius, Verb II² pp. 307 f.). Perhaps these latter forms arose partly by analogy of the 3[rd] sing. in *-ε*, and partly by that of thematic forms of the imperative (see below).

Remark. The Att. *ἔπεσον* 'I fell' *ἔχεσον* 'cacavi' do not come in here. They got their *σ* from the fut. *πεσοῦμαι χεσοῦμαι*. See F. Hartmann, De aor. sec., 66; Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 313 ff.; the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 169.

Latin. Aorists of this sort are forms like *dīxi-t dīxi-mus*, see § 823 p. 361. These forms were related to the conj. (fut.) *dīxō* and to the opt. *dīxim* just as Skr. *á-bhakṣa-t* to conj. *bhákṣa-t*, and Gr. *ἔ-βησε* to conj. *βήσο-μεν*.

Irish. Mid.Ir. *seiss* 'has seated himself, sat' and 'sits' for **setse-t* from √*sed-*, cp. Skr. conj. *sáts-a-t* Gr. indic. ἕσσ-α. From *seiss* as used for the present upsprang a redupl. pret. *siassair* 'he sat' for **se-(s)ess-* (Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 99), to be compared with Skr. *na-nákṣ-úr* from *nák-ṣa-ti* 'reaches' and others (§ 659 p. 194).

In O.C.Slav. the 1st persons are thematic, as *jęsŭ jęso-mŭ jęso-vě*. On the *ch* of *dachŭ trĭchŭ* etc., see I § 588. 1 and 2, pp. 442 f.; on the Idg. sound-groups *k̑s* and *qs* in *něsŭ* (*nesą*) and *rěchŭ* (*reką*), see *ibid.*, and § 414 p. 303. The *s*-type spread into the *ch*-series, and thus we have forms like *jachŭ jachomŭ* instead of *jasŭ jasomŭ* (ground-form **ētso-*, √*ed-* 'to eat'), as also in the 3rd pl. *jašę* instead of *jasę*.

(2) Imperative. Aryan and Greek forms come in here. Ved. 2nd sing. *nēṣa*, cp. conj. *nḗṣ-a-t(i)* from *nī-* 'to lead'; *parṣa*, cp. conj. *párṣ-a-t(i)* from *par-* 'to bring over, transfer'; mid. 3rd sing. *rāsa-tām* 3rd pl. *rāsa-ntām*, cp. conj. *rās-a-t(i)* from *rā-* 'to give'. Avest. 3rd pl. *jaŋhe-ntu*, cp. conj. Gath. *jēŋgha-itī* from *jam-* (*gem-*) 'to go'. Gr. Ep. οἶσε οἰσέτω, cp. fut. οἴσω 'I will carry, or bring'; ὄψεσθε (sing. ὄψεο in Hesych.), cp. fut. ὄψομαι 'I shall see'; ἄξετε ἄξεσθε, cp. fut. ἄξω 'I will lead'; ἐπι-βήσεο, λέξεο and others. These Greek imperative forms were adduced in § 747 p. 269 to support the theory that the σ-future, at least in part, has grown out of the conjunctive of the *s*-aorist. I admit that the parallel *o*-conjunctives of Aryan and Greek, with which the imperative forms went very closely, belong to the non-thematic indicative with *s*. But I must remind my readers of the formal identity of the Skr. conj. *tą́s-a-t(i)* and the indic. *tą-sa-ti* Goth. *-þinsa*. Imperative forms with a genuine personal ending are really Injunctive, and these have been used in the parent language and ever since both for the Indicative and for the Conjunctive (wish, futurity); see § 909. Compare § 854, on the imper. perf. Skr. *mumóc-a-ta* Gr. κεκράγ-ε-τε.

(3) Participle. Skr. *dhī́ṣa-māṇa-s* Avest. *dīše-mna-* beside Avest. 2nd sing. indic. *dāiš* from *dhī-* 'to notice'. Avest.

xšnaoše-mna- beside 3rd pl. injunct. *xšnaošen* from *xšnu-* 'to join oneself to, comply with'.

B. STEMS IN *-es-*, *-əs-*, AND *-ĭs-*.

§ **834.** Between *-s-* and what is usually called the Root there often appears *-e-*, *-o-*, or *-i-*. We have *-e-s-* in Aryan, Greek,[1]) Italic, perhaps Keltic; *-ə-s-* in Aryan, Greek, perhaps Keltic; *-i-s-* in Latin (*-ī-s-* in Sanskrit). In view of the connexion of verbal forms with *-s-* and noun-stems with *-s-* (§ 655 pp. 189 f., § 824 p. 363), we may identify Gr. *ϝειδες- in εἴδε-α ᾔδε-α with *ϝειδεσ- in gen. εἴδε-ος, 2nd sing. mid. ἐ-πελάσ-θης with adv. πέλας, Skr. mid. *á-rōciṣ-ṭa* with neut. *rōcíṣ-*, 3rd pl. *á-jāriṣ-ur* with Gr. γῆρας, and Lat. *vīdis-tis* may be compared with *cinis* Gr. θέμισ- (II § 134 pp. 425 f.). The same intermediate vowels occur in the *s*-future: Gr. τενέω τενῶ, πελάω πελῶ, Skr. *rōciṣya-tē*, see § 749 ff. pp. 271 ff.

Special vowel-grades for the root-syllable, as in the *s*-aorist (§ 811), cannot be made out for the parent language; and regard being had to the variants *-e-s-*, *-ə-s-*, *-i-s-*, which undoubtedly must often have been interchanged by form-transference, we might expect without further argument an intricate ablaut in the root syllable. The commonest grade in historical times is the *e*-grade (1st Strong Grade), as *u̯ei̯d-* in Skr. *vēdiṣ-* Gr. ϵἰδε(σ)- Lat. *vīdis-*, *gem-* in Skr. *gamiṣ-* Umbr.-Osc. *benes-*; cp. the *s*-future Skr. *haniṣya-ti* Gr. θενέω etc.

As regards the tense, or kind of action denoted, we must observe that whilst the *s*-stems described under (*A*) are prevailingly aorist, so that we must regard this as fairly representing the proethnic use, these *-es-* *-əs-* and *-is*-stems do not have the aoristic use anything like so often in proportion; for instance, Skr. *arcas-ē* Gr. ᾔδεα never had it. The verb-

1) I no longer regard ε in Gr. ᾔδεα as representing Idg. ə. See p. 271 footnote 1.

suffix *-s-* therefore, in all its forms, had originally nothing at all to do with tense. This explains the mass of instances in all sorts of languages where *s* runs right through the verb (cp. the *s*-verbs, in §§ 656 ff.). Hence it happens that even where *s* does not go through a verb, *s*-forms often enough have no aorist meaning, as in Gr. *εἰδ-εσ-* (*ᾔδεα εἰδέω εἰδείην*). It certainly cannot be proven that here the meaning conveyed was originally aorist. Here again we see how useful it would be if we could keep Verb Morphology quite free from terms borrowed from Syntax (cp. § 484 pp. 33 ff.).

I. *es*-stems.

§ **835.** There are no *es*-preterites in Aryan. But we may refer once more to the presents cited in § 656 pp. 190 f., Skr. *v-ás-te* (Gr. *ἐπί-εσται*) *arc-as-ē* Avest. *råŋh-aŋh-ōi* etc.

§ **836.** Greek. *ᾔδεα εἴδεα* 'I knew', served for a preterite to *οἶδα* 'I know', cp. O.Ir. *ro-fetar* 'I know' with *-es-* or *-is-* (§ 838), Skr. *á-vēdiṣ-am* with *-əs-*, Lat. *vīdis-tis* with *-is-*; conj. Ion.-Att. *εἰδέω εἰδῶ* (2nd sing. *εἰδέῃς εἰδῇς* 3rd pl. *εἰδέωσι εἰδῶσι* by transfer to the *ē* : *ō*- conj.)[1]) and (Hom.) *ἰδέω*, cp. Skr. *vēdiṣ-a-t* Lat. *vīder-ō*, opt. *εἰδεῖμεν* for **ϝειδ-εσ-ῑ-μεν* sing. *εἰδείην*, cp. Lat. *vīder-ī-mus vīder-i-m*.

Hom. *ᾔεα* (unless it be properly *ἤεα* — see below —, the form in our texts is *ἤια*) Att. *ᾔειν* 'I went', imperf. and aor. preterite to *εἶμι*, ground-form **ēi̯-es-m̥*, cp. Umbr. conj. (fut.) *eest est* 'ibit' for **ei̯-es-e-t(i)*, Skr. mid. *áy-iṣ-ṭa* (gramm.), Lat. *iis-* (i. e. **ei̯-is-*) in *iis-tis ier-ō ier-i-m*. As in pr. Greek *i̯* dropped between sonants, *ᾔειν* (which should be **ἤειν*) must have got its iota subscript from *ᾖμεν* etc. (§ 502 p. 64); and it becomes a question whether the Homeric form should not be read *ἤεα*. If Hom. *εἴην* is to be recognised for an

1) On the forms *εἰδῶ εἰδῇς* in the text of Homer, see W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XIX 251.

optative of εἶμι (see Curtius, Verb II² p. 99), it is natural to derive it from *ἐ(ἰ)-ε(σ)-ἰη-ν.

Remark. G. Mekler's theory (Beitr. zur Bild. des Gr. Verb., 69 ff.), that ᾔδεα comes from *ἠϝειδεἰα, an aorist of the verb εἰδέω, is untenable. See Wackernagel, Phil. Anzeiger 1887 pp. 240 f.

ἐ-κορέσ-θης (stem κορεσ- 'to satisfy') ἐ-στορέσ-θης (stem στορεσ- 'sternere') come in here as the 2nd sing. mid., if we may venture to assume that they helped to form the θην-aorist (§ 589 pp. 129 f.). On ἐκόρεσ(σ)α ἐστόρεσ(σ)α, see § 842.

Furthermore, the future in -έω, as κορέω τενέω, if it be a conj. of the *es*-aorist and not for -εσ-ἰω (§ 747 p. 269). The difference in the use of this future and εἰδέω is explained because εἰδέω was bound fast to the indic. εἴδεα.

-es- in Greek has been borrowed by perfect stems, as πεποίθ-εα πεποίθειν beside πέποιθα 'I believe', ἑστήκειν beside ἕστηκα 'I stand', ἐτετῑμήκειν beside τετῑ́μηκα 'I have honoured' (side by side with the old perf. preterites like ἐπέπιθμεν ἕσταμεν γεγάτην); the same with *-is-* in Latin, as *totondis-tis totonder-ō totonder-i-m*. I incline to think that this transfer is independent in Greek and Latin, πεποίθεα following εἴδεα and *totondistis* following *vīdistis*; but some hold that it took place before the original language broke up. The matter is discussed by Mahlow, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI 583; the Author, Ber. d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., 1883, pp. 178 f.; Thurneysen, Bezz. Beitr. VIII 274; and others. How obvious this re-formation was can be seen from Irish, where in later times the perfect was very largely transformed on the analogy of the *s*-preterite, as *tānacus* 'I came' instead of *tānac*.

In the Indicative, -εα -εας -εε(ν) became in Ion.-Att. -η -ης -ει(ν). Then -ει(ν) by complementary analogy produces Att. -ειν -εις, cp. ἦν 'eram' instead of ἦα ἦ § 502 p. 65. The 3rd pl. was -εσαν in older Attic; this followed *-εσ-τε *-εσ-τον *-εσ-την as ἦσαν followed ἦστε etc. (§ 1021). -εσαν similarly caused the forming of -εμεν -ετε, which are the endings of old Attic. The endings -ειμεν -ειτε -εισαν are first found at a late period; so it can scarcely be allowable to derive -ειμεν from *-εσμεν, which

has to be postulated for proethnic Greek. Probably *-ει-* came in from the singular.

A Greek new formation is doubtless the opt. *δείξειαν*, for **-σ-εσ-ι̯αν*, which, on the analogy of the indicative, produced *δείξειας -ειε*; similarly Skr. *á-yā-s-iṣ-am* (§ 839) and Lat. *dīx-is-tis dīx-er-ō dīx-er-i-m* (§ 841). Compare §§ 944 and 1021. 1.

§ **837.** Italic has nothing but Conjunctive forms.

(1) *o*-Conjunctive used as future in Umbr.-Osc. (cp. *fust* § 824 p. 362). Umbr. *eest est* 'ibit' for **ei̯-es-e(ti)*: Gr. *ἤειν* § 836; ferest 'feret', an-penes 'impendes'. Osc. *pert-emest* 'perimet'. The same future could be made from present stems with some characteristic, as Osc. *didest* 'dabit' beside Vestin. *di-d-e-t* 'dat' (§ 553 p. 107), to be compared with Skr. mid. *á-dad-iṣ-ṭa* beside *dá-dā-ti dá-d-a-ti*; Umbr. heries 'voles' *heriest* 'volet' beside heris 'vis' Osc. heriiad 'velit' (§ 706 p. 233, § 716 p. 249).

(2) *ē*-Conjunctive in Latin and Umbr.-Oscan (cp. Lat. *es-s-e-m* Osc. fu-s-í-d, § 824 p. 362).

Lat. *ager-e-m ager-ē-s*: cp. Skr. 3rd pl. *ájiṣ-ur*. *unguer-e-m*: cp. Skr. *áñjiṣ-am*. *merger-e-m*: cp. Skr. *á-majjiṣ-am*. *vīver-e-m*: cp. Skr. *á-jīviṣ-am*. I think it more likely that *forem* comes from **fu̯-es-ē-* (I § 172. 3 p. 152), than from **fu-s-ē-*; it therefore belongs to *-bō* for **fu̯ō*, as *agerem* to *agō*. The same formation is made from characterised present stems; as *sisterem* from *si-st-ō*, *jungerem* from *jung-ō* √*jeu̯g-* (cp. Skr. *yñj-as-ē* § 656 p. 191, *āindh-iṣ-ṭa* § 839), *sternerem* from *ster-nō*, *gnōscerem* from *gnō-scō*.

Umbr. *ostensendi* 'ostenderentur' for **-tendes-ē-ntēr* (§ 1082. 1). Osc. herrins 'caperent' for **heres-ē-nt* from a pres. **herō*, patensíns 'aperirent' for **patenes-ē-nt* from a pres. **patenō* (§ 622 p. 159).

§ **838.** Keltic. O.Ir. *ro-fetar* 'I know' 3rd sing. *ro-fitir* for **u̯id-es-* (I § 521 p. 379, and Thurneysen Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 62 f., 98): Gr. *ᾔδεα* conj. Hom. *ἰδέω* beside *εἰδέω*, § 836 p. 373. I conjecture that *ro-fetar* originally meant 'I have

learnt', hence its present meaning 'I know', cp. *seiss* § 833 p. 370. The phonetic rules however permit of another derivation, from **u̯id-is-*, in which case it would come near to Lat. *vīdis-tis*.

II. *əs*-stems.

§ **839.** Aryan *-iš-* in Sanskrit and in the Gatha dialect of the Avesta.

In the Gathas we find three forms. 1st sing. conj. *xšnev-īš-ā* from *xšnu-* 'to attach oneself' (cp. *xšnao-še-mna-* § 833 p. 371), indic. mid. *civ-īš-ī civ-iš-tā* from *ku-* 'to look away to something, to hope'; *ī* is probably to be read *ĭ*, as often.

The formation is common in Sanskrit. As regards the 2nd pl. mid. in *-iḍhvam*, as *ájaniḍhvam*, it is to be noted that *-iḍh-* is due to the analogy of the other persons which have *-iṣ-* instead of *-*īḍh-* = *-*iẓḍh-* (I § 591 pp. 447 f.).

Usually with *e*-grade (1st Strong Grade) in the root. *á-star-iṣ-am* from *star-* 'to strew'. 2nd sing. mid. *kṣaṇ-iṣ-ṭhās* from *kṣan-* 'to wound'. 3rd sing. mid. *yám-iṣ-ṭa* from *yam-* 'cohibere'. 2nd dual *cay-iṣ-ṭam* from *ci-* 'to put in layers, collect'. 3rd sing. mid. *á-nav-iṣ-ṭa* from *nu-* 'to praise'. *á-dharṣ-iṣ-ur* from *dharṣ-* 'to be brave, dare'. Conj. *jambh-iṣ-a-t* from *jambh-* 'to snap at'. *á-śąs-iṣ-am* from *śąs-* 'to praise'. 3rd pl. mid. *á-bōdh-iṣ-ata*, conj. *bṓdh-iṣ-a-t* from *budh-* 'to awake, notice'. 3rd sing. mid. *á-sah-iṣ-ṭa* opt. *sah-iṣ-ī-máhi* from *sah-* 'to subdue'. 3rd pl. *ā́j-iṣ-ur* from *aj-* 'agere'.

Other grades of root. *á-bhār-iṣ-am* from *bhar-* 'to carry'. *á-tār-iṣ-am* conj. *tāriṣ-a-t* opt. *tāriṣ-ī-mahi* from *tar-* 'to carry across, pass through'. 3rd pl. mid. (pass.) *á-nāy-iṣ-ata* from *nī-* 'to lead'. Opt. *idh-iṣ-ī-mahi* from *idh-* 'set afire'. Opt. *gm-iṣ-īya* from *gam-* 'to go'.

As the root of 2nd sing. mid. *pūr-iṣ-ṭhās* (*par-* 'to fill') shows it to have been based upon verbal forms like *pūr-dhí*, so also the *iṣ*-aorist is often made from a characterised present stem. 3rd sing. mid. *á-dad-iṣ-ṭa* beside *dá-dā-ti da-d-a-ti* from

dā- 'to give' (cp. Osc. *didest*, § 837. 1 p. 374). 3rd sing. mid. *āindh-iṣ-ṭa* opt. *indh-iṣ-īya* (also *idh-iṣ-*) beside *in(d)dhḗ* pl. *indh-ā́tē* from *idh-*, *á-dṛh-iṣ-am* beside *dṛ́h-a-ti* from *darh-* 'to make firm' (cp. Lat. *junger-e-m* § 837. 2 p. 374). *āips-iṣ-am* beside *ī́p-sa-ti* from *āp- ap-* 'to attain', 1st sing. mid. *jijñās-iṣ-i* beside *ji-jñā-sa-tē* from *jñā-* 'to learn'. 3rd pl. mid. *á-hlāday-iṣ-ata* beside *hlād-aya-ti* causal of *hlād-* 'to refresh, give life to', 2nd sing. mid. *pyāyay-iṣ-ṭhās* beside *pyāy-áya-ti* causal of *pyā́-ya-tē* 'swells' (§ 796 p. 333). Compare 1st sing. pres. mid. *gāyiṣ-ē* beside *gā́-ya-ti* 'sings' (§ 656 p. 191).

The origin of the *siṣ-* aorist is like that of the latter group of forms. 3rd pl. *ā́kṣiṣ-ur* beside pres. *ak-ṣa-tē* (§ 659 p. 194) and beside aor. *ā́k-ṣ-i* (§ 655 p. 189) from *ąś- aś-* 'to attain'. *hāsiṣ-am* beside pres. *hā́-sa-tē* (§ 659 p. 195) and beside aor. *á-hā-s-am* (§ 814 p. 353) from *hā-* 'to go, yield'. 3rd sing. mid. *á-bhāsiṣ-ṭa* (gramm.) beside pres. *bhā́-sa-ti* (aor. *á-bhās-ī-t*, gramm.) from *bhā-* 'to shine'. Compare the fut. *akṣiṣya-ti bhāṣiṣya-tē* § 750. 2 p. 272. So again *á-jñā-siṣ-am* beside *á-jñā-s-am* (cp. Lat. *gnōri-tur*), *á-gā-siṣ-ur* conj. *gā-siṣ-a-t* beside 1st sing. mid. *gā-s-i* from *gā-* 'to sing', *rą-siṣ-am* beside 3rd sing. mid. *á-rą-s-ta* from *ram-* 'to be quiet'. Compare with these *siṣ-* aorists, which had not become common in Vedic, Gr. *δείξειαν* § 836 p. 374, and Lat. *dīxis-tis dīxer-ō dīxer-i-m*, § 841.

Remark. In Mss. of the Veda occur forms with *-śiṣ-* instead of *-siṣ-*, as *pyā-śiṣ-ī-mahi*. This shows the same phonetic change as *śuṣ-ka-s* for **suṣká-s* I § 587. 4 p. 413. Compare Whitney, Am. Journ. Phil. vi 277; Bloomfield and Spieker, Journ. Amer. Or. Soc. xiii 118.

The 2nd and 3rd sing. of the aorists with *-iṣ-* and *-siṣ-* ended regularly in *-ī-ṣ* and *-ī-t*, as *á-starī-ṣ -t* beside *á-stariṣ-am*, *á-yāsī-ṣ -t* beside *á-yāsiṣ-am*. The original endings must have been **-iṣ(-ṣ)* and **-iṣ(-ṭ)*. That of the 3rd sing. is still seen in injunctive forms like *aviṣ-ṭ-u* (§ 909), and the influence of the 2nd sing. can be made out in aorist forms such as *á-jay-i-t* (§ 574 p. 115). *-ī-ṣ ī-t* cannot be got out of **-iṣ-ṣ* and **-iṣ-ṭ*. They rather belonged in origin to our IXth Present Class, and were not sigmatic aorist at all; *á-star-ī-t* is like *á-rōd-ī-t*

á-brāv-ī-t (§ 574 p. 116). As *á-star-ī-t* is to *stara-ti*, so is *á-hās-ī-t* to *há-sa-tē*, and *á-bhās-ī-t* to *bhá-sa-ti.*[1]) These forms in *-īš -īt* took the place of **astariš* **ahāsiš* (2nd and 3rd sing.) because it then became possible to distinguish the persons; then *-īš* and *-īt* drove **-iš* **-it* out of the field altogether. Compare *ī* instead of *i* in *á-dhī-mahi*, *mr̥-ṇī-más* and the like § 498 p. 62. How *-sīš -sīt* passed afterwards from the *siš*-aorist to the *s*-aorist, see in § 816 p. 354.

§ **840.** Greek. Here *-ασ-* = *-əs-* is found only in such verbs as use the *s*-suffix outside of the aorist stem. Attention should be called to the future in *-αω*, if it was conj. of the *σ*-aorist (§ 747 p. 269, § 757 pp. 276 f.), and the indic. 2nd sing. in *-ασ-θης*, if it had a share in originating the *θην*-aorist (§ 589 pp. 129 ff.). E. g. *κρεμάω ἐκρεμάσθης* from *κρεμασ-* 'to hang' (*κρεμασ-τό-ς*) beside *κρεμα-* (*κρέμα-μαι κρεμά-θρᾱ*), *κεράω ἐκεράσθης* from *κερασ-* 'to mix' (*κερασ-τό-ς κεκέρασται*), *σκεδάω ἐσκεδάσθης* from *σκεδασ-* 'to scatter' (*σκεδασ-τό-ς ἐσκέδασται*). On the *σσ*-aorists *ἐκρέμασ(σ)α ἐκέρασ(σ)α ἐσκέδασσα*, see § 842.

In Keltic, *-əs-* may be looked for in the *s*-preterite of the 1st and 2nd Conjugations, as O.Ir. *ro-charus* Mid.Cymr. *cereis* 'I loved'. For the Britannic dialects only *-ăs(s)-* and not *-ās(s)-* may be assumed. 3rd sing. O.Ir. *ro-char* for **-caras-t*, 2nd sing. depon. *-asser* for **-as-thēs* + *r* (Thurneysen, Idg. Forsch. I 463). Also found, pl. *ro-charsam -charsid -charsat* for **carassomo(s)* **carassete* **carassont(o)*. Thurneysen, who sends me this explanation of *ro-char*, throws out the question whether *ss* did not come from forms in which *st* originally was: the 2nd pl. **caras-te* became **carasse*, this was enlarged to **carassete* by adding the usual ending of the 2nd pl., and then by analogy **carassomo(s)* etc. May we venture to suggest a parallel with the relation of Gr. *ἐ-κρεμάσ-θης* (see above) and *ἐ-κρέμασσα* (§ 842)?

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1) Jackson believes that he has found an Avestic 2nd sing. of this kind in *frā-dāhīš* Yt. 3. 2, from √ *dā-* (Proceed. Am. Or. Soc., Oct. 1889, p. CLXV).

III. ĭs-stems.

§ 841. In Latin, *-is-* appears in the inflexion of the perfect stem. Indicative only *-is-tis -is-tī* and *-erunt*, if the last is for **-is-ont(i)* (§ 1023); Conjunctive (fut. perf.) *-erō -erimus* for **-i-s-ō *-is-i-mus*: Optative (conj. perf.) *-erim -erīmus* for **-is-ī-*, and in the late-born pluperf. with *-eram* = **-is-ā-m*. *vīdis-tis*: cp. Skr. *vēdiṣ-* Gr. *εἰδε(σ)-*; *iis-tis* for **eĭs- *ei̯-is-*: cp. Skr. *ayiṣ-* Gr. *ἐε(σ)-*. *līquis-tis, fīdis-tis vīcis-tis.* And doubtless *fūgis-tis rūpis-tis jūvis-tis* (*juv-* for **di̯ugu̯-*, beside Lith. *dżiaugiů'-s* 'I am glad') with *ū* = Idg. *eu̯*. *vertis-tis scandis-tis.* Also *scābis-tis cāvis-tis*, *fōdis-tis* and *lēgis-tis vēnis-tis* may come in here, the last two to be compared with Gr. *γῆρας* (§ 834 p. 371).

Remark. Since so many kinds of forms have contributed to the Latin perfect (§ 867), it is impossible to restore with any certainty the proper vowel grades of the root. As regards *ē*, for instance, in the system of *lēgī*; (1) this may have come from *lēgis-tis* as suggested, (2) *lēgimus* may follow the analogy of *sēdimus* for **se-zd-*, as Skr. *pētimá* follows *sēdimá* (§ 471 p. 16), (3) *lēg-ī vēn-ī* may be non-thematic, like Goth. *qēm-um* Skr. *sāh-vás-* (loc. cit.), or (4) *lēgi-t* may = pr. Ital. **lēg-e-d*, and be a thematic preterite form related to *legi-t* as Gr. *μήδε-ται* to *μέδε-ται*, Skr. *sā́ha-ti* to *sahá-tē* (§ 480 Rem. p. 28, § 514 p. 81).

Phonetic law forbids our assuming that *-es-* has been weakened to *-is-* in *vīdis-tis* (*vīdis-sem* § 842); cp. *scelestu-s capessō* and the like. It is not a sufficient explanation to say that *-e-* became *-i-* because of *-imus*, or that the relation of *amāmus* : *amāssem* produced *vertissem* beside *vertimus* (Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. XVII 112). Nothing is left but to hark back to Idg. *-i-s-*.[1]) In § 834 p. 371 we compared *cini-s-* Gr. *θέμι-σ-*. Compare further *ἀϝ-ι-σ-* in *ἐπάισ-το-ς ᾔισ-(σ)α* from

1) I will here give a possible way of identifying Lat. *-is-* with Idg. *-es-* or *-əs-*; but I do not believe that any one will adopt it. **ste-ti-tis *ste-ti-fī* or *-bī* (Gr. *ἕ-στα-τε* Skr. *ta-sthi-tha*), **tu-tudi-tis *tu-tūdi-fī* (Gr. *τε-τράφα-τε* Skr. *tu-tōdi-tha*), **scidi-tis* (Skr. *á-chida-ta*) become *stetistis stetistī, tutudistis tutūdistī, scidistis* on the analogy of **vides-tis *vīdes-tī*; and then by reciprocal analogy, these became *vīdis-tis -tī*.

ἀίω 'I hear' for **ἀϝισ-ω* and in *αἰσ-θέ-σθαι* beside Skr. *áv-a-ti* 'regards, favours',[1]) *ἀϝ-ι-σ-* in *ἀίσ-θω* 'I breathe out' beside *ἄιο-ν* (doubtless for **ἀϝισ-ο-ν*) beside *ἄ(ϝ)-η-μι* 'I blow, breathe', variant stem *ἀϝ-εσ-* in *ἆσθμα* (*ἀίσ-θω* : *ἆσ-θμα* = Lat. *vīdis-* : Gr. *εἰδε(σ)-*). Further, *ἀλ-ίσκο-μαι* *ἀρ-αρ-ίσκω* beside *ἀρ-ίσ-κω* (§ 673 p. 206). Lastly, Skr. *á-grah-ī-ṣ-am*, where I hold *-ī-* to be merely an ablaut variant of the *-i-* now under discussion. If, as we must assume, it was in proethnic Latin that *-is-* spread from the verbs to which it properly belongs to all others, then according to I § 33 p. 33, *-er-* in *vīderō* etc. must be derived in all instances from *-is-*. Thus e. g. *vertero* will be for **vertisō* (but *verterem* for **vertesē-m*).

vīdera-m shows the same *ā*-suffix as *-bam eram* (§ 583 p. 124), and probably it is due to analogy, being made to complement *vīderō* like *eram* : *erō*. Observe that *dīxō dīxim* have no **dīxam*.

The endings of *vīdistis -istī vīderō vīderim vīderam vīdissem* were transferred both to forms like *totondī tetigī* and to those like *dīxī*, so that we have *totondistis totonderō* and *dīxistis dīxerō* etc. The former may be compared with Gr. *πεποίθεα* (§ 836 p. 373), the latter with Skr. *áyāsiṣam* (§ 839 p. 376). The efficient cause of these new formations may have been that in the Indicative many of the original forms of the 2nd sing. and pl. had become rather awkward, as 2nd sing. **totons(s)ī* 2nd pl. **totons(s)is* (or **totonstī *totonstis* with *t* restored from *estis*) and 2nd sing. **dīx(s)* 2nd pl. **dīxtis*.

We proceed to mention the *ĭs*-aorists of Latin and Irish belonging to *i̯o*-present stems (Class XXVI):

In Latin, those verbs whose 2nd sing. indic. pres. ended in *-īs*, had the *ē*-conjunctive in *-īrem*, as *farcīrem* from *farciō*. The only exception is *fierem* like *agerem*, § 837. 2 p. 374. But from verbs like *capiō -ĭs* the conj. was *-ĕrem*, *caperem*; and it remain suncertain whether this be for **-is-ē-m* or **-es-ē-m*, cp. *capis-sō* and *capes-sō* § 842.

1) To assume a 'Root' *avis-* for *ἄιον* and a present **ἀϝειαω* I hold to be wrong (Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 249 ff.).

It must be remembered, in considering Lat. *farcīrem* and the like, that these went hand in hand with the original denominatives in *-i-i̯ō*, as *fīniō*, whose *s*-aorist, *fīnīrem*, is to be compared with Gr. *ἐκόνῑσα* O.C.Sl. *gostichŭ* (§ 813 p. 351). Hence the question presents itself — whether *farcīrem* is really like Skr. *á-grahīṣ-am*, whether it was not rather produced simply by the analogy of the *īs*-formation. In this case it might be compared with O.C.Sl. *bichomŭ* (§ 727 p. 257), which was modelled upon *gostichomŭ*.

In the *s*-aorist of the *i̯o*-present (3rd Conjugation) in Irish, the 3rd sing. ended with **-i-s-t*, as *-lēic* for **leiku̯is-t*. A short *i* is seen also in Mid.Cymr., which in this aorist had *-yss-*, e. g. *eistedyssant* 'they sat'. Compare § 840 on *ro-char* for **-caras-t*. The question which there had to be answered on behalf of *ro-charsam*, now crops up again for *-lēcsem*. Hand in hand with these *i̯o*-verbs went those in **-i-i̯ṓ* and those in **-éi̯ō*, as 1st sing. *do-ro-dālius* from *-dālim* 'I divide', 1st pl. *ro-moit-sem* from *moidim* 'I extol'.

C. STEMS WITH *-s-s-*.

§ **842.** As the *s*-suffix was in no sense a special aorist suffix, but was used in the parent language with other tenses of a certain number of verbs, it need not surprise us to see that verbal *s*-stems often make an aorist with a second *s*. Analogous formations with *-əs-* have been brought before us in § 839, the Sanskrit aorist series of which one is *ák-ṣiṣ-ur*.

Greek. Hom. *ἔ-σπασ-σα* Att. *ἔσπασα* from *σπάω* 'I pull' for **σπα-σω*, *ἔ-σπασ-ται*. *ἔ-κλασ-σα* from *κλάω* 'I break off' for **κλα-σω*, *κέ-κλασ-ται*. *ἐ-κρέμασ-(σ)α* 'I hung' *ἐ-κέρασ-(σ)α* 'I mixed' *ἐ-σκέδασ-(σ)α* 'I scattered' beside *κρε-μασ-τό-ς κε-κέρασ-ται ἐ-σκέδασ-ται*. *(ϝ)-έσ-(σ)α* 'I clothed' beside 2nd sing. *ἕσ-σαι*. *ἔ-σβ-εσ-(σ)α* 'I quenched' beside *σβ-εσ-τό-ς ἔ-σβεσ-ται*. *ἐ-κόρεσ-(σ)α* 'I satisfied' beside *κε-κόρεσ-ται*. *ἀρ-έσ-(σ)ασθαι* 'to come to an understanding'

beside *ἀρεσ-τό-ς*. *ἐ-κάλεσ-(σ)α* 'I called' *ἄλ-εσ-(σ)α* 'I ground' *ἔμ-εσ-(σ)α* 'I spewed' from the presents *καλέω ἀλέω ἐμέω*, perhaps for **καλεσω *ἀλεσω *ἐμεσω*. *εἴρυσ-(σ)α ἔρυσ-(σ)α* 'I pulled' beside *εἴρυσ-ται*. Compare § 575 p. 117, § 656 p. 191, § 661 p. 196, § 836 p. 372 f., § 840 p. 377.

Remark. There is too little support for the theory that these Greek *σσ*-aorists stand in a direct historical connexion with the Sanskrit *siṣ*-aorist, — that originally the singular active had *-ses-* (*-səs-*) and the plural *-ss-*, and that Sanskrit kept only the singular form, Greek the form of the plural (W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxix 266 ff.).

Italic. With Lat. *vīsō* for **u̯ei̯t-sō*, *quaesō* for **quais-sō* (§ 662 p. 197), compare *petes-sō* O.Lat. *ad-petis-si-s*, *capes-sō* O.Lat. *capis-sa-m*, *laces-sō*, *faces-sō*. And to the same group as *faxō faxitur faxim* (§ 824 p. 362) belong *amās-sō amāssim*, *turbās-situr*, infin. *averruncās-sere*; *habēs-sō pro-hibēssim*, *licēssi-t*; *amb-īssim*; *-ss-* after a long vowel, which should be *-s-*, is due to the analogy of forms with *-ss-* following a short vowel, cp. *ēssem* instead of **ēsem* (*edō*) on the analogy of *ĕssem* (from *sum*). With *petissis capessam* are associated forms like *vīdis-se-m*, *ē*-conjunctives, whose analogy produced (1) *totondissem* and (2) *dīxissem* etc. The forms with *-is-s-* have their nearest parallels in Gr. *ἤισ(σ)α* from *ἀϝ-ισ-* (§ 841 p. 378 f.).

THE PERFECT.[1])

§ 843. The chief marks which keep the Idg. Perfect distinct from Present and Aorist are two. (1) Firstly some peculiar personal endings in the Indicative; as from √ *u̯ei̯d-*

1) On the Indo-Germanic Perfect in general. H. Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Idg. mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Griech. und Latein., Strassb. 1884. C. Pauli, Das praeteritum reduplicatum der idg. Sprachen und der deutsche Ablaut, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xii 50 ff. Pott, Verschiedene Bezeichnung des Perfects in einigen Sprachen und Lautsymbolik, Zeitschr. für Völkerpsych. xv 287 ff., xvi 117 ff.

'to know, see': 1st sing. Skr. *vḗd-a* Gr. *οἶδ-α* Goth. *váit*, 2nd sing. *vḗttha οἶσθα váist*, 3rd sing. *vḗd-a οἶδ-ε váit*. (2) Secondly, the participle active formed with the suffix *-ues-*, as Skr. *vid-vás-*

Aryan. Bartholomae, Die ai. *ē*-Formen im schwachen Perfect, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 337 ff. *Idem*, Der 'Bindevocal' *i* im avestischen Perf., Ar. Forsch. II 97 ff.

Greek and Latin. Ernault, Du parfait en grec et en latin, Paris 1886.

Greek. H. Malden, On Perfect Tenses in Greek, and especially the First Perfect Active, Trans. Phil. Soc., 1865, pp. 168 ff. Loebell, Quaestiones de perfecti Homerici forma et usu, Leipz. 1877. H. von der Pfordten, Zur Gesch. des griech. Perfectums, Munich 1882. J. Stender, Beiträge zur Gesch. des griech. Perfects, 2 Theile, München-Gladbach 1883—84. R. Fritzsche, Über griech. Perfecta mit Präsensbedeutung, Sprachwiss. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' Gramm. Gesellsch. pp. 43 ff. H. Uhle, Die Vocalisation und Aspiration des griech. starken Perf., *ibid.* pp. 59 ff. Mahlow, Einige altertümliche Perfectbildungen des Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 293 ff. J. Schmidt, Die Entstehung der griech. aspirierten Perfecta, *ibid.* XXVII 309 ff. *Idem*, Noch einmal die griech. aspirierten Perfecta, *ibid.* XXVIII 176 ff. Alex. Hoppe, Über das griech. zweite Perfect, Festprogr. des Erfurter Gymn., Erfurt 1870, pp. 34 ff. The Author, Der Ursprung des griech. schwachen Perfects, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 212 ff. F. Hartmann, Wieder einmal das *κ*-Perfectum, *ibid.* XXVIII 284 ff. K. F. Johansson, Über das griech. *κ*-Perfect, in: Beitr. zur griech. Sprachk., Upsala 1890, pp. 33 ff. F. W. Walker, Greek Aorists and Perfects in *-κα*, Class. Review V 446 ff.

Italic. A. Harkness, On the Formation of the Tenses for Completed Action in the Latin Finite Verb, Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc. V 14 ff., VI 5 ff. Platzer, Die Lehre von den lat. Perfectis und Supinis, Neubrandenburg 1840. Lattmann, Das Gesetz der Perfect- und Supinbildung im Lateinischen, Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialw. N. F. II (1868) pp. 94 ff. M. Kinke, Die Zeitwörter der latein. 3. Conjugation in ihren Perfectformen, Heiligenstadt 1843. Schleicher, Der Perfectstamm im Lateinischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. VIII 399 f. Fr. Müller, Über das lat. Perfectum, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXVI 225 ff. Corssen, Zur Bildung des Perfectums, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk., pp. 503 ff. W. Deecke, De reduplicato linguae Latinae praeterito, Leipz. 1869. E. Frohwein, Die Perfectbildungen auf *vi* bei Cicero, ein Beitrag zum Sprachgebrauch C.'s und zugleich ein Supplement zu F. Neue's Formenlehre, Gera 1874. L. Havet, Les prétendus parfaits en *-āvi*, Mém. Soc. lingu. VI 39. W. Schulze, Das lat. *v*-Perfectum, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 266 ff. G. Curtius, Über das lat. Perfect auf *vi* und *ui*, Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1885 pp. 421 ff. P. Regnaud, Les parfaits composés en latin, Lyon 1882. L. Scheffler, De perfecti in *vi* exeuntis formis apud

Gr. εἰδ-ώς O.C.Sl. *sta-vŭ* from √*stā-* 'stand' (II § 136 pp. 438 ff.).

Except in Armenian and Balto-Slavonic, the pr. Idg. Perfect remained in all branches of the language a large and comprehensive group. It was least changed in Aryan, Keltic, and Germanic. In Greek it was mixt up with a κ-formation, and in Italic with a whole series of non-perfect tense forms.

The proethnic perfect forms may be divided into two groups according to the stem.

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Keltic. Windisch, Das reduplicierte Perfectum im Irischen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 201 ff.

Germanic. W. Scherer, Die reduplicierten Präterita, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymnas. XXIV 295 ff., and Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. XIX 154 ff., 390 ff. Sievers, Die reduplicierten Präterita, Paul-Braune's Beitr. I 504 ff. Pokorny, Über die reduplicierten Praeterita der germ. Sprachen und ihre Umwandlung in ablautende, Landskron 1874. Holthausen, Die reduplicierenden Verba im German., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 618 ff. G. Burghauser, Die Bildung des germ. Perfectstammes vornehmlich vom Standpunkte der idg. Vocalforschung, Prag 1887. Ljungstedt, Anmärkningar till det starka preteritum i germanska språk, Upsala 1887. R. E. Ottmann, Die reduplicierten Praeterita in den german. Sprachen, Alzey 1890. G. Holz, Die im Got. noch reduplicierten Perfecta, in: Urgerm. *ē* und Verwandtes (Leipz. 1890) pp. 21 ff. H. Lichtenberger, De verbis quae in vetustissima Germanorum lingua reduplicatum praeteritum exhibeant, Nancy 1891. J. Grimm, Die ahd. Praeterita, Germania III 147 ff. J. Hoffory, Die reduplicierten Praeterita im Altnord., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 593 ff. C. Pauli, Über die deutschen Verba praeteritopraesentia, Stettin 1863. Osthoff, Das praeteritopraesens *mag*, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XV 211 ff. Aufrecht, Eine altnord. Aoristform, Kuhn's Zeitschr. I 474 ff. Von Knoblauch, Die germ. Perfecte auf *r*, *ibid.* I 573 ff. Schweizer-Sidler, *r* im altdeutsch. Praeteritum, *ibid.* II 400. Müllenhoff, Angebliche Aoriste oder Perfecta auf *r* im Altnord. und Hochd., Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Altert. XII 397 ff. Zarncke, Zu den reduplicierten Praeteriten, Paul-Braune's Beitr. XV 350 ff. J. von Fierlinger, Die 2. ps. sg. perf. starker Flexion im Westgerm., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 430). Works on the weak Germanic Preterite are given under § 907.

(1) Reduplicated Stem, with *o* in the root syllable of the 3^{rd} sing. indic. act., if the root belonged to the *e*-series. E. g. **ĝe-ĝon-*, **ĝe-ĝn-* **ĝe-ĝn̥-* from √ *ĝen-* 'gignere': Gr. *γέ-γον-ε γέ-γα-μεν*, Skr. *ja-jā́n-a ja-jñ-úr*.

(2) Unreduplicated Stem. Sometimes the ablaut is the same as in (1), as **u̯oi̯d-* **u̯id-* from √ *u̯ei̯d-*: Gr. *οἶδ-ε ἴδ-μεν*, Skr. *vḗd-a vid-má*. Sometimes different, as with *ē* in roots of the *e*-series; e. g. **mēd-* from √ *med-* 'measure': O.Ir. *ro mīd--ar* Goth. *mēt-um*; **sēd-* from √ *sed-* 'sit': Goth. *sēt-um* Lith. *sė́d-ęs*; **sēĝh-* from √ *seĝh-* 'conquer, hold': Skr. *sāh-vás-*.

In perfect stems like **ĝe-ĝon-* or **u̯oi̯d-* the *o*-grade prevailed in the 2^{nd} and 3^{rd} sing. Indic. Active (*οἶσϑα οἶδε*), and, in the opinion of most scholars, the 1^{st} sing. as well (*οἶδα*); the *e*-grade in the Conjunctive (*εἴδ-ο-μεν*) Skr. *ta-tán-a-n*), and, according to some scholars, in the 1^{st} sing. Indic. Active too (*πέφευγ-α*); the weak grade in the plural and dual Active, and right through the Indicative Middle (*γέ-γα-μεν ἔ-ιχ-τον τέ-τραπ--ται* Skr. *ni-ny-úr ni-ny-ḗ*), and in the Optative (Skr. *va-vr̥t-yā-t* Goth. *vaúrþ-ei-ma*). To *o* in **ĝe-ĝon-e* answers *ō* in **se-sō-* (Gr. *ἀφ-έωκε* Goth. *sai-sō*) from √ *sē-* 'send forth, sow'.

Remark. Considering that the ending of the 1^{st} sing. indic. act. was Idg. *-a*, while that of the 3^{rd} sing. was Idg. *-e*, there is a difficulty in the difference between Skr. 1^{st} sing. *ja-ján-a* and 3^{rd} sing. *ja-jā́n-a*. I have identified *jajā́na* with *γέγονε* (I § 78 p. 69). De Saussure (Mém. sur le syst. prim. 72 f.) and Osthoff (Perfect, 61) equate *jajána* = Idg. **ĝeĝena*, on which view *γέγονα* would be due to levelling and should be **γεγενα*; and as a matter of fact no difficulty worth mentioning faces this view. From the standpoint of those scholars who deny that Idg. *o* becoms Ar. *ā* in open syllables, no explanation of Skr. *jajā́na* has been found which is in the smallest degree satisfactory (see the last attempt in Bechtel, Die Hauptprobleme der idg. Lautlehre, 57, 165); cp. § 790 p. 322 on the *ā* of *bhāraya-ti*. It may be observed in passing that the means lately used by J. Schmidt to combat my theory of this Aryan *ā* are very little calculated to help in solving the point (see Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 472 footnote). A long list of authorities and ex cathedra statements will never decide the matter; this can only be done by constant and scrupulous examination of the facts. Perhaps the question may be helped to a conclusion by the study of Indo-Germanic accent which has lately been taken up.

§ 844. When the root ends in a consonant, some part at least, large or small, of the indicative forms in all the different languages have a short vowel before those personal endings which begin with a consonant.

Sanskrit. *-i-* in 2nd sing. act. *ás-i-tha ru-rôj-i-tha* (but *vét-tha ta-tán-tha*), 1st pl. act. *pa-pt-i-má* (but *yu-yuj-má vid-má*), 2nd sing. indic. mid. *ūc-i-ṣé ja-jñ-i-ṣé* (but *da-dṛk-ṣé*), 3rd pl. mid. *ja-jñ-i-ré*, to which answers Avest. *vaoz-i-rem*, cp. Skr. partic. act. *pa-pt-i-vás-* (but *da-dṛś-vás- vid-vás-*).[1]) In Vedic this *i* is found only when the preceding syllable is long. In Avestic, *-ama* in *daiđy-ama* beside pass. *di-đaę-iti* (§ 537 p. 97).

Greek shows *-α-* in the 1st and 2nd pl. *τε-τράφ-α-μεν τε-τράφ-α-τε* (but *ἴδ-μεν εἰλήλουθ-μεν ἴστε*). Compare partic. *πεπτώς* for **πι-πτ-α-ϝώς*, answering to Skr. *pa-pt-i-vás-* (but *εἰδ-(ϝ)ώς*), and the mid. *πέ-πτ-α-μαι* beside *πετ-ά-σσαι*. On *-ας* beside *-θα* in the 2nd sing., see p. 386.

Latin. 1st pl. *tu-tud-i-mus sēd-i-mus*.

Old Irish. 1st pl. *ce-chn-ammar* 2nd pl. *ce-chn-aid*.

Gothic. 1st pl. *vit-um sēt-um skaí-skáid-um* 2nd pl. *vit-u-þ sēt-u-þ skaí-skáid-u-þ*.

It is hard to decide when or how this intermediate vowel was to be found in the various perfect schemes of the parent language (for the same scheme did not do duty for all perfects). Perhaps then, as in the Veda, the quantity of the preceding syllable had something to do with it.

What complicates the problem greatly is the suspicion that so many forms may have been changed by analogy. In Aryan, Greek, and Italic the question arises whether forms with the intermediate vowel were not influenced by forms from a root ending in a long *ā*-vowel, as Skr. *ta-sthi-má* Gr. *ἕ-στα-μεν* Lat. *ste-ti-mus* (for *stetimus* cp. however § 869). In Greek, Italic, Keltic, and Germanic the 3rd pl. has an *nt*-suffix, Gr.

1) I do not here consider the *a* of the 2nd and 3rd dual active *vidáthur vidátur*, because it may have been identical with that of the 2nd and 3rd pl. *vid-á* and 3rd sing. *véd-a* (§ 1038).

-αντι -ατι (mid. *-αται*), Umbr.-Osc. *-ens*, O.Ir. *-atar* and Goth. *-un*; and it is quite possible that the vowel of these endings passed on to other persons. In Greek, there was mutual attraction between the perfect and *s*-aorist, because one or two personal endings were the same, *τέτροφ-α -ε* having the same suffixes as *ἔδειξ-α -ε* (beyond doubt *τέτροφ-ας* follows *ἔδειξ-ας*, and in later Doric *γέγον-αν* follows *ἔδειξ-αν*); then which came first, *τετράφ-α-μεν -ατε* or *ἐδείξ-αμεν -ατε*? In Italic, again, as early as the proethnic stage, the old perfect had got mixt up with thematic aorist. If, for instance, *i* was the thematic vowel in *fu-i-mus tetig-i-mus dīx-i-mus* as well as with *fu-i-t tetig-i-t dīx-i-t* (cp. pres. *ag-i-mus*), yet it is uncertain whether the *-i-* of Lat. *-i-mus*, when used with consonantal roots, was ever anything else but Idg. *-o-*. Even in Keltic the question meets us whether the plural forms had not the thematic vowel.

Since Avest. *daiđy-ama* cannot be kept apart from optative forms like *jəm-y-ama* (see § 1001), to assume an Idg. suffix *-m̥me* as variant of *-me* in the perfect seems almost inevitable; and therefore I am inclined to refer to this the Gr. *-αμεν* in *τετράφ-αμεν* etc., and the Goth. *-um* in *skaískáid-um* etc.; Lat. *-imus* and O.Ir. *-ammar* may also in some cases represent the same. But again the conjecture offers itself that the difference between Skr. *papt-i-má* and *yuyuj-má*, between Gr. *τετρά-φαμεν* and *εἰλήλουθ-μεν*, represents a difference of structure like that which exists in Skr. *rud-i-más* (Class IX §§ 572 ff.) and *uś-más* (Class I §§ 492 ff.). It may be that once **papt-amá *sazd-amá* (like Avest. *daiđy-ama*) and *tasthi-má* (= *ἕστα-μεν*) *dadhi-má* existed side by side, and that the former were transformed to match the latter and became *paptimá sēdimá*. But proved this cannot be, not even by the Vedic law of quantity. There is always the possibility that the parent language itself possessed perfect stems like **pe-ptə-* (and thus 1st pl. **pe-ptə-me*).

§ **845.** The preterite connected with the Idg. perfect — pluperfect as it is called — which is only found with certainty

in Aryan and Greek, shows the same personal endings as other augmented preterites. Like the conjunctive and optative of the perfect, this cannot be distinguisht from the corresponding forms of our V[th] Present Class; see § 485 p. 39, § 555 p. 108.

In the same languages the pluperfect sometimes has thematic inflexion. These forms are to be compared with the corresponding forms of Present Class VI (§§ 561 ff.).

Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

§ 846. (*A*) Reduplicated Perfect.

With roots beginning in a consonant, the syllable of reduplication originally ended in *-e*, no matter what ablaut series the root might belong to. Examples: **ĝe-ĝon-* **ĝe-ĝn-* Gr. γέ-γον-ε O.Ir. *ro gēnar* (for **ge-gn-*) Skr. *ja-jā́n-a* from √ *ĝen-*, **se-stā-* **se-stə-* Gr. ἕ-στα-μεν Lat. *ste-ti-mus* Skr. *ta-sthāú* from √ *stā-*. But even then there were not lacking perfect forms with *ē* in the reduplicator, which one may call the Intensive Perfect: Gr. ἐγή-γερ-μαι Skr. *jā-gā́r-a* from √ *ger-*. See §§ 471, 472 pp. 15 and 17. The treatment of the initial root-consonants in the reduplicator has been already described, §§ 475 and 476, pp. 20 ff.

It cannot be proved for the parent language, that in roots beginning with a vowel, an *e* (or some other short vowel), serving for the reduplicator, contracted with the root-initial (as some have inferred from Lat. *ēd-ī* Goth. *fr-ēt* Skr. *ād-a* from √ *ed-*, Gr. ἦχα O.Icel. *ōk* Skr. *āj-a* from √ *aĝ-*). It is very likely indeed that all these forms belong to the unreduplicated perfect type. See § 848.

√ *der-* 'split, tear, flay', act. 3[rd] sing. **de-dór-e* 1[st] pl. **de-dr̥-mé* mid. 1[st] sing. **de-dr-ái̯* (conj. **de-dér-e-t(i)* opt. **de-dr-i̯ḗ-t* or **de-dr-ii̯ē-t*): Skr. *dadā́ra* mid. *dadrē* partic. *da-dr̥-vás-*, Gr. δέδαρται (Goth. *ga-tar*). √ *smer-* 'remember': Skr. *sa-smār-a*, Lat. adj. *memor* derived from a perf. **me-mor-ī* (§ 476 p. 23). Skr. *kšar-* Gr. φθερ- 'to cause to run off or

disappear' (§ 812 p. 348): Skr. *ca-kṣār-a*, Gr. *δι-έφθορε ἐ-φθαρ-ται*. Skr. *śa-śār-a* 'he broke up, crushed' pl. *śa-śr-ur* (gramm.) mid. *śa-śr-ē* (O.Ir. *do-ro-chair* 'cecidit'). √ *ger-* 'swallow': Skr. *ja-gār-a*, Gr. *βέ-βρω-ται* (*βρω-* = **gr̄-*). √ *per-* 'bring, bring forth, give a share' (Lith. *per-iù* 'I brood, incubate, hatch'): Gr. *πέ-πρω-ται*, Lat. *pe-per-ī* for **pe-par-ī* (*πρω- par-* = **pr̄-*). √ *tel-* 'carry, bear': Gr. *τέ-τλα-μεν*, Lat. *te-tul-ī*. √ *ĝen-* gignere': Skr. *ja-jā́n-a ja-jñ-úr ja-jñ-ḗ*, Gr. *γέ-γον-ε γέ-γα-μεν*, O.Ir. mid. *ro gēnar* (*gēn-* for **gegn-*). √ *men-* 'think, mean, regard': Skr. 3rd dual mid. *ma-mn-ā́tē* (this may be from stem *mn-ā-* as said in § 850), opt. *ma-man-yā-t*, Gr. *μέ-μον-ε μέ-μα-μεν*, Lat. *me-min-ī* imper. *me-men-tō* (= Gr. *με-μά-τω*), O.Ir. mid. *do-mēnar* instead of pr. Kelt. **me-mn-* (Goth. *man mun-un*, Lith. part. *mìn-ęs*). √ *ghen-* 'strike': Skr. *ja-ghā́n-a ja-ghn-ḗ* conj. *ja-ghán-a-t* part. *ja-ghan-vā́s- ja-ghn-i-vas-*, Gr. *πέ-φα-ται*, O.Ir. 1st sing. *ro ge-gon*. √ *ten-* 'stretch': Skr. *ta-tā́n-a ta-tn-ē ta-tan-ē* (*tan-* = **tn̥n-*) conj. *ta-tan-a-t*, Gr. *τέ-τα-ται*, O.Lat. *te-tin-ī*. Skr. *kṣan-* Gr. *κτεν-* 'to wound, kill': Skr. *ca-kṣā́ṇ-a ca-kṣaṇ-ē* (gramm.), Gr. *ἀπ-έκτονε*. √ *gem-* 'go': Skr. *ja-gā́m-a ja-gm-úr ja-gm-ḗ* Avest. opt. *ja-γm-yā-þ* Skr. part. *ja-gan-vā́s-* (I § 199 Rem. 2 p. 168, § 225 p. 193), Gr. *βέ-βα-μεν* (Goth. *qam*, Lith. *gìm-ęs* 'come into the world' partic.). √ *k̑lei̯-* 'bend, incline': Skr. *śi-śrā́y-a śi-śriy-ḗ*, Gr. *κέ-κλι-ται*. √ *lei̯-* 'linere': Skr. *li-ly-ur li-ly-ē*, O.Ir. 3rd sing. *ro li-l* 3rd pl. *ro le-l-dar*. √ *k̑leu̯-* 'hear': Skr. *śu-śrā́v-a śu-śruv-ḗ* conj. *śu-śrav-a-t* opt. *śu-śru-yā́-t śu-śrū-yā́-t*, Gr. imper. *κέ-κλυ-θι* beside *κέ-κλυκα* (see § 557 p. 109), O.Ir. 1st sing. *ro chuala* for **cōla* **cu-clov-a* Mid.Cymr. *ci-gleu*. √ *qi̯eu̯-* 'to move, shift': Skr. *cu-cyuv-ḗ* Gr. *ἔ-σσυ-ται*. √ *ĝheu̯-* 'pour': Skr. *ju-hā́v-a ju-huv-ur ju-hv-ē ju-huv-ē*, Gr. *κέ-χυ-ται*. √ *pleu̯-* 'to swim, float': Skr. *pu-pluv-ur pu-pluv-ē*, Gr. *πέ-πλυ-ται*. √ *dheu̯-* 'move violently, shake, take hold': Skr. *du-dhā́v-a du-dhuv-ē* opt. mid. *du-dhuv-ī-ta*, Gr. *τέ-θυ-ται*. √ *bheu̯-* 'become, be': Avest. *ba-vāv-a* 3rd pl. *bā-bv-arᵉ* Skr. 3rd pl. *ba-bhūv-úr* opt. *ba-bhū-yā́-t* partic. *ba-bhū-vā́s-* (*-ūv-* instead of *-uu̯-* as in *á-bhūv-am* § 497 p. 56 f.; with *ba-bhū́v-a ba-bhū-tha* compare *á-bhū-t*

Gr. *ἔ-φῡ*, loc. cit., and fut. Avest. *bū-šyę-iti* Gr. *φῡ́-σω* § 748 p. 271), Gr. *πε-φύ-ᾱσι πε-φυ-ώς* (O.Ir. 3rd sing. *ro bōi*, Lith. *bù-vęs* O.C.Sl. *by-vŭ*). √ *derk̑-* 'see': Skr. *da-dárś-a da-dr̥ś-úr da-dr̥ś-é*, Gr. *δέ-δορκ-ε* (O.Ir. *ad-con-dairc*). √ *u̯erĝ-* 'work': Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *vā-verᵉz-ōi*, Gr. *ἔ-οργ-ε*. √ *merd-* 'crush': Skr. *ma-mard-a ma-mr̥d-ur ma-mr̥d-ē*, Lat. *me-mord-ī me-mord-i-mus momordī momordimus*. √ *ters-* 'be dry, athirst': Skr. *tā-tr̥ṣ-úr* part. mid. *ta-tr̥ṣ-āṇá-s* (Goth. *ga-þars -þaúrs-un* opt. 1st pl. *-þaúrs-ei-ma*). √ *dhers-* 'be bold': Skr. *da-dhárṣ-a dā-dhr̥ṣ-ur* conj. *da-dhárṣ-a-t* (Goth. *ga-dars -daúrs-un*). √ *u̯ert-* 'turn, give a certain direction or inclination to': Skr. *va-várt-a va-vr̥t-úr va-vr̥t-é vā-várt-a vā-vr̥t-úr vā-vr̥t-é* (Goth. *varþ vaúrþ-um*). *kl-ep-* 'to steal' (§ 797 Rem. p. 334): Gr. *κέ-κλοφ-ε* part. Messen. *κε-κλεβ-ώς* mid. *κέ-κλεπ-ται* (Goth. *hlaf*). √ *bhendh-* 'bind': Skr. *ba-bándh-a ba-bandh-ur* (Goth. *band bund-un*). √ *dei̯k̑-* 'show': Skr. *di-dḗś-a di-diś-ē*, Umbr. *de-rsic-ust* for **de-dic-* (I § 369 p. 279) fut. perf. 'dixerit' (Goth. *ga-táih -taíh-un*). √ *bhei̯d-* 'split': Skr. *bi-bhḗd-a bi-bhid-úr bi-bhid-ē* (Goth. *báit bit-un*). √ *lei̯q-* 'leave': Skr. *ri-rḗc-a ri-ric-é* opt. *ri-ric-yā-t*, Gr. *λέ-λοιπ-ε λέ-λειπ-ται* (Goth. *láihv laíhv-un* O.H.G. *lēh liw-un*). √ *sei̯q-* 'pour out, strain, filter': Skr. *si-ṣḗc-a si-ṣic-ē* Ved. *si-sic-ur si-sic-ē* § 475 p. 20 (O.H.G. *sēh sig-un*). √ *ĝeu̯s-* 'taste, try, enjoy': Skr. *ju-jṓṣ-a ju-juṣ-ur ju-juṣ-é*, Gr. *γέ-γευ-μαι*, O.Ir. 3rd sing. *do-roigu* (Goth. *káus kus-un* O.H.G. *kōs kur-un* opt. 2nd pl. *kur-ī-t*). √ *bheu̯dh-* 'wake, observe': Skr. *bu-bōdh-a bu-budh-ē* conj. *bu-bōdh-a-s*, Gr. *πέ-πυσται* (Goth. *ana-báuþ -bud-un*). √ *bheu̯q-bheu̯g-* 'to bend': Skr. *bu-bhōj-a* (gramm.), Gr. *πέ-φευγ-α πε-φυγ-μένο-ς* (Goth. *báug bug-un*). √ *jeu̯g-* 'iungere': Skr. *yu-yṓj-a yu-yuj-ma yu-yuj-é*, Gr. *ἔ-ζευκ-ται*. √ *reu̯d-* 'weep, lament': Skr. *ru-rōd-a ru-rud-ur* (O.H.G. *rōȥ ruȥȥ-un*). √ *su̯ep-* 'sleep': Skr. *su-ṣvāp-a su-ṣup-ur* (O.Icel. *svaf*). √ *u̯eĝh-* 'vehere': Skr. *u-vāh-a ūh-ur* (Goth. *ga-vag*, Lith. *vēž-ęs* O.C.Sl. *vez-ŭ*). √ *pet-* 'fly, shoot through the air, fall': Skr. *pa-pát-a pa-pt-úr* (*pēt-ur*) part. *papt-i-vás-*, Gr. *πεπτώς* doubtless for **πε-πτα-Ϝώς*. √ *sed-* 'sit': Skr. *sa-sád-a sēd-ur*

for **sa-zd-*, Lat. *sēd-ī* for **se-zd-*? (Goth. *sat*). √ *dhē-* 'set, place, lay': Skr. *da-dhāú da-dhá-tha da-dhi-má da-dh-úr da-dh-ḗ*, Gr. τέ-θε-ται, Lat. *crēdidī* (I § 507 Rem. p. 372), Gall. *de-de* 'dedit' or 'posuit' (O.Sax. *de-du-n* opt. *de-d-i*? § 886). √ *sē-* 'send forth, throw, sow': Gr. εἶται for *ἕ-ε-ται Dor. ἀφ-έω-‑ται with ω from the active (ἀφ-έωκα), Goth. *sai-sō sai-sō-un*. √ *dō-* 'give': Skr. *da-dāú da-di-má dad-ḗ*, Gr. 3rd pl. Boeot. ἀπο-δεδόανθι mid. δέ-δο-ται, Lat. *de-d-ī*. √ *pō-* 'drink': Skr. *pa-pāú pa-pi-má pa-p-ḗ*, Gr. πέ-πο-ται (act. πέ-πωκα), Lat. *bibī* instead of **pe-p-ī* (following *bi-bō*). √ *stā-* 'stand': Skr. *ta-sthāú ta-sthi-má ta-sthḗ*, Gr. ἕ-στα-μεν καθ-έσταται, Lat. *ste-t-ī ste-ti-mus*. √ *s̑khai̯t- s̑khai̯d-* 'scindere' (§ 521 p. 85): Skr. *ci-chḗd-a ci-chid-ē*, Lat. *sci-cid-ī*, Goth. *skai-skáiþ skai-‑skáid-un*. √ *(s)tau̯d-* 'knock': Skr. *tu-tṓd-a tu-tud-úr*, Lat. *tu-tud-ī tu-tūd-ī*, Goth. *stai-stáut stai-stáut-un*. Ital. Kelt. *kan-* 'sing': Lat. *ce-cin-ī* for **ce-can-ī*, O.Ir. 1st sing. *ce-chan*. √ *dau̯-* 'burn': Skr. *du-dāv-a* (gramm.), Gr. δέ-δη(ϝ)-ε (η = pr. Gr. ᾱ) δι-δαυ-μένο-ς. Skr. *śad-* Gr. καδ- 'to distinguish oneself': Skr. *śā-śad-úr* mid. 1st pl. *śā-śad-mahē*, Gr. κε-καδ-‑μένο-ς (Pindar), Hom. κέκασσαι κεκάσμεθα. √ *pāk̑- pāĝ-* 'make firm': Gr. Dor. πέ-πᾱγ-ε, Lat. *pe-pig-ī* for **pe-pag-ī*. √ *plāq-* *plāg-* 'strike': Gr. Dor. πέ-πλᾱγ-ε, Goth. *fai-flōk*. Skr. *ja-hlād-ē* (gramm.) from *hlād-* 'to refresh, give life to', Gr. Dor. κέ-χλᾱδ-ε 'swells, becomes luxuriant'.

Skr. *ān-áśa* 'he desired', *ān-aś-ma ān-aś-úr ān-aś-ḗ*, opt. *ān-aś-yā-t*, O.Ir. *t-ān-aic* 'he came' 1st sing. *t-ān-ac* (*-c* = *-nc-*, I § 212 p. 178, § 513 p. 375), cp. aor. Gr. ἐν-εγκ-εῖν, § 470 p. 15. Variant Skr. *ānāś-a* Gr. κατήνοκα · κατενήνοχα (cp. ποδ-ηνεκ-ής 'reaching to the feet'). On Skr. *āś-a* see § 851; on Gr. ἐν-ήνοχ-ε ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται, § 858.

§ 847. Perfect forms from Extended Roots.

Root + suffix *-ā-*, *-ē-* *-ō-* (§§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.). Skr. *ji-jyāú*, Gr. Ion. βε-βίη-ται (βε-βίηκε) from **g(i)i̯-ā-*, √ *gei̯-* 'compel, subdue'. Skr. *ma-mnāu* (gramm.), Gr. Dor. μέ-μνᾱ-ται from *mn-ā-* √ *men-* 'think, mean'. Skr. *ja-glāu*, Gr. βέ-βλη-ται (βέ-βληκε) from *gl-ē-* √ *gel-* 'fall' (cp. § 587 p. 127). Skr. *va-vāu*,

Goth. *vaí-vō* from *u̯-ē-* √ *au̯-* 'blow'. Skr. *ja-jñāú*, Gr. ἔ-γνω-σ-ται with σ added later (ἔ-γνωκε), O.Ir. *ad-gēn* (§ 877) from *ĝn-ō-* √ *ĝen-* 'know'. On the Sanskrit conjugation of these perfects, see § 850.

Root + *s*-suffix (§§ 655 ff. pp. 189 ff.). *ten-s-* 'pull, draw': Skr. 3rd pl. mid. *ta-tas-rē* (Goth. *at-þans -þuns-un*). *tu̯ei̯-s-* 'shake': Skr. *ti-tviṣ-ē*, Gr. σέ-σεισ-ται.

Root + *dh*-suffix (§§ 688 ff. pp. 218 ff.). *rē-dh-*: Skr. *ra-rā́dh-a ra-rādh-úr* (pres. *rādh-nō-ti* 'finishes successfully, makes all right'), Goth. *ga-raírōþ -raírōdun* (pres. *ga-rēda* 'I consider, busy myself').

In the same way, the present *sk*-suffix in seen in Skr. *pa-prach-a pa-prach-ur* and Lat. *po posc-ī* for **poporcscī* from √ *prek̑-* 'ask'; beside these we have Umbr. pepurkurent 'rogaverint', Mid.Ir. mid. *im-chom-arc-air*, Goth. *frah* (§ 670 p. 203). Probably perfect forms with *sk* are not so old as the parent language.

§ 848. (*B*) Unreduplicated Perfect.

(1) First comes a group in which the vowel gradation was the same as in the Reduplicated Perfect. No perfect of this kind can now be recognised in particular forms of Italic, Keltic, or Balto-Slavonic; and in Germanic, only with those roots which do not belong to the *e*-series.

Skr. *vḗd-a vid-má* Avest. Gath. *vaẹd-ā*, Gr. οἶδ-ε ἴδ-μεν from √ *u̯ei̯d-* 'know'.1) Skr. *ī́ś-ē* (and *ī́ṣ-ṭē*) Avest. *is-ẹ* 'has got something into one's power, has power over', Goth. *áih* 'has' pl. *áig-un* (cp. § 888). Skr. *sarpa* 'he crept' (*upa-sarpa*) beside *sa-sarpa*, *viś-i-vás-* beside *vi-vḗś-a vi-viś-ē* from *viś-* 'to enter', *ni-ṣidhur* beside *ni-ṣiṣē̆dha* 'he warded off, forbade' *-ṣiṣidhur*. Gr. Lesb. Ion. οἶκ-ε 'is like' οἴκ-α-μεν beside ἔοικε for *ϝε-ϝοικ-ε, Hom. ἀμφι-(ϝ)αχυῖα beside ἰάχω 'I cry out' for *ϝι-ϝαχω (§ 552 p. 107).

1) Skr. *vivḗda* 'he found out' does not ask for consideration here, although it comes from the same root. It probably first arose when the root had become differentiated into two — *vid-* 'know' and *vid-* 'find' (pres. *vindá-ti vittḗ*).

(2) Next these I place a number of forms which perhaps had *e* for the root vowel in the parent language itself. Gr. Hom. ἔϱχ-αται ἔϱχ-ατο from (Ϝ)έϱγω 'I shut up, shut off'.[1]) Gort. κατα-Ϝελμένο-ς 'collected'[2]) from *Ϝελ-νω Lesb. ἀπ-έλλω etc., see § 611 p. 150; parallel reduplicated stem Hom. ἐέλμεϑα, Pind. plpf. ἐόλει. ἐπί-τευκται· ἐν ἐπιτυχίᾳ ἐστί (Ms. ἔστω) Hesych. beside ἐπι-τυγχάνω; but redupl. τέ-τευχ-ε. Hom. δέχ-αται from δέχομαι 'I receive'; but redupl. δε-δεκ-ται. Compare further Curtius, Verb II² 163 ff.; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.² pp. 480 f. Skr. *yam-ur yam-átur* beside *ya-yām-a yēm-úr* from *yam-* 'cohibere'. *darś-i-vas-* beside *da-dárś-a da-dṛś-úr da-dṛś-i-vas-* from *darś-* 'to see'. *ōk-i-vás-* beside *u-vṓc-a ūc-úr* from *uc-* (√ *euq-*) 'to take pleasure in'. *skambh-ur skambh-áthur* beside *ca-skambh-a ca-skabh-āná-s* from *skambh-* 'to support'. *śąs-ur śąs-irē* beside *śa-śąs-a śa-śąs-ur* (instead of **śa-śas-ur*) from *śąs-* (*k̑ens-*) 'to prophesy, praise'. *takṣ-ur takṣ-atur* beside *ta-tákṣ-a ta-takṣ-úr* from *takṣ-* 'to fashion'. *sah-vás-* (Rig-V., Pada text) beside *sā-sáh-a sēh-i-ma sa-sah-ē* from *sah-* 'to subdue' (cp. *sāh-vás-* under 3). In forms like *darś-i-vas-*, the strong grade in the root may be explained as due to the analogy of the sing. indic. active, as in reduplicated forms like *śa-śąs-ur*. But an argument for the formation of the whole group from a stem which is not really perfect to begin with is found in the partic. *vi-jān-úṣ-as* Rig-V. x 271, which must be derived from *jñā-* 'to know' and was modelled upon the present *jānā́-ti* (§ 598 p. 141 f.), and in the perfects belonging to reduplicated present stems, such as *sīd-atur* (from *sī́d-a-ti*), *vivak-vás-* (from *ví-vak-ti*), *didās-i-tha* (from *dí-dāsa-ti*), *nṓnāv-a* (from *nṓ-nav-ī-ti*), see § 850; compare *viś-i-vás-*, cited under (1), beside pres. *viś-á-ti* and *dhi-ṣē dhirē* beside aor. *á-dhi-ta*, also Gr. ἄγ-υια 'way, road' (sc. ὁδός) beside ἦχα ἦγμαι and pres. ἄγω.

1) Whether ἐέϱχατο is augmented or reduplicated is doubtful.
2) Wrongly read -Ϝηλμέ-νος by Baunack.

Remark 1. Skr. *sa-sah-ē* (beside *sēh-*) may have been formed from the stem seen in *sah-vás-*, just as *sa-sāh-ē* was from that of *sāh-vás-* (see below). Again, there is no need to ascribe the re-formation *śa-śas-ur* instead of **śa-śas-ur* to the influence of the singular alone (*śa-śás-a*), cp. § 852. For Greek, too, we should have one more point in favour of the explanation of the secondary vocalism of the root in forms like *ἔ-ελ-μαι* (instead of **ϝε-ϝαλ-μαι*), cp. § 859.

(3) Forms with *ē-* in the root-syllable, from roots of the *e*-series ending in a single consonant; the connexion with present stems having similar vocalism is obvious (§ 480 Rem. p. 28 f., § 494 p. 28). O.Ir. mid. *ro mīd-ar* 'iudicavi', Goth. pl. *mēt-un* opt. 1st pl. *mēt-ei-ma* from √ *med-* 'measure', cp. Gr. pres. *μήδ-ε-ται*. Goth. pl. *sēt-un*, Lith. partic. *sėd-ęs* from √ *sed-* 'sit' (cp. § 494 p. 54, § 859 on Gr. *ἧσ-ται*, whose initial is perhaps to be explained by supposing that **sēd-* was represented in Greek), cp. Lith. pres. *sėd-mi*. Skr. *sāh-vás-* from √ *seg̑h-* 'to subdue', cp. *sák-ṣva sáh-a-ti sāḍhá-s* (= **sēg̑h* + *tō-*); *dāś-vás- dāś-i-vás-* from √ *dek̑-* 'honour, prize' (*daśas-yá-ti* Lat. *dec-us*), cp. *dāṣ-ṭi* Gr. *δηκ-νύμενο-ς δηκ-ανάομαι* (§ 621 p. 158, § 639 p. 178); I regard *sa-sā-hē da-dāś-i-ma* as new forms in place of **sāh-ē* **dāś-i-ma*.

Since Latin *sēd-* in *sēd-ī sēd-i-mus* can be regularly derived from **se-zd-* (cp. *sīdō* for **si-zd-ō* I § 594 p. 450), it is reasonable to assume that *lēg-ī vēn-ī* are simply cast in the same mould by analogy: just as in Sanskrit *pēt-úr sēc-ē* and others must really be looked upon as coined on the analogy of *sēd- yēm-* (§ 852). On the other hand, *sēd-ī* can also be connected with Goth. *sēt-un* Lith. *sėd-ęs*, and *vēn-ī* with Goth. *qēm-un*; and this theory has the advantage that it becomes unnecessary to suppose that all *ē*-perfect forms from roots of the *e*-series with initial consonant are due to the analogy of the single form *sēd-ī*.[1]) However compare § 841 Rem., p. 378.

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1) After what has been said on Umbr. *ander-sistu* in § 553 p. 107, the question would be at once decided if one such *ē*-perfect could be found in Umbrian or Samnitic. For Umbr.-Osc. *sēd-* is probably not derived from *sezd-*.

√ *u̯egh-* 'vehere' (pr. Ar. weak stem **u̯a-u̯žh-*): Skr. *va-vāh-a* and *u-vāh-a ūh-úr ūh-é*, Avest. 3rd pl. mid. injunct. (used as plpf.) *vaoz-i-rem.* √ *teq-* 'run, fall headlong': Skr. *ta-tāk-a* (gramm.), Avest. part. *ta-þk-uš-*: cp. O.Ir. *ro tāich* 'fugit' pl. *ro tāch-atur.* √ *sed-* 'sit'. Skr. *sa-sád-a sa-sát-tha sēd-i-ma sēd-úr* (*sēd-* for **sa-zd-*, I § 591 p. 447), Avest. opt. *ha-zd-yā-þ.* √ *seq-* 'be with, follow': Skr. *sa-śc-i-ma sa-śc-ur.* √ *dhē-* 'place' *dō-* 'give': Avest. 3rd sing. *da-đa* Gath. *da-dā-þa* mid. *daiđę*, Skr. *da-dhāú da-dāú* etc., see § 846 p. 390.

√ *es-* 'be': Skr. *ás-a ās-úr*, Avest. *åŋh-a åŋh-ar°*: cp. Gr. ἦσ-θα, § 848 p. 394.

§ 850. Perfect Forms derived from an Extended Root, or from a Present Stem with some characteristic attacht (Suffix or Determinative). Compare § 847.

From Roots + *-ā-*, *-ē-* or *-ō-*, only in Sanskrit. These Skr. perfects, of which *ji-jyāú ma-mnāu ja-glāu va-vāu ja-jñāú* are represented in the European languages (see *loc. cit.*), have the *ā* only in the strong stem; being in this unlike the Present, where *ā* runs through all the persons (e. g. *dr-ā-ti dr-ā-nti* §§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.). The reason why in their weak forms they followed Perfects with root gradation was that so many of the perfect endings began in a sonant. As we have *ja-jñ-é* (beside *ja-jñāú*), *ya-y-á ya-y-ur* (beside *ya-yāú ya-yá-tha*, *y-ā-* 'to go'), *da-dr-ur* (*dr-ā-* 'to run'), *ta-tr-é* (*tr-ā-* 'to protect'), so also *ja-jñ-i-vás-* instead of **ja-jñā-vás-*, *ya-y-i-vás-* instead of **ya-yā-vás-*, *pa-pr̥-vás-* instead of **pa-prā-vás-* (beside *pa-prá pa-prāú pa-prá-tha*, *pr-ā-* 'to fill'). *jajñivás-* and *papr̥vás-* belonged properly to the Indicatives **ja-jān-a* and *pa-pār-a* (gramm.); and it is possible that there has been contamination of the extended root (*ĝn-ē ĝn-ō-*, *pl-ē-*) and the unextended (*ĝen-*, *pel-*);[1]) compare Gr. τέ-τλα-μεν and

1) Parallel to *paprāú* : *papāra* we have *papyē* (pres. *pyā́-ya-tē*) and *pīpáya* (pres. *páy-a-tē*); so that it is naturally doubtful with which of the two perfects Ved. *pipyē* is to be connected. The *i* in the reduplicator decides nothing, cp. *ji-jyāú.*

τε-τλ-η-ώς τέ-τλ-η-κα), *πίμ-πλα-μεν* and *πίμ-πλ-η-μι* (§ 594 p. 135. However, *yayivás-* at any rate is a new form, following some such analogy as *ta-sthi-vás-*.

Root + Nasal Infix or Nasal Suffixes (§§ 596 ff. pp. 136 ff.). Skr. *ta-stámbh-a ta-stabh-úr* (*stabh-* = **stṃbh-*) and *ta-stambh-ur* (§ 852) conj. *ta-stámbh-a-t* beside *stambh-a-tē* 'makes itself firm, supports itself' from √ *stebh-*, *sa-sañj-a* from √ *seg-* 'hang, affix', *da-dámbh-a* beside *da-dábh-a* from *dabh-* 'to hurt, deceive', see § 629 p. 167. *ju-ghūrṇ-a* beside *ghūr-ṇa-ti* 'wavers'. *ji-jinv-a* beside *jí-nva-ti* 'sets in motion, helps on', *pi-pinv-a* beside *pí-nva-ti* 'swells, makes fat'.

Root + *s*-suffix. Skr. *ta-ta-s-rē ti-tvi-ṣ-ē* see § 847 p. 391. Ar. *dụi-š-* 'to hate' (§ 656 p. 190): Skr. *di-dvēṣ-a di-dviṣ-ē* (gramm.), Avest. *dī-dvaęš-a di-dvīš-ma*. Skr. *ba-bhāṣ-a* (gramm.) beside *bháṣati* 'barks' for Idg. **bhel-se-ti* (the *ā* betrays this as a later re-formate): cp. O.H.G. *bal(l)* *ballun* (§ 657 p. 191). *da-dakṣ-ē* beside *dák-ṣa-tē* 'is able, is of value, is brave' (§ 659 p. 194). *mi-mikṣ-ē* from √ *meịk-* 'mix' (§ 669 p. 200).

With *sk*-suffix. Skr. *pa-prach-a* see p. 391. *mu-mūrch-a* beside *mūrcha-ti* 'curdles, congeals'. *ju-hūrch-a* (gramm.) beside *hūrcha-ti* 'slips, falls'. Compare too the thematic *ān-archa-t* beside *ṛ-chá-ti ar-cha-ti* 'hits, attains', like *ān-arṣ-a-t* § 854.

With *t*-suffix (§§ 679 ff. pp. 211 ff.). Skr. *ci-t-* 'to notice, recognise' (§ 680 p. 212): Skr. *ci-két-a ci-kit-ur ci-kit-ē ci-kit-vás-*, Avest. 3rd pl. Gath. *ci-kōit-erᵉš* (cp. § 852) part. *ci-kiþ-wå*. Skr. *ya-t-* 'to join on to, strive' (§ 681 p. 213), weak stem **ịa-ịt-*: Skr. *yēt-ē*, Avest. *ya-yat-a yaęþ-ma* (Gath. *yōiþ-ᵉmā*) part. *yaęt-uš-*. Skr. *na-nart-a na-nṛt-ur* beside *nṛ́-t-ya-ti* 'dances'. *pu-sphōṭ-a* beside *sphuṭa-ti* 'bursts, splits' (beside *phál-a-ti*, § 680 p. 211). *ci-cēṣṭ-a* beside *cḗṣ-ṭa-ti* 'is in motion'.

With *dh*-suffix. Skr. *ra-rā́dh-a* see p. 391. *yu-yṓdh-a yu-yudh-ḗ* beside *yō-dha-ti* 'gets in motion' (§ 689 p. 219).

Skr. *ji-jī-va ji-jīv-ē* beside *jī́-va-ti* 'lives' (§ 487 p. 41).

From a reduplicated Present is often formed a Perfect having no further reduplication besides what the present had. *sīd-atur* (beside *sa-sā́d-a sēd-úr*) from *sī́d-a-ti* Idg. **si-zd-e-ti* from √ *sed-* 'sit', *nind-i-ma* from *ní-nd-a-ti* 'abuses, reviles', see § 550 p. 106. *vivak-vás-* from *ví-vak-ti* 'speaks'. *didās-i--tha* from *dí-dāsa-ti* desid. of *dá-dā-ti* 'gives'. *nṓnāv-a nōnuv-ur* from *nṓ-nav-ī-ti nō-nu-mas* intens. of *nāu-ti* 'praises', *davidhāv-a* beside part. *dávi-dhv-at-* intens. of *dhū-nṓ-ti* 'shakes'.[1]) We may also if we choose place here *jāgā́r-a* (cp. Gr. ἐγή-γερ-μαι) beside *jā-gar-ti* 'wakes, watches', since the present may be regarded as an intensive (§ 560 p. 109). *ā* instead of *a* in the reduplicating syllable is found elsewhere in Aryan too; and we have noticed in § 472 p. 17 that the spread of this *ā* in the reduplication is certainly not unconnected with the similarity in meaning of the Perfect-present and the Intensive. In later times another perfect *ja-jāgār-a* was made from *jāgar-ti*. That a perfect *bi-bhikṣ-ē* was formed for *bhíkṣa-tē* (desid. of *bháj-a-ti* 'divides, distributes, assigns', § 667 p. 200), and for *sajja-tē* 'hangs on to' (for **saz-j-a-*, § 562 p. 110) a perfect *sa-sajj-ur* Mahābh. (beside *sa-saj-ur sēj-ur* and *sa-sañj-a* p. 397), is not surprising in view of the complete obscuration of the reduplication in the present.

As regards the above named perfects without special perfect reduplication, compare § 848 p. 392.

Lastly, two more Skr. perfects shall be cited, which have arisen from a root which has been completely fused into unity with a prefix. *pi-pīḍ-ē* beside *pīḍ-aya-ti* 'presses' for **pi-zd-* (lit. 'to sit upon'), see § 795 p. 331; cp. Gr. πεπίεσται from πι-έζω. *ni-niyōj-a* (Ait. Brāhm.) from *ni-yuj-* 'to fasten on'. So Gr. ἠμφίεσται from ἀμφι-(ϝ)εσ- 'to clothe, draw on'. The same principle is exemplified in the Augment, see § 477 p. 25.

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1) We should expect *davīdhāv-a* by § 467 p. 13. The *i* seems to me to be more simply explained by supposing that the perfect is a comparatively late analogical form from *dávidhv-* than by adopting Wackernagel's conjecture, *Dehnungsgesetz der gr. Compp.* p. 18.

§ **851.** The syllable of reduplication had originally *a* = Idg. *e* with Roots beginning in a Consonant; the variant *ā* = Idg. *ē* is also found (cp. § 850, p. 398).

This was changed in Aryan where a root had *i*- or *u*-vocalism.

(1) Of Roots with internal or final *i*- or *u*-vowel only three retained the *a* in the reduplicator: Skr. *ba-bhūv-a* Avest. *ba-vāv-a*, Skr. *sa-sū́v-a* (beside *su-ṣā́v-a*), part. mid. *śa-śay-ānā́-s* (beside indic. *śi-śy-ē*). In all others, *i* and *u* had taken the place of *a* in proethnic Aryan; as Skr. *di-dvēṣ-a di-dviṣ-ē* Avest. *dī-dvaęš-a di-dvīš-ma*, Skr. *vi-vyādh-a vi-vidh-ur*, Skr. *ru-rōc-a ru-ruc-úr* Avest. *"rū-raođ-a "rū-ruđ-uš-*, Skr. *su-ṣvā́pv-a su-ṣup-úr*. This tendency affected even roots with initial diphthong: hence Skr. *iy-ā́y-a īy-úr* i. e. **i-iy-ur* instead of pr. Ar. 3rd sing. **āi̯-a* 3rd pl. **āi̯-r̥r* (cp. Lith. part. fem. *ẽj-us-i*) beside *ḗ-ti* 'goes'; Skr. *ūv-ur* i. e. **u-uv-ur* beside *u-tá-s* 'woven' *ṓ-tu-m*; Skr. *u-vṓc-a ūc-úr* beside *uc-ya-ti* 'takes pleasure in' *ṓkas-* 'pleasure, satisfaction' (cp. the archaic adjectival participle without reduplication *ōk-i-vás-* § 848 p. 392).

One important factor in this developement we may conjecture to have been the influence of reduplicated presents with *i* and *u* in the reduplicator. If the stems of Skr. *dī-dhay-a dī-dhi-ma*, *dī-dā́y-a dī-di-vás-*, *pī-pē-tha pī-pi-vás-*, *bī-bhāy-a* are really and truly the same which are contained in the present forms *dī́-dhy-ē á-dī-dhē-t*, *dī-dy-ati dī-di-hí á-dī-dē-t*, *pī-pi-hí pī-páy-a-t*, *bī-bhay-a-t* (§ 537 pp. 97 f.) — compare *jā-gā́r-a* : *jā-gar-ti*, *nṓ-nāv-a* : *nṓ-nav-ī-ti* § 850 p. 398. — then we shall have to connect e. g. *bi-bhāy-a bi-bhy-ur*, *iy-ā́y-a īy-úr*, *ju-hāv-a ju-huv-ur ju-hv-ḗ* directly with *bi-bhḗ-ti bí-bhy-ati*, *iy-ē-ti* (§ 537 p. 97), *ju-hṓ-ti jú-hv-ati*. Beginning then with perfects like these, the reduplication with *i* and *u* could easily spread to other perfects from *i*- and *u*-roots to which there was no corresponding reduplicated present.

(2) Roots beginning with *i̯*- and *u̯*-, of the form of Ar. *i̯at*- 'join on, strive' and *u̯ak*- *u̯ac*- 'speak', still had *i̯a*- and *u̯a*- for reduplication right through the Perfect in proethnic Aryan: Skr. *yēt-ē* Avest. *ya-yat-a yaęþ-ma*, Skr. *ya-yām-a yēm-úr*, Skr. *yēj-ē*, Skr. *va-vāc-a* Avest. *va-vac-a vaox-ᵉmā*, Skr. *va-vāh-a* Avest. *vaoz-i-rem*, Skr. *va-vām-a*; with the weak stems compare pres. Skr. *yḗṣa-ti* = **i̯a-i̯š-a-ti* and aor. *á-vōca-t* Avest. *vaoca-þ* = **u̯a-u̯c-a-* § 562 p. 110. These forms stood on the same level as those like Skr. *va-vart-a va-vr̥t-ur vi-vēś-a vi-viś-úr* and with Gr. *ἐ-όλ-ει* (§ 848 p. 392) *ἐ-οργ-ε* (§ 846 p. 389) *ἔ-οικ-ε* (§ 848 p. 392) and Goth. *vaí-vald*. Next, in Sanskrit, those verbs which had amongst their non-perfect forms some in which the root, being of the weak grade, began with *i*- or *u*-, substituted *i*- and *u*- for *ya*- and *va*- as the reduplicator; and thus we get *i-yā́j-a īj-úr* (i. e. **i-ij-ur*) beside *ij-yá-te iṣ-ṭá-s* etc., *u-vā́c-a ūc-úr* (i. e. **u-uc-ur*) beside *uc-yá-tē uk-tá-s* etc., on the analogy of *iy-ā́y-a iy-úr* beside *iy-ē i-tás* etc., *vi-vyādh-a vi-vidh-ur* beside *vídh-ya-ti viddha-s* etc., *su-ṣvā́p-a su-ṣup-úr* beside *sup-ya-tē sup-tá-s* etc.[1]) On the other hand, *ya-yām-a yēm-úr va-vas-ē* (from *vas*- 'to clothe'), and other such remained simply because none of their forms had such beginnings as *im*- or *uṣ*-. Only here and there did *u*- transgress these prescribed limits: as in *u-vām-a* (Śatap.-Brāhm.) instead of *va-vām-a* from *vam*- 'vomere'.

With this Sanskrit developement compare Lat. *sci-cid-ī* from *scindō* as contrasted with *ce-cid-ī* from *cadō*, § 868.

Remark. The reason why we have in Sanskrit *vavr-úr* and not **vōrúr*, and *vavn-úṣ*- not **vōnúṣ*- (cp. Avest. *vaonuš*-), as might have been expected from *maghṓn*-, the weak form of the stem *maghavan*- 'giver, offerer', was the analogical influence of forms whose ending began with a consonant, such as *va-vr̥-má* and *va-van-má va-van-vás*-, perhaps also that of bye-forms with a weak-grade root syllable which still remained

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1) I hold accordingly that the favourite theory which sees pr. Idg. reduplications *i*- *u*- or *i̯i*- *u̯u*- in *i-yā́j-a u-vā́c-a* is incorrect. Observe further, that the evidence offered by *i-yā́j-a īj-ḗ* and the like for the view that the √ *yaj*- began in Idg. with *i̯*- and not with the spirant *j* is only indirect (I § 598 p. 453).

a syllable by itself (cp. *ta-tan-ē* i. e. **-tṇn-ai̯* beside *ta-tn-ē*, *ti-stir-ē* i. e. **-stṛr-ai̯*). Thus *va-vn-* in this way depended upon *va-van-*; and, by a contrary application of the principle, *yēm-i-má yēm-i-vas-* instead of **ya-yan-ma* **ya-yan-vas-* (cp. *ja-gan-ma ja-gan-vás-* from *gam-* 'to go') depended upon *yēm-ur yēm-uṣ-* (cp. *jagm-i-vas-* instead of *jayan-vas-* following *jagm-úṣ-*).

Whilst Roots beginning with an *a*-vowel had in Aryan *ā-* through all forms of the Perfect, if they ended in a single consonant, as Skr. *ás-a* Avest. *åŋh-a* (§ 848 p. 394, § 949 p. 396), they have *ān-* (or *an-*) for the reduplicating syllable if the root ends in a double consonant. Of these forms, the following were inherited from the parent language: Skr. *ān-ąś-a* with the weak stem *ān-aś-* (*-aś-* = *-ṇk̑-*) in *ānaś-úr ānaś-yā-t* (pres. *aś-nó-ti* 'attains'): O.Ir. *t-ān-aic*, see § 846 p. 390; parallel Skr. *ānāś-a* Avest. Gath. plpf. *ēnāxštā* for **anāš-ta*, which are similar to Gr. κατ-ήνοκα (see *loc. cit.*), and Skr. *āś-a āś-atur*, which was formed for *aś-nó-ti* aor. *aś-yā́-t aś-ē-ma* on the analogy of *ás-a ád-a*. Also *ān-añj-a ān-aj-ē* opt. Ved. *an-aj-yā-t* from *añj-* 'to anoint, smear' seems to have formed part of the parent stock.

Hence afterwards arose *ān-arc-a ān-ṛc-úr* from *arc-* 'to shine, praise', *ān-ṛdh-úr* from *ardh-* 'to thrive', *ān-ṛh-úr* from *arh-* 'to earn'.

§ 852. Form of the Root Syllable.

The pr. Aryan distinction between Skr. 1st sing. *ja-ján-a* with *ă*, and 3rd sing. *ja-jā́n-a* with *ā* (§ 843 p. 384), was lost. Thus we have in later Sanskrit the 3rd sing. form used for the 1st as well as 3rd (still, *jajána* was not dropt altogether), and in Avestic the 1st singular form was used for both (e. g. *va-vac-a* beside the regular *hi-šāy-a*).[1])

In imitation of such forms as *sa-sā́d-a* : *sēd-úr* (for **sa-zd-ur*) and *ya-yā́m-a* : *yēm-úr* (for **i̯a-i̯m-ur*), arose the Skr. forms *sēh-ur* (*sah-* 'to subdue'), *sēj-ur* (*saj-* 'to hang, fasten'), *pēc-úr* (*pac-* 'to cook'), *sēc-ē* (*sac-* 'to be with, accompany', but also *sa-śc-ē*), *pēt-úr* (*pat-* 'to fly, fall', but also

1) The Avestic change was natural enough because *tataša* (Skr. *tatákṣa*) had got in amongst roots with single final consonant.

pa-pt-úr), *nēm-ur* (*nam-* 'to bow, bend'), *tēn-ḗ* (*tan-* 'to stretch', but also *ta-tn-ḗ*). This type recommended itself because it avoided certain awkward sounds which had developed in some roots, as was the case in Germanic with the type *qēm-* (§ 893). *mēthur* beside *ma-mánth-a* (*manth-* 'to shake, knead'), and *bēdh-úr* beside *ba-bándh-a* (*bandh-* 'to bind'), arose because the weak roots *math-* and *badh-* in *mátha-ti badh-ná-ti* etc. (*-a-* = *-n̥-*) were conceived as being parallel to roots like *sad-* or *yaj-*; which also explains *mamā́th-a* beside *mamanth-a*, *mathiṣya-ti* beside *manthiṣya-ti* and the like. That a Perfect stem such as *sēd-* or *yēm-* was to the consciousness of the speaker nothing more than an ablaut-form of the unreduplicate root is shewn by forms with initial media aspirata like *bhēj-ur* (beside *ba-bhā́j-a* from *bhaj-* 'to distribute'), and those which begin with a double consonant, as *trēṣ-ur trēs-ur* (beside *ta-*-*trās-a* from *tras-* 'to tremble').

The strong singular stem seems often to have invaded forms proper to the weak stem. Skr. *tastambhur* (but also *tastabhúr*) following *tastámbha*, cp. § 850 p. 397. *babandhur* following *babándha*. *yuyōpimá* following *yuyṓpa* from *yup-* 'to obstruct'. *vivēśur* (but also *viviśē*) following *vivḗśa* from *viś-* 'to enter'. *bibhēdur* (but *bibhidur* also) following *bibhēda* from *bhid-* 'to split'. *vavāhatur* (but *ūhatur*) following *vavā́ha* from *vah-* 'vehere'. *nanāmirē* (but *nēm-ur*) following *nānāma*. *śaśāsur* following *śaśāsa* (cp. aor. *á-śiṣ-a-t*) from *śās-* 'to order': cp. pres. 3rd pl. *śā́s-ati* beside opt. *śiṣ-yā-t*. *dadāvás-* (but *dadvás-* *dadivás-*) following *dadāú* from *dā-* 'to give'. Avest. 3rd pl. *cikōiterᵉš* (but *cikiþwā̊*) following **cikōitā* from *cit-* 'to observe' (§ 850 p. 397). 2nd pl. *haꝫhāna* following 3rd sing. **haꝫhāna* from *han-* 'to give, earn'. But we may see, from what has been said in § 848 pp. 392 f. on *sa-sah-ē śa-śąs-ur* and *sa-*-*sāh-ē da-dāś-i-ma*, that it is possible to hold that the germ of these consists of unreduplicated forms with a strong root (such as Skr. **stambh-ur*) which received reduplication in Aryan.

In Skr. 1st and 3rd sing. *ta-sthāú da-dhāú pa-prāú* etc., the origin of *-āu* is obscure. Now and then we meet with variants

3rd sing. *pa-prā́* and Avest. 3rd sing. *da-đa.*[1]) Some regard *-u* as a particle affixed to the perfect with final *-ā*, as *pa-prā́* + *u* = *pa-prāú*; and others compare *ta-sthāú* with *stháv-ira-sthāv-ará- sthū-rá-*, or *pa-prāú* with Lat. *plēv-ī*, *ja-jñāú* with Lat. *nōv-ī*. All these are thoroughly uncertain conjectures.

§ 853. As regards the *-i-* which precedes the personal ending in *-i-tha -i-ma -i-va -i-ṣē -i-mahē -i-vahē*, which is much commoner in the later language than it is in the Veda, the most essential facts have been pointed out in § 844, pages 385 f.

The same *i* is seen in the unreduplicated *ī́ś-ē* (§ 848 p. 391): *ī́ś-i-ṣē* (beside *ī́k-ṣē*) *īś-i-dhvē* like *ja-jñ-i-ṣḗ ja-jñ-i--dhvē*. After what was said in § 574 p. 115, it is not strange that beside *īṣ-ṭē* we find *ī́ś-i-tē*. Compare however the pres. *śṛ-ṇv-i-ṣḗ* beside *śṛ-ṇv-i-rḗ* (like *ī́ś-i-rē ja-jñ-i-rḗ*).

§ 854. The so-called Pluperfect, and Thematic Forms of the Perfect Stem (cp. § 555 p. 108, § 845 p. 387 f.).

Un-Thematic Pluperfect. Skr. 2nd and 3rd sing. *á-ja-gan* 3rd pl. *á-ja-gan-ta* (with strong stem like *gan-tá* beside *ga-tá*, § 498 p. 58) 3rd pl. mid. *á-ja-gm-iran* beside *ja-gám-a*. 1st sing. *ca-kar-am* beside *ca-kā́r-a*. Avest. 3rd pl. mid. *vaoz--irem* beside Skr. *va-vāh-a* (§ 849 p. 396). Gath. 2nd pl. mid. *vōiz-dūm* (with strong stem instead of weak) beside *vōistā* = Skr. *vḗttha*. Compare Gr. ἐ-πέ-πιϑ-μεν beside πέ-ποιϑ-ε, § 865. We find in Sanskrit also the 2nd and 3rd sing. with *-ī-*, an *á-ja-grabh-ī-t* beside 1st sing. *á-ja-grabh-am*, see § 577 p. 118.

Thematic Pluperfect. Skr. *á-ca-kr-a-t* beside *ca-kā́r-a*. *á-da-dṛh-a-nta* beside *da-darh-a* (gramm.) from *darh-* 'to make firm'. *ān-arṣ-a-t* from *arṣ-* 'to stream'; an analogous form is *ān-archa-t* (beside perf. *ār-a ār-ur*) from pres. *ṛ-chá-ti ar-cha-ti* 'hits, attains, seizes' (cp. § 850 p. 397). Avest. *ja-γm-a-þ* beside Skr. *ja-gám-a*. *ta-taš-a-þ* beside 1st sing. *ta-taš-ā* =

1) On the assumed Avest. *dađō* = Skr. *dadhāú*, see Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. IX 301.

Skr. *ta-tákṣ-a* from *takṣ-* 'to shape, form'. Compare Gr. ἐ-μέ-μηκ-ο-ν § 865.

The Thematic Imperative, as Skr. 2nd dual *mu-mṓc-a-tam* 2nd pl. *mu-mṓc-a-ta* (*muc-* 'to loose') 2nd sing. mid. *vā-vṛdh-á-sva* (*vardh-* 'to grow'), stood beside the Unthematic *mu-muk-tam mu-mug-dhi*, as in Greek e. g. κε-κρᾱ́γ-ε-τε κε-χήν-ε-τε beside κέ-κρᾱχ-θι; and they were related to the Thematic Conjunctive Skr. *mu-mṓc-a-t(i)* Gr. εἴδ-ο-μεν as, in the *s*-aorist, Skr. 2nd sing. imper. *nē-ṣ-a* to the conj. *nḗ-ṣ-a-ti*, Gr. 2nd pl. imper. ἄξ-ε-τε to conj. (fut.) ἄξ-ε-τε (§ 833 p. 370).

The forms Skr. *īś-a-tē* Avest. *is-a-itē* beside *īś-ē is-ē* 'has brought into his power' doubtless first arose because the latter had ceased to be looked upon as belonging to the Perfect. Thus they are classed along with Presents like Skr. *han-a-ti* Avest. *janaiti* beside *hán-ti jainti* (§ 498 p. 58). Compare § 888 on Goth. *áihan áihands*.

Armenian.

§ 855. The old Perfect inflexion seems to be wholly lost. *gitem* 'I know' may have been transformed from **u̯oi̯d-a* in the same way as Lesb. οἴδημι from οἶδα; but it may also be regarded as a present of Class II *A* (§ 517 Rem. p. 82). For another even more uncertain trace of the Perfect in Armenian, see Meillet, Mém. Soc. Ling. VII 164.

Greek.

§ 856. We begin with a few examples in addition to those given in § 846.

ἔ-σπαρ-ται from σπείρω 'I sow'. ἔ-ολ-ε ἔ-ελ-ται from εἴλω 'I press' √ϝελ- (§ 848 p. 392). ἔ-στολ-ε (gramm.) ἔ-σταλ-ται from στέλλω 'I place, ordain'. δέ-δρομ-ε beside ἔ-δραμ-ο-ν 'I ran'. Hom. δείδω i. e. *δέδϝω 'I fear' for *δε-δϝοι̯-α, δείδια i. e. *δέ-δϝι-α, δείδιμεν i. e. *δέ-δϝι-μεν, δειδιότ-ες i. e. *δέ-δϝι-ότ-ες (I § 166 p. 147), Att. δέ-δι-μεν δέ-δι-θι δε-δι-ώς δε-δι-έναι.

κέ-κρι-ται from κρίνω 'I separate, choose, decide' (§ 611 p. 150). πέ-πορδ-ε from πέρδομαι 'pedo'. πέ-φασ-ται from φράζω 'I give to understand, show', √ gherd-: Lith. part. isz-gìrd-ęs from isz-girstù 'I perceive' (§ 707 p. 236, § 686 pp. 216 f.). τέ-τροφ-ε τέ-τραφ-ε τέ-τραπ-ται from τρέπω 'I turn'. ἔ-ολπ-ε from ἔλπομαι 'I hope', ϝελπ-. πέ-πονθ-ε πεπαθ-υῖα beside fut. πείσομαι for *πενθ+σ-, pres. πάσχω 'I suffer' (§ 673 p. 205). ἔ-οικ-ε 'is like' ἔ-ικ-τον ἤ-ικ-το ἔ-οιγ-μεν ἐ-οίκ-α-μεν εἰκ-ώς ἐ-οικ-ώς, √ ϝεικ-. πέ-ποιθ-ε ἐ-πέ-πιθ-μεν πε-ποίθ-α-μεν πέ-πεισται from πείθω 'I persuade'. τε-τευχ-ώς τέ-τυκ-ται τε-τεύχ-αται from τεύχω 'I prepare'. κέ-χοδ-ε from χέζω 'caco'. τέ-τοκ-ε beside ἔ-τεκ-ο-ν 'I begat, bore'. ἔ-ρρωγ-ε ἐ-ρρηγ-εῖα from ῥήγ-νῡ-μι 'I break', ϝρηγ-. λέ-ληκ-ε λε-ληκ-ώς (-η- for -ᾱ-) λε-λακ-υῖα beside ἔ-λακ-ο-ν 'I spoke'. με-μηκ-ώς (-η- for -ᾱ-) με-μακ-υῖα beside μακών 'bleating, crying'. λέ-λαμπ-ε from λάμπω 'I shine'.

δέ-δε-ται from δί-δη-μι 'I bind'. The root-vowel ε, like that of τέ-θε-ται εἷ-ται (for *ἕ-ε-ται) and that of δέ-δο-ται, is instead of α = Idg. ə. Compare § 493 p. 53 on ἔ-θε-μεν ἔ-δο-μεν, and § 542 p. 102 on τί-θε-μεν ἵ-ε-μεν δι-δέν-των δί-δο-μεν.

Forms with so-called Attic Reduplication. Hom. εἰλήλουθα εἰλήλουθμεν Att. ἐλήλυθα ἐληλύθαμεν beside ἐλεύσομαι 'I will come' aor. ἤλυθον, ἐλευθ-. Ion. ἄρ-ηρ-ε ἀρηρώς ἀρ-αρ-υῖα beside ἤρ-αρ-ο-ν 'I joined'.

§ 857. Numerous Perfect forms based upon Roots extended in some way, and upon Presents of all sorts and kinds. Compare § 847 pp. 391 f.

(1) δέ-δρᾱ-ται from δρ-ᾱ- 'to do'. κέ-κρᾱ-ται from κρ-ᾱ- 'to mix'. τε-τλη-ώς from τλ-ᾱ- 'to bear'. κε-κμη-ώς from κμ-ᾱ- 'to weary'. τέ-τμη-ται from τμ-ᾱ- 'to cut'. τέ-τρη-ται from τρ-η- 'to wear away, pierce'. κέ-κλη-ται from κλ-η- 'to call'. κέ-χρη-ται from χρ-η- 'to lend, borrow'. τε-τιη-ώς τε-τίη-ται from τιη- 'to be still, overawed' Idg. qii̯-ē-, see § 590 p. 132. κε-χαρη-ώς κε-χάρη-ται from χαίρω 'I rejoice'. κε-καφη-ώς 'breathing hard'. δε-δέη-ται from δέω Hom. Aeol. δεύ-ω 'I need'. νε-νέμη-ται

from νέμω 'I distribute'. βε-βούλη-ται from βούλομαι 'I wish' for *βολνο-μαι. τε-τύπτη-ται from τύπ-τω 'I strike'. Compare § 750. 1 p. 271, § 756. 4 pp. 275 f., § 822. 5 p. 360.

(2) Along with these go Perfects from later denominatives, as Hom. κε-κοτη-ώς, Boeot. gen. pl. ϝε-ϝῡκονομειόντων (Att. ᾠκονομηκότων, cp. § 866), τε-τῑμη-ται (-η- = -ᾱ-), πε-φίλη-ται, με-μίσθω-ται, κε-κόνῑ-ται, δε-δάκρῡ-ται. Compare § 756. 5 p. 276, § 773 pp. 290 f., § 813 p. 351, § 822. 6 p. 360.

(3) δε-δίδαχ-ε δε-δίδακ-ται δε-δίδαγ-μαι beside δι-δάσκω 'I teach' (§ 678 p. 210), cp. aor. ἐ-δίδαξα.

(4) πέ-φην-ε (Dor. πέ-φᾱν-ε) πέ-φαν-ται from φαίνω 'I make appear, show' for *φα-νι̯-ω. κέ-χην-ε (Dor. κέ-χᾱν-ε) from χαίνω 'I gape' for *χα-νι̯-ω. ἔ-ξαν-ται ἔξαμμαι from ξ-αίνω 'I scratch, comb'. On the forms πέφασμαι ἔξασμαι (= ἔξαμμαι), see § 862. προ-βέβουλε beside βούλομαι (see under 1). Compare § 822. 2 p. 359.

(5) Nasal Infix. κέ-κλαγγ-ε, also κέ-κληγ-ε, beside κλαγγάνω and κλάζω (for *κλαγγ-ι̯ω) 'I make a sound, cry out'. The verb χανδάνω 'I have room for' (√ *ghed-*, § 631 p. 168) perhaps had both κέ-χανδ-ε and κέ-χονδ-ε (like λέλογχε from λαγχάνω) for its perfect; see Mekler, Beitr. zur Bildung des griech. Verbums, 60 f.; Wackernagel, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1891, col. 1475 f. Aeol. part. πε-φύγγ-ων (Att. πε-φευγ-ώς) from φυγγάνω 'I flee'. ἔ-σφιγκ-ται 1st sing. ἔσφιγμαι (-γμ- for *-ŋgm-*, I § 492 p. 363) from σφίγγω 'I tie'. Compare § 822. 3 p. 359.

(6) ἔ-σπα-σ-ται, κέ-κλα-σ-ται, κε-κέρασ-ται, ἐ-σκέδασ-ται; ἔ-σβ-εσ-ται, κε-κόρεσ-ται; ἔ-ξυ-σ-ται, εἴρυσ-ται. See § 661 p. 196 § 842 pp. 380 f.

(7) Syrac. πέποσχε instead of πέπονθε from πάσχω (§ 673 p. 205). Compare Skr. *papracha* Lat. *poposcī* from √ *preḱ-*.

(8) κατα-πέπυθα· κατερρύηκα Hesych., beside πύ-θω 'I make to rot'. βέ-βρῑθ-ε from βρί-θω 'I weigh down'. Compare § 694 p. 223. πέ-φλοιδ-ε beside ἔ-φλι-δ-εν· διέρρεεν. δια-κεχλοιδώς and δια-κεχλιδώς beside χλίω 'I am weakly'. 3rd pl. ἐ-ρράδ-αται from ῥαίνω 'I sprinkle' for *σρ-ανι̯ω (§ 621 p. 159). Compare § 695 p. 224.

(9) Hom. *πεφυζότες* from **φύζω* for **φυγ-ιω* (§ 707 p. 236).

(10) Perfects of later Denominatives whose verbal stem ended in a Consonant. *κε-κήρῡχ-ε κε-κηρῡκ-ται κε-κήρῡγ-μαι* from *κηρύσσω* 'I announce, proclaim' for **κᾱρῡκ-ιω*. *πε-φύλαχ-ε πε-φύλακ-ται πε-φύλαγ-μαι* from *φυλάσσω* 'I watch' for **φυλακ-ιω*. *ἤλπισται* from *ἐλπίζω* 'I hope' for **ϝελπιδ-ιω*. *λέ-λῃσται* from *λῃΐζομαι* 'I get booty' for **λᾱϝιδ-ιο-μαι*. *τε-τέλεσ-ται* from *τελέω* 'I finish' for **τελεσ-ιω*. *ἤγγελ-ται* from *ἀγγέλλω* 'I announce'. *λε-λύμαν-ται* from *λῡμαίνομαι* 'I treat shamefully, insult, torture'. Compare § 756. 3 p. 275, § 757 p. 276 f., § 768 p. 282 f., § 822. 4 p. 359 f.

§ **858.** The Reduplication with *ι* in roots with initial consonant has been more faithfully kept in Greek than in any other language. The vitality of this type can be best seen in its use with denominative forms like *πι-φύλακται δι-δυστύχηκε, τι-θαλασσοκράτηκε*, Boeot. *ϝι-ϝῡκονομειόντων*.

Remark. On the analogy of compounds like *ἐμ-πεποίηκε* were made others such as *ἐν-δεδήμηκε ἀπο-δεδήμηκε* instead of **ἠνδήμηκε* **ἠποδήμηκε* from *ἔν-δημο-ς ἀπό-δημο-ς*. The group was further enlarged by *θεο-πεποίηκε εἰδο-πεποίηται ἱππο-τετρόφηκε* and many other like them.

On the treatment of the initial consonant or consonants of the reduplicator, see §§ 475 f. pp. 20 ff.

Verbs with initial vowel were treated in two ways, as in Sanskrit:

(1) By lengthening the initial vowel. 2nd sing. *ἦσ-θα* from √*es-* 'to be' (cp. Skr. *ás-i-tha*), which form came afterwards to be used as imperfect because *ἦα ἦμεν ἦστε ἦστον* belonged to both; *ἤρικε* from *ἐρίζω* 'I strive'. *ἦχ-ε ἦγ-μαι* ($\eta = \bar{\alpha}$) from *ἄγω* 'I lead': Skr. *āj-a* O.Icel. *ōk-* (here comes *ἄν-ωγ-ε* from *ἀν-άγω* according to Danielsson, Nord. tidskr. f. filol., ny række, VII 138 ff.); *ἤσκη-ται* from *ἀσκέω* 'I practice'; *ἦρχ-ε ἦργ-μαι* from *ἄρχω* 'I begin'; *ἠμφίεσ-ται* from *ἀμφι-έσ-σαι* 'to draw on, clothe'. *ὤγκω-ται* from *ὀγκέω* 'I grow big, swell up'. This perfect formation has been treated in

§ 848 p. 393 f.; it is very doubtful whether it ever had any reduplication.

(2) By the "Attic Reduplication", which corresponds to the structure of Skr. *ān-áś-a* (§ 851 p. 401). This flourished considerably at the expense of the last named (1). ἐδ-ηδώς: Skr. *ā́d-a*; ὄρ-ωρ-ε: Skr. *ā́r-a*; ὄδ-ωδ-ε: Lith. *ů'd-ęs*. Att. ὀμ-ώμο-ται (and ὀμ-ώμο-σ-ται) from ὄμ-νῡ-μι 'I swear'. Hesiod has ἐρ-ήρισται from ἐρίζω 'I strive'; but ἤρικε above. Perhaps Hom. ἔησθα 'eras' and ἔην ἤην, as contrasted with ἦσθε ἦεν ἦν (§ 502 p. 65 f.), was based upon a form *ἐσ-ησ-; cp. § 583 p. 124, and the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] p. 164, Bartholomae, Stud. z. idg. Spr. II 118 f. Ion. ἀν-αρ-αίρη-ται and ἀν-αιρ-έρη-ται from ἀν-αιρέω 'I raise up on high'; but ἀν-ῄρη-ται. Hom. ὀρ-ωρέχ-αται from ὀρέγω 'I stretch out', but ὤρεγ-μαι, from √*reĝ-* (O.Ir. perf. *re-raig* 'porrexit'). On the analogy of ἐλ-ήλυθ-ε : ἐλυθεῖν, the form ἐν-εγκ-εῖν 'to bring', which already had the Attic reduplication (cp. Skr. *ān-áś-a*), formed a perfect ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται, which next called into being the act. ἐν-ήνοχε beside κατ-ήνοκε (§ 846 p. 390); ἐν- in ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται and ἐν-ήνοχε must then be the preposition ἐν, which I see in the aorist ἔν-εικα (§ 504 p. 68); if so, ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται must be compared directly with Skr. *ān-áś-a*. Ion. ὀρ-ώρηκ-ε (Herodas) beside ἑόρᾱκε ἑώρᾱκε from ὁράω 'I see' for *ϝορᾱ-, late Attic ἐλ-ηλιγ-μένο-ς beside εἵλικ-ται from ἑλίσσω 'I wind' for *ϝελικ-.

§ **859.** The original differences of root-gradation in the group of Perfect forms transmitted from the parent language were very largely wiped out by analogy.

First, the vowel-grade of the indic. active invaded other forms; as γεγόν-α-μεν γεγον-ώς, ἐφθόρ-α-μεν ἐφθορ-ώς, πεπόνθ-α-μεν, τετρόφ-α-μεν, ἔοιγ-μεν ἐοίκ-α-μεν, πεποίθ-α-μεν conj. Hom. πεποίθ-ο-μεν Att. πεποίθ-ω-μεν, εἰλήλουθ-μεν εἰληλουθ-ώς, ἐρρώγ-α-μεν, ἀφ-έω-ται.

Next, the weak form sometimes became the type; as δέδι-α, τέτραφ-α, ἐλήλυθ-α.

Thirdly, ε is often found where it originally was not, as

πέφευγ-ε πεφεύγ-α-μεν, πέ-πλεχ-ε, λέ-λεγ-ε; particularly often in the Middle, as πέπλεκ-ται πέπεισ-ται. The original place of this ablaut-grade was in the perfect Conjunctive, sometimes in the Participle active (II § 136 p. 438 f.), and also, according to the hypothesis of De Saussure and Osthoff, the 1st sing. Indic. active (§ 843 Rem. p. 384). Again, ἔ-ελ-ται and like forms may be based upon the unreduplicated (κατα-)Ϝελμένο-ς; see § 848. 2 with Rem. 1, pages 392 and 393. Lastly, non-perfect verbal forms with ε may have had a hand in it; thus φεύγω may have influenced πέφευγε, or πείθομαι πέπεισται.

Sometimes the change which took place was that weak perfect forms with α from roots of the *e*-series caused the production of other forms on the analogy of *a*-roots. Thus μέμηλε (Dor. μέμᾱλε) took the place of *μέμολε (from μέλει 'it is a care to'), because forms with με-μαλ- (cp. Skr. *ti-stir-* from √ *ster-* 'sternere') were associated with such others as τε-θαλ-υῖα beside τέθηλε (Dor. τέθᾱλε). Similar considerations account for μέμηνε (√ μεν- 'think') and δεδηχώς δέδηγμαι (√ *deñk̑-* 'bite') by analogy with με-μαν- = **me-mn̥n-* and δε-δακ- = **de-dn̥k̑-* (cp. Skr. *dadaś-vás-* beside *dadąś-a*). But undoubtedly with both these perfects other non-perfect forms, such as μαίνομαι ἐμάνην and δάκνω ἔδακον, helped to change them over to the new vowel-series.

The *ē*-grade seen in O.Ir. *mīd-ar* Goth. *sēt-um* Lith. *sėd-ęs* etc. (§ 848. 3 p. 393), has been conjectured for Gr. ἧσται 'sits', whose aspirate is odd as contrasted with Skr. *ās-tē*. It is quite possible that, in Greek, middle forms of **sēd-* were confused with the verb **ēs-*. Compare pres. Lith. *sėd-mi* § 494 p. 54.

§ **860.** On the -α- of τέτροφ-α-ς -α-μεν -α-τε, on Dor. γέγον-αν and part. πεπτώς, see § 844 pp. 385 f.

The 3rd pl. ἑστᾶσι 'they stand' is contracted for *ἑ-στά-ᾱσι, which had taken the place of a previous *ἕστᾱσι. So also Ep. γεγάᾱσι μεμάᾱσι βεβάᾱσι Att. βεβᾶσι. See § 1021. 4.

§ **861.** Aspirated Perfects like δέδειχε (√ δεικ-) πέ-πλεχε (πλεκ-) κεκήρῡχε (κηρῡκ-) τέτροφε τετράφαται (τρεπ-) κέκλοφε

(κλεπ-) ἦχε (ἀγ-) λέλεχε (λεγ-) ὀρωρέχαται (ὀρεγ-) τέτριφε τετρίφαται (τρῑβ-) have borrowed the aspirate, and put it in place of media or tenuis, from perfect stems which properly ended in an aspirate, such as γέγραφε γεγράφαται and τετεύχαται. The cause of this change was that in some perfect forms and in forms outside the perfect, these phonetic differences disappeared, and the aspirate was no longer distinguished from the tenuis or media. Thus τέτραμμαι τέτραψαι etc. and ἔτρεψα τρέψω looked exactly like γέγραμμαι γέγραψαι etc. and ἔγραψα γράψω; hence the analogy of γεγράφαμεν gives rise to τετράφαμεν instead of *τετραπαμεν. Compare Osthoff, Perf. 284 ff., 614 ff.; Curtius, Zur Kritik der neuesten Sprachforschung, 58 ff.

§ 862. Perfects from verbal stems in *s* generally show in the middle the endings -σμαι -σμεθα -σμενος, as ἔζεσμαι ἔζωσμαι ἤκουσμαι σέσεισμαι ἔσβεσμαι τετέλεσμαι ἔσπασμαι κεκέρασμαι, thus traversing the law laid down in vol. I 565 § p. 422, by which we should expect forms without σ, and with a lengthening of the preceding vowel when this was short. There are some of these regular forms, as ἔζωμαι (√ *jōs*-) γέγευμαι (√ *ĝeus*-) ἐφ-ευμένος (√ *eus*-). But the other set are a re-formation on the model of those with -στ-, as ἔζεσμαι instead of *ἔζειμαι following ἔζεσται, ἔζωσμαι following ἔζωσται. On the contrary, ἔζωμαι and γέγευμαι suggested ἔζωται instead of ἔζωσται, ἐγέγευντο instead of *ἐγεγε(υσ)-ατο.

Similarly, in the Middle Voice of Perfects from Verbalstems in θ and δ, the σ of -σται spread into the forms in -μαι -μεθα -μενος, as λέλασμαι following λέλασται (act. λέληθε), πέπυσμαι following πέπυσται (pres. πεύθομαι) πέπεισμαι following πέπεισται (pres. πείθω), κεκάσμεθα following κέκασται (καδ-), πέφρασμαι following πέφρασται (aor. πέφραδον). Forms like Hom. κεκορυθμένος πεφραδμένος Pind. κεκαδμένος are regular. Similarly, Att. ἴσμεν (Hom. ἴδ-μεν) may be regarded as a re-formate following ἴστε; but it may also follow the pret. ᾖσμεν i. e. *ἠ-ϝιτ-σ-μεν just as ἴσᾱσι follows ἴσαν ᾖσαν (§ 863 p. 411).

The agreement of forms like σείσω ἔσεισα (for *σεισ-σω *ἐ-σεισ-σα) ἐρείσω ἤρεισα (for *ἐρειδ+σω *ἠρειδ+σα) with such forms as τεί-σω ἔ-τει-σα (√‾τει-) had this result, that the endings -σται -σμαι etc. spread from σέσεισται -σμαι ἐρήρεισται -σμαι to the Perfect of verbal stems which ended in a vowel: τέτει-σται -σμαι, κέκλαυ-σται instead of κέκλαυται, ἔγνω-σται, κεκέλευ-σται. The same cause gave rise to ἀπο-τειστέο-ς ἐτείσθην, κλαυστό-ς instead of κλαυτός, ἐγνώσθην etc. Or the σ of these forms from verb stems with final vowel may have originated from the 2nd sing. mid. in -σ-θης, as ἐγνώσθης (= *ájñāsthās*) ἐμνήσθης (Wackernagel, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 312, Henry, Précis de gramm. comp.[3] § 102); cp. § 589 p. 129 f., § 820 p. 357, § 836 p. 373, § 840 p. 377.

Lastly, we must place here forms from *ν*-stems such as πέφασμαι beside πέφαν-ται (φαίνω 'I show'), σεσήμασμαι beside σεσήμαν-ται (σημαίνω 'I make a signal'); but we also find ἔξαμμαι for *ἐ-ξαν-μαι (ξαίνω 'I scratch, comb'), ᾔσχυμμαι for *ᾐσχυν-μαι (αἰσχύνω 'I disgrace'), and others. We may conjecture that first *πεφαν-σθε *σεσᾱμαν-σθε became regularly *πεφασθε *σεσᾱμασθε, and then, since these looked like ἔσπασθε κεκέρασθε, the forms πέφασμαι σεσήμασμαι were made to match ἔσπασμαι κεκέρασμαι; on the other hand, πέφανται produced the form πέφανθε.

§ **863.** The 3rd pl. of οἶδε ἴδμεν was in Homer ἴσσᾱσι (Att. ἴσᾱσι Dor. ἴσαντι by vol. I § 563. 2 p. 419), an ad-formate of the *s*-aorist *ἴσσαν ἴσαν, augmented ᾖσαν (§ 812 p. 349, § 821 p. 358). The formation of ἴσσᾱσι was due to ἴστε ἴστον beside ᾔστε ᾔστον. Compare § 862, on Att. ἴσμεν.

ἴσαντι, associated with ἵσταντι 'they place', caused the Doric dialect to make the further forms ἴσᾱμι ἴσαμεν ἰσάμεναι etc. following ἵστᾱμι and the rest.

In Heraclean, this σ went on to the middle of the perfect: γεγράψαται. Then, on the strength of the relation of γεγράψαται to ἐγράψαντο, we get *μεμισθώσαται beside ἐμισθώσαντο — the conj. μεμισθώσωνται is found.

§ **864.** There can be no doubt that the *κ*-perfect, as *ἕστηκε*, existed in all its important features as early as proethnic Greek, although it only become a large group in Greek itself. As to the origin of the formation very diverse theories have been set forth; they are collected and criticised by Johansson, Beitr. zur gr. Sprachkunde, pp. 56 ff. (compare Per Persson, Wurzelerw., 209 f.).

Remark. The explanation which has most in its favour is the following. *κ* is called a Root-Determinative, which came from the parent language into Greek in a few verbs; and then it became a fertile perfect suffix in pr. Greek just as *s* became a fertile aorist suffix in the original language. It was not confined to the perfect any more than *s* was confined to the aorist: we have for instance aor. *ἔθηκα* as well as perf. *τέθηκα*, aor. *ἔδωκα δώκω* as will as perf. *δέδωκα*, *ὀλέκω* as well as *ὀλώλεκα*, *δεδ(ϝ)ίσσομαι* for **δε-δϝι-ϰ-ι̯ο-μαι* as well as *δέδ(ϝ)οικα*.

The favourite sphere of the *κ*-formation lay from the proethnic period of Greek in stems with *e*-, *o*- and *a*-vowels, as *τέ-θη-κε ἕ-ω-κε δέ-δω-κε ἕ-στᾱ-κε*, *βέ-βλ-η-κε ἔ-γν-ω-κε δέ-δρ-ᾱ-κε*. Forms like **τε-θη *ἕ-ω* (Avest. *da-đa*) without *-α* and *-ε* in the 1st and 3rd sing. may have seemed too unnatural and unlike the rest of the system; this may have brought in some *κ*-form, which afterwards spread rapidly by analogy.

Beside the above named perfect forms with the root-suffixes *-ā-* and *-ē- -ō-*, were formed others, such as *κεχάρηκε γεγάμηκε ἠθέληκε δεδείπνηκε μεμίσθωκε τετίμᾱκε δεδάκρῡκε*. Compare *κεχαρηώς κεκοτηώς νενέμηται πεφίληται* etc., § 857. 1 and 2, p. 405 f.

Again, the relation of *ἕστηκα* to *στήσω ἔστησα*, of *δέδρᾱκα* to *δρᾱ́σω ἔδρᾱσα*, produced perfects like *πέπεικα* beside *πείσω ἔπεισα* (*πείθω* 'I advise"), *πέφρακα* beside *φράσω ἔφρασα* (*φράζω* 'I give to understand, show' for **φραδ-ι̯ω*), *γεγύμνακα* beside *γυμνάσω ἐγύμνασα* (*γυμνάζω* 'I exercise), *ἥρμοκα* beside *ἁρμόσω ἥρμοσα* (*ἁρμόζω* 'I fit, join'), *ἔσπεικα* beside *σπείσω ἔσπεισα* for **σπενδ-σ-* (*σπένδω* 'I pour'), *ἔσπακα* beside *σπάσω ἔσπασα* (*σπάω* 'I pull' for **σπα-σ-ω*).

By analogy of the perfect middle (cp. *δέδρᾱται* : *δέδρᾱκα*) arose e. g. Phoc. *τέθεκα* (instead of *τέθηκα*) following *τέθεται*,

Att. εἶκα (*ἕεκα) following εἶται (*ἕεται), δέδεκα following δέδεται, ἔφθαρκα following ἔφθαρται, κέκλικα following κέκλιται, ἤγγελκα following ἤγγελται. Vice versa, mid Dor. ἀφ-έωται follows ἕωκα (§ 859 p. 408).

Following εἶκα εἶται, the forms τέθηκα τέθεμαι were changed in late Attic to τέθεικα τέθειται.

Following ἕστᾱκα : ἕσταμεν we get γέγᾱκα (Pind.) beside γέγαμεν (*ĝe-ĝṇ-); vice versa ἠρίσταμεν (Comedy) beside ἠρίστηκα (ἀριστάω 'I breakfast').

§ 865. For the Pluperfect Greek, like Sanskrit, at first had two formations, thematic and unthematic (cp. § 555 p. 108, § 845 p. 387, § 854 p. 403).

(1) The Unthematic type is found in the Active only for Plural and Dual, e. g. ἐ-πέ-πιθ-μεν γε-γά-την ἕ-στα-μεν; the 3rd pl. ends in -σαν, e. g. ἕ-στα-σαν μέ-μα-σαν ἐδείδισαν i. e. *ἐ-δέ-δϝι-σαν (§ 1021. 2). Far oftener, and found in all three numbers, this occurs in the Middle; as τε-τύγ-μην ἐ-τέ-ταχ-το βε-βλή-ατο κε-χόλω-σο. Compare Skr. 1st and 3rd sing. *á-ja-gan*.

(2) Thematic Forms are e. g. ἐ-μέ-μηκ-ο-ν (but με-μηκ-ώς), ἐ-πέ-πληγ-ο-ν (but πέ-πληγ-α), ἄν-ωγ-ο-ν (but ἄν-ωγα), δείδιε i. e. *δέ-δϝι-ε (but perf. δέ-δι-μεν); with κ, ἐ-πέ-φῡκ-ο-ν (but πέ-φῡ-κα). Compare Skr. *á-ca-kr-a-t*. Sometimes it is doubtful whether a form comes here or in the VIth Present Class (§ 563 p. 111); as λε-λάκ-ο-ντο (cp. λέληκα λελακυῖα and ἕ-λακ-ο-ν).

(3) To these formations are added all which are based upon an original *s*-aorist. (*a*) On the one hand, the forms ᾔδεα and ἴσαν ᾖσαν (ᾖσμεν ᾖστε); (*b*) on the other, those in which the Aorist ending was affixt to the Perfect stem, as πε-ποίθ-εα πε-ποίθ-ειν ἐ-πε-ποίθ-ειν beside πέ-ποιθ-α, and ἑ-στήκ-ειν beside ἕ-στη-κα. See § 821 p. 357 f., § 836 pp. 372 ff.

§ 866. Like the thematic pluperfect ἐ-μέ-μηκ-ο-ν etc., mentioned in § 865. 2, the thematic imperative κε-κράγ-ε-τε and so forth belong to the parent speech; cp. Skr. *mu-mốc-a-ta*, § 844 p. 404.

But thematic forms occur more or less in all other formations of the Greek perfect system. Indicative Hom.

μέ-μβλ-ε-ται 'it is dear' beside *μέλ-ει* (which may also belong to Present Class VI, § 563 p. 111), *ὀρ-ώρ-ε-ται* 'is aroused' beside *ὄρ-ωρ-α*, *ἀν-ώγω* beside *ἄν-ωγα*, Syrac. *ὀλώλ-ω* beside Att. *ὄλ-ωλ-α*. And again, *ἥκω* 'I am here' may have taken the place of a perfect **ἧκα*; the last essay to explain the etymology of this verb is by Johansson, Beitr. gr. Sprachk., 62 f., who would connect it with a root *i̯-ē-* 'to go'. Conj. Hom. *ἀρ-ήρ-ῃ* Att. *βε-βλήκ-ῃ* beside Hom. *εἴδ-ο-μεν*. Opt. Att. *βε-βλήκ-ο-ι* beside *ἕ-στα-ῑ-μεν*. Inf. Rhod. *γεγόνειν*, in Pindar *κεχλάδειν*. Part. Lesb. *πεπληρώκων*, Hom. (Aeol.) *κεκλήγοντες*, Boeot. *ϝεϝῡκονομειόντων*.

Italic.

§ **867**. The "Perfect" of Latin and Umbro-Samnitic is a mixture of elements very widely different. Ten distinct types contribute to make it up.

(1) Genuine Reduplicated Perfects like Lat. *tu-tud-ī* = Skr. *tu-tud-é*, *de-d-ī* = Skr. *da-d-é* (§ 1044). In § 846 we have compared with perfect forms of other Idg. languages these others: *peperī*, *tetulī*, *meminī mementō*, *tetinī*, *memordī momordī*, *crēdidī*, *bibī*, *stetī*, *scicidī*, *cecinī*, *pepigī*; to which add Umbr. *dersicust*.

(2) Probable Unreduplicated Perfect forms. First *lēg-ī vēn-ī* and the like, with possibly *ēd-ī*, cp. § 848. 3 p. 393. Next *scand-ī*, *vort-ī vert-ī* Umbr. *co-vortus* 'converterit', *scāb-ī*, *ōd-ī*, cp. § 848. 1, 2 and 4, pp. 391, 392, 394.

(3) Forms of the *s*-Aorist, both thematic and non-thematic, as *dīx-ī dīx-i-t dīx-i-mus*, cp. Gr. *ἔ-δειξ-α* Skr. *á-dikṣ-a-t*. See § 823 p. 360 f.

(4) Forms of the non-thematic *is*-Aorist, as *vīdis-tis* (*vīdis-tī*) *vīder-ō vīder-i-m*, cp. Skr. *á-vēdiṣ-am* Gr. *ᾔδεα*. See § 841 pp. 378 ff.

(5) Thematic Aorists of Class II. Lat. *fu-i-t fu-i-mus*, Osc. *fuid* 'fuerit': Skr. *á-bhuv-a-t*. Lat. *scid-i-t*: Skr. *á-chid-a-t*. *fid-i-t*: Skr. *á-bhid-a-t*. *ex-uit* for **-uu̯-e-t* (Class II *B*) or

**-eu̯-e-t* (Class II *A*). Osc. *dic-ust* 'dixerit' beside **dic-e-d* 'dixit': Skr. imperf. *á-diś-a-t*. Osc. kúm-bĕned 'convēnit' *ce-bnust* 'huc venerit'[1]): Skr. *á-gam-a-t* Avest. *γm-a-þ*, √ *gem-*. From Osc. *pert-emust* 'peremerit' the ind. **ĕme-d* is to be inferred. Osc. ana-saked or ana-zaked 'consecravit' (Bréal and Duvau, Mém. Soc. ling., VI 51, 227) beside Lat. *sanciō*. Pelign. *afded* 'abiit' for **af-i̯e-d* (Thurneysen, Rhein. Mus. XLIII 348), cp. Gr. opt. *ἴ-ο-ι*. So also Lat. *vort-i-t vort-i-mus* (cp. 2) may be connected with Skr. *á-vr̥t-a-t*. See § 483 p. 32, § 523 pp. 86 ff., § 528 p. 91.

(6) Possibly amongst forms like *lēg-i-t lēg-i-mus* (√ *leg-*) were some like Gr. *ἐ-μήδ-ε-το* (√ *med-*) Skr. *á-sāh-a-t* (√ *seĝh-*). See § 841 Rem. p. 378.

(7) Probably reduplicated thematic aorists of Class VI. *te-tig-i-t te-tig-i-mus*: Gr. *τε-ταγ-ών*. *pe-pig-i-t*: Gr. *πε-παγ-ο-ίη-ν* beside *πέ-πηγ-α*. *ce-cid-i-t*: *κε-καδ-εῖν* 'to hurt, despoil' *κε-κάδ-ο-ντο* beside *ἐκεκήδει· ὑπεκεχωρήκει* (pres. *κήδω*). *pe-pul-i-t*: *πε-παλ-ών*. *pe-per-i-t* for **pe-par-e-t*: *πε-πορ-εῖν· δοῦναι* beside *ἔ-πορ-ο-ν* 'I gave, brought', cp. 1st sing. *pe-per-ī* and *πέ-πρω-ται* § 846 p. 388. *de-d-i-t* Osc. de-d-e-d Umbr. ře-ř-e pr. Ital. **de-d-e-t*:[2]) Skr. imperf. *á-da-d-a-t* (§ 562 p. 110 f.). Compare § 564 p. 111.

To these must be added (8) the Latin perfect in *-vī* and *-uī*, (9) the Umbr.-Samn. perfect with *f*, and (10) the *t*-perfect of Oscan, Pelignian, and Volscian; see §§ 873 ff.

This fusion of the forms of Aorist and Perfect implies that the Idg. Perfect had become a historic tense as early as proethnic Italic.

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1) Conway (Amer. Journ. Phil. XI 308) defends the old view of *cebnust* as a reduplicated form.

2) The Umbr.-Osc. ending *-e-d* is odd as compared with forms like *fust*, where the short vowel of the last syllable is syncopated (I § 633 p. 474). Whether the law of syncopation allowed certain exceptions in the case of a final dental (say, depending on what the preceding syllable was, or the accent), or whether *-e-* in this *-e-d* is due to some analogy, I do not here discuss.

Of the endings of the perfect indicative, these belonged to the perfect in Idg.: Lat. *-ī* in the 1st sing. = Skr. *-ē*; *-tī* which fused with the aorist element *-is-* made the 2nd sing. (: Skr. *-tha* § 988. 3); and *-imus* in *tutud-imus vēn-imus* may be equated with Skr. *-i-ma*, Avest. *-ama* Gr. *-αμεν* Goth. *-um* (*ste-ti-mus* = Gr. ἕ-στα-μεν Skr. *ta-sthi-má*?). To the *is*-aorist belongs Lat. 2nd pl. *-is-tis*, also *-is-tī* in 2nd sing. (see above), and possibly *-ĕrunt* in the 3rd plural. To the thematic aorist belong Lat. 3rd sing. *-i-t*, earlier *-e-d* (*vhevhaked*), whose agreement with Umbr.-Samn. *-e-d* is most important (the *-e* of the 3rd sing. perf. Idg. must doubtless have given place to *-e-d* = Idg. *-e-t* completely in pr. Italic), and partly *-i-mus* in the 1st plural. The 3rd pl. Umbr.-Samn. *-ens* and Lat. *-ērunt* are ambiguous.

The precise way by which this fusion of different endings came about is not clear; nor will it be made clear so long as the 3rd singular and 3rd plural are the only endings we know in Umbro-Samnitic dialects (as to Osc. manafum, see § 874). Thus much only seems certain, that as early as proethnic Italic some thematic forms had joined on to the old perfect system; cp. Lat. *de-d-i-t* Osc. de-d-e-d beside Lat. *de-d-ī*, *pe-pig-i-t* beside *pe-pig-ī*.

Beside *-e-d* = Idg. *-e-t*, Latin has also *-īd -īt*, on inscriptions *-eit*, as *fuueit redieit*. Since *interieisti* also occurs on inscriptions, the simplest explanation is that the *ī* came from the 1st sing. which had *-ī*.

Remark. Bartholomae (Stud. idg. Spr., II 195) derives *fuit* from Idg. **bheu̯-ī-t* or **bhuu̯-ei̯-t*, which seems to me very far-fetcht. I identify *fuit* with Skr. *á-bhuv-a-t* (Osc. conj. *fuid* for **bhuu̯-ē-t* § 872), and I regard *fūi* (Ennius has *fūimus*) as a re-formate like *plūī* (cp. Osthoff, Perf. 254 f.).

§ 868. The Idg. *e* of the reduplicating syllable seems to have been kept without change in proethnic Italic. Compare O.Lat. *vhe-vhaked* 'fecit' Osc. *fe-facid* 'fecerit', Lat. *de-dī* Osc. de-ded Umbr. ře-ře, Lat. *me-mordī pe-pugī ste-tī*, Umbr. *de-rsicust* 'dixerit' pe-purkurent 'poposcerint, rogaverint'.

But Latin, if the vowel of the syllable which followed the reduplicator was the same as that of its present stem, assimilated this *e* to it; as *mo-mordī* : *mordeō*, *cu-currī* : *currō*, *pu-pugī* : *pungō*, *sci-cidī* : *scindō*, *di-dicī* : *discō*, *sti-tī* : *sistō*; whilst in Old Latin we still find the regular forms *me-mordī* *pe-pugī* etc. (see above). Compare Skr. *u-vā́c-a* instead of *va-vā́c-a* following *uc-yá-te uktá-s* and the like, § 851 p. 400. However, *e* remained if the vowel of the next syllable, and the present vowel, were of the *e*-kind; as *pendī* : *pendō* *pendeō*, *pe-pēdī* : *pēdō*; and the same if it differed from the present vowel, as *ce-cinī* : *canō*, *ce-cidī* : *cadō*, *pepulī* : *pellō*, *pe-perī* : *pariō*, *ste-tī* : *stō* *stās* etc.

In compounds four syllables long (in the 1st and 3rd singular), the reduplicator underwent syncope in proethnic Latin, as a consequence of the accentuation then given to the first member; as *reppulī* *rettulī* *reccidī* for **ré-pepulī* **ré-tetulī* **ré-cecidī*, *dēcidī* *attigī* *incurrī* for **dḗ-cecidī* **át-tetigī* **in-cecurrī* (I § 633 p. 474).

That both reduplicated and unreduplicated forms occurred in pr. Italic within the perfect system of the same verb is shewn by O.Lat. *vhe-vhaked* Osc. *fe-facust* as compared with Lat. *fēcī* Umbr. fakust. Compare further Lat. *sci-cidī* and *scidī*, *te-tulī* and *tulī*, Umbr. *de-rsicust* and Osc. *dicust*, Lat. *ce-cinī* and Umbr. *pro-canurent*. Thus we have no right to assume that Lat. *tulī* was abstracted from compounds in which the reduplicator had suffered syncope, as in *rettulī attulī*. When a form has only survived in compounds, as *-culī* (*per-culī*), it is impossible to say whether it never was reduplicated or whether syncope has hidden the reduplication.

This loss of reduplication in Latin compounds helped to link reduplicated and unreduplicated forms all the closer.

Beside Lat. *abs-condidī* (from *abs-condō*) the form *abs-condī* sprang up on the analogy of *scandī* : *scandō*, since *condō* in this word joined with *abs* had ceased to be regarded as a compound; cp. *abscōnsum* beside *absconditum*. On the contrary, *condidī* :

condō, crēdidī : *crēdō* and the like gave rise to perf. *dēscendidī* beside *dēscendī*.

As regards verbs with initial vowel, such forms as Skr. *ān-ą́ś-a* (§ 851 p. 401) and Gr. ὄρ-ωρ-α (§ 858 p. 408) were foreign to Italic. Lat. *ēd-ī ēm-ī* (from *ed-ō em-ō*), as well as *sēd-ī vēn-ī*, *ēg-ī co-ēpī coepī* (from *ag-ō ap-iō*), as well as *cēp-ī pēg-ī*, *ōd-ī* (*od-iō*), as well as *fōd-ī*, may be regarded as forms which never had any reduplication at all. See § 848 p. 393 f., § 870.

§ 869. Of the old Ablaut in the Root Syllable of the Perfect little trace is left.

The reason for the variants *tutūdī* and *tutudī* is doubtless a difference of ablaut, such as we see in Skr. *tu-tṓd-a tu-tud-úr* (cp. also Goth. *stai-stáut*); then *tu-tūd-* will come from **tú-taud-*, as *in-clūdō* for **ín-claudō*.

The *o*-grade of the sing. indic. appears in *spopondī totondī*, which had run into one verbal system with the *éi̯o*-presents *spondeō tondeō* (§ 802 p. 338). *spopond-imus* instead of **spe--pend-* like Gr. πεπόνθ-αμεν instead of πε-παθ- (part. πεπαθυῖα). *momord-* in *momordī momordimus* (pres. *mordeō* like *spondeō*) may be both Idg. **me-mord-* and **me-mr̥d-* (Skr. *ma-mard-a ma-mr̥d-ur*). Similarly, we have *cu-currī* from *currō* for **corsō *kr̥sō* (§ 662 p. 197). Umbr. pepurkurent from √ *prek̂-* may like *de-rsic-ust* contain the weak stem (**pe-pr̥k̂-*), although persklum persnimu, which have changed the position of *r* (§ 674 p. 207), suggest some doubt.

Strong and Weak forms may be found, again, in *meminī tetinī pepulī tetulī* (*memin-i-mus tetul-i-mus*: Gr. μέμα-μεν τέτλα-μεν, as Skr. *jagm-i-ma* : *jagan-ma* Gr. βέβα-μεν, and as Skr. *jagm-i-vás-* : *jagan-vás-*); only the weak form in *pepigī* for **pepagī* (but Gr. πέπηγε) *tetigī cecidī*. But it is doubtful how far we are to look for the origin of these perfects in old reduplicated aorists (§ 867. 7 p. 415).

Doubtless it is the weak stem in Osc. *fefacust* beside Lat. *fēcī* from √ *dhē-*. The *a* of Lat. *vhevhaked* is difficult.

Remark. If it is short, this seems to prove that at the time of the Manios inscription (attributed to the 6th century B. C.) the weakening of **pépagī* to **pépigī* and the like (I § 680 p. 547) had not yet been completed. But hear what Bücheler says (Rhein. Mus. XLII 317): "After the second *h* the carver first put *i*, which he afterwards erased, though not so completely but that the intent is clear". Again, p. 318: "The quantity of the *a* is not known. What we know of the reduplicated perfects which are preserved in Latin, makes it likely that the *a* was short. Possibly this is the reason of the *i* which was first engraved (*cano cecini*, *infacetus inficetus*)". If this *i* is rightly so explained, and if the *a* put in on second thoughts was short, it must be a reversion to the old type on the analogy of *faciō* etc. (as with *in-facētus*); but such a reversion in the perfect is hardly credible. If *ā* was meant, it must be assumed that **fefāk-* was made in connexion with **fefak-* **fefik-* on the analogy of some such form as **pepāg-* (beside weak **pepăg-* **pepig-*). — We may now refer to Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Spr., 26 f.

The weak stem (regular) in Lat. *de-d-ī* = Skr. *da-d-ḗ* (cp. *tu-tud-ī* = Skr. *tu-tud-ḗ*) and in Umbr. t e - ř - u s t 'dederit' = Skr. *da-d-úṣ-* (cp. *de-rsic-ust* = Skr. *di-diś-úṣ-*), also Lat. *ste-t-ī* = Skr. *ta-sth-ē*. The form **de-d-e-d*, common to all Italic dialects, and Lat. *ste-t-i-t*, correspond exactly to the present forms Vestin. *di-d-e-t* 'dat' Lat. *si-st-ō* Umbr. s e s t u § 543 p. 103, § 553 p. 107. Uncertain it is whether Lat. *sistimus* is **si-sta-mos* answering to Gr. ἵ-στα-μεν, and it is equally uncertain whether *ste-ti-mus de-di-mus* are **ste-ta-mos* **de-da-mos* precisely like Skr. *ta-sthi-má* Gr. ἕ-στα-μεν Skr. *da-di-má*.

§ 870. A word of explanation is needed on those reduplicated perfects which have *ē* where the present has an *a*-sound. Lat. *fēcī* (beside *vhevhaked*): *faciō*, *cēpī* : *capiō* (cp. Goth. *hōf*), *jēcī* : *jaciō*, *pēgī* (beside *pepigī* Gr. Dor. πέπᾱγε): *pangō*, *frēgī* : *frangō*; Osc. conj. *hipid* 'habuerit' fut. perf. *hipust* 'habuerit': *hafiest* 'habebit', *sipus* 'sciens': Lat. *sapiō* (cp. O.H.G. *int-suab*). With initial vowel Lat. *ēgī* : *agō* (cp. O.Icel. *ōk*), *co-ēpī coepī* : *capiō*. *ē* is certainly original in *fēcī*,[1]) compare Gr. ἔθηκα (§ 864 Rem. p. 412), and doubtless

1) Bronisch sees *fēk-* in Umbr. f e i t u f e t u *feetu fetu* 'facito' = **fēke-tōd*. Another explanation, but less probable, is offered by Conway, Amer. Journ. Phil. XI 307, Class. Rev. V 300.

in *frēgī*, compare Goth. *brēkum* from √ *bhreg-* (on *frangō* see § 632 p. 168), and perhaps *jēcī* (Johansson, Beitr. gr. Spr. 61). Beginning with these forms, *ē* spread to those which originally had *ā*; in the causing of which not only the present with *a*, but also the *to*-participle had some effect, *captu-s* for example being like *factu-s*; the reason why *scābī* (= Goth. *skōf*) remained, from *scabō*, whilst **cāpī* (= Goth. *hōf*) changed to *cēpī*, was perhaps the lack of any participle **scaptu-s*. It was natural, too, to make *pēgī* like *frēgī*, simply because the verbs had opposite meanings.

§ 871. Perfect from Present stems with stem-characteristic. Compare § 847 p. 390 f.

Lat. *po-poscī* from *poscō* for **por(c)-scō*, cp. Skr. *papracha*. *fe-fellī* for **fe-fallī* from *fallō* for **fal-nō* (§ 608 p. 149). *tetend-ī* from *tendō*, √ *ten-* (§ 564 p. 111, § 696 p. 225).

Lat. *pre-hendī* from *-hendō* from √ *ghed-*, *lambī* from *lambō* beside O.H.G. *laffu*, *pandī* from *pandō* beside *pateō* (§ 632 p. 168 f.). *cūdī* from *cū-dō* (§ 696 p. 225). Osc. *com-parascuster* 'consultus erit' beside Lat. *-pescō* for **perc-scō* or **parc-scō* (§ 674 p. 207). Umbr. *eiscurent* 'poposcerint, arcessierint' beside pres. Skr. *ichá-ti* etc. (§ 670 p. 203). If Bugge's explanation of the Osc. fut. perf. fifikus as 'feceris' is right (Altital. Stud. 31), we must allow Oscan a present stem **fi-fĕk-(o-)*, showing the same reduplication as Gr. τί-θη-μι, and to be compared with Vestin. *di-d-e-t* 'dat' Lat. *si-stō* etc. (§ 553 p. 107); cp. Skr. part. *vivak-vás-* from pres. *ví-vak-ti* (§ 850 p. 398).

minuī sternuī (pres. *mi-nuō ster-nuō* § 649 p. 185) keep the present stem in the perfect; this being due to imitation of *ex-uī* : *ex-uō*, *pluī* : *pluō* and the like. The same is true of perf. *statuī* from the denominative *statuō*.

§ 872. The Moods of the Idg. perfect, and its preterite the Pluperfect, died out in Latin owing to the influx of sigmatic aorist forms into the perfect system. Still, *mementō* = Gr. μεμάτω remains, because *meminī* was used as as a perfect present.

Umbro-Samnitic has an *ē*-conjunctive (§ 926 *c*). Osc. *fefacid* 'fecerit' *hipid* 'habuerit' *fuid* 'fuerit', Umbr. *stiti-steteiens* 'stiterint'. From the *f*-Perfect Osc. sakrafír 'sacraverint', Umbr. *pihafei* = **pihāfēr* 'piaverint', from the *t*-Perfect, Osc. tríbarakattíns 'aedificaverint'. This Conjunctive may be derived from either conj. of the Idg. perfect (cp. Gr. πεπόνθ-η Skr. *papṛc-ā-si*) or conj. of the thematic aorist (Osc. *fuid* = Skr. *bhuv-ā-t*).

In the same area, the Idg. *u̯es*-participle held its own. Osc. *sipus* 'sapiens' probably like nom. sing. Skr. *vidúṣ* Avest. *vīđuš* (II § 136 p. 439 f., III § 193 p. 73). From this form was built up the future perfect (cp. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 272 f., the Author, Ber. sächs. Ges. Wiss., 1890, pp. 223 ff.), by combining it with injunctives, used for future, of the stem *s-o-* (from *es-* 'esse'). 2nd sing. *-us* = **-us-ses*, 3rd sing. *-ust* = **-us-set* (**-us-sed*): Umbr. kuvurtus 'converteris' *dersicust* 'dixerit', Osc. *fefacust* 'fecerit'. Osc. *fust* 'fuerit' (beside *fust* 'erit') for **fu-ust* from conj. *fuid*. If this **fu-ust *fūst* existed in Umbrian too, this explains the form amprefuus 'circumieris' (beside apr-etu 'circumito')[1]), which will be due to analogy of it. On the analogy of the Ist future, where *-zent* is the ending of the 3rd pl., — as Osc. *censazet* 'censebunt' Umbr. *furent* 'erunt', — arose the plurals Osc. tríbarakattuset 'aedificaverint' Umbr. pepurkurent 'poposcerint'. But we also find Umbr. *covortuso* 'conversum erit, converterint' for **covortus so(r)*, *benuso* 'ventum erit, venerint' for **benus so(r)*.

§ 873. The *us*-formation mentioned in the last section was used with other preterite participles besides those described.

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1) The *u* is doubtless long in Osc. tríbarakattuset too; if it had been short, we should expect *tríbarakattiuset (I § 49 p. 41). I assume the same analogy here. — G. Bronisch, in his new work on the Osc. *i*- and *e*-vowels, regards the nominative ending *-us* as earlier **-ōs* for **-u̯ōs*, and supports his view by amprefuus and tríbarakattuset.

Umbr. *en-telust* 'intenderit' a-pelust 'impenderit' derived from **tend-lo-* **pend-lo-* (Lat. *pendulu-s* 'hanging'). Compare the Slavonic part. pret. act. with *-lo-*, as *nes-lŭ* from *nes-ti* 'to carry' (II § 76 p. 212).

Umbr. *sesust* 'sederit' from **sesso-s* 'seated, sitting' (Skr. *sattá-s*). So too the Osc. *t*-preterite, which we must follow Danielsson in connecting with the *to*-participles, is derived from the fut. perf. in *-t-us-*. First arose forms like tríbarakattuset from partic. tríbarakato-. On the analogy of *aamanafust to ind. aamanaffed etc. arose such Indicatives as prúfatted *profated* 'probavit' and Conjunctives like tríbarakattíns. The same new formation is seen in Pelign. *coisatens* 'curaverunt' and in Volsk. *sistiatiens* 'statuerunt' = **sistātens*. The frequent spelling with double *t* in Oscan is the same in principle as *ff* in the *f*-perfect; it is possible that it is entirely due to the analogy of the *f*-perfect, which was the model for the whole *t*-perfect system (§ 874).

Remark. In Umbr.-Oscan, as we shall see in § 874, the *ā*-denominatives can make a strong perfect. It may therefore be held that as the perfect prúffed was made for the present stem *profā-* 'probare', so the perfect prúfatted was made for **profātā-* '*probatare'. But I prefer the explanation given above, so long as no forms are found from a stem **profātā* or anything like it.

An origin similar to that of these future perfects must be postulated for Umbr. *combifianšiust* beside *combifiatu* 'nuntiato', *purdinšiust* 'porrexerit' beside *pur-ditom* 'porrectum', which presuppose noun-stems **combifiankio-* **purdinkio-* (see Johansson, Beitr. z. gr. Sprachk., 84 ff., 147 ff.).

§ **874.** We pause a moment here to explain the origin of the *f*-perfect in this Umbro-Samnitic. Examples are: indic. Osc. aamanaffed 'mandavit' aíkdafed '*aequidavit', Osc. manafum, which may be 1st sing. ('mandavi') or 1st pl. ('mandavimus'), it is uncertain which; conj. Umbr. *pihafei(r)* 'piaverint' Osc. sakrafír 'sacraverint'; fut. perf. Umbr. ateřafust *andirsafust* 'circumtulerit' *ambrefurent* 'circumierint'.

This formation belongs to the Italic imperfect compounded with **bhu̯-ā-m* 'I was' (Lat. *amā-bam* Osc. fu-fans 'erant') and

the Latin future compounded with **bhu̯-ō* 'I shall be' (*amā-bō*), found also in Keltic (§ 899); the Umbr.-Samn. *-fed* is indic. aor. = Idg. **bhu̯-e-t* (Avest. *bva-þ*), cp. Lat. *fuit* Osc. conj. *fuid*, to be connected with Skr. *á-bhuv-a-t* (§ 867. 5 p. 414). If Osc. mana-fum is 1st sing., its second part must be = Idg. **bhu̯-o-m*. In the *ff* of Oscan, as aamanaffed, we should perhaps recognise another effect of the *u̯* which once followed *f*. But it is possible to explain the sharpening of the consonant if we take as our starting point *f* (for *fu̯*); see Danielsson, Pauli's Altit. Stud. IV 139 ff. For the Umbr.-Samn. conjunctive stem *-fē-* = **fu̯-ē-* may be equated with O.C.Sl. *bě* (§ 578 p. 119, § 587 p. 128).

The attraction of these forms into the Perfect called up a future perfect with *-us-*. Umbr. ampr-e-fuus shows that the *u* was long; and this may be explained as due to the analogy of the fut. perf. **fūst* = Osc. *fust* for **fu-ust* (§ 872 p. 420 f.).

No complete explanation has been given for the forms Umbr. *portust* 'portaverit' beside *portatu* 'portato', Osc. upsed 'operatus est' 3rd pl. uupsens *ουπσενς* beside úpsannam 'operandam', prúffed 'probavit' prúftú-set 'probata sunt' beside prúfatted 'probavit', *urust* 'oraverit'. They look as though formed after the fashion of primary *ā*-verbs with strong perfect. Umbro-Samnitic perhaps had, as Latin had, primary *ā*-verbs with strong perfect (cp. *juvāre jūvī* § 583 p. 124); and thus the *ā*-denominatives may have followed their inflexion in some particulars, as in late Latin we meet forms like part. *probitus* or imper. *probuntō* from *probāre* (see Georges, Lex. Lat. Wortf., 556).

§ **875.** We now return to Latin, in order to finish with the perfect in *-vī* and *-uī*, as *ī-vī scī-vī sē-vī plē-vī nō-vī flā-vī fīnī-vī amā-vī* and *genuī texuī crepuī monuī saluī*.

Of the attempts hitherto made to explain these, which are summarised by Stolz, Lat. Gr.² 370 f., and more fully by Per Persson, Wurzelerw. 210 (Ernault, Du Parfait, 63 and 92 f. should also be consulted), the simplest and most credible is the

following. The analogy of *mō-tu-s* (Umbr. *comoho-ta* abl. 'commota') *jū-tu-s* : *mōv-ī jūv-ī*, and the like, suggested (1) *plēvī nōvī amāvī* beside *plētu-s nōtu-s amātu-s* etc., to which were added *sēvī īvī* etc.; and (2) e. g. **gene-u̯ī* beside **gene-to-s* (*genitus*), which became *genuī*.[1]) Between *genuī* and *flāvī*, then, there would be the same relation as between Gr. ὀμώμοκα and δέδρᾱκα.

The reason why *mōvī jūvī* had this influence, in spite of their present *moveō juvō*, is the specially close connexion between the *to*-participle and the perfect active; *mōtus sum* being the passive of *mōvī*. The Gr. τέθηκα δέδωκα etc., it will be remembered, caused the κ-type of perfect to spread (as βέβληκα ἔγνωκα), in spite of their connexion with the aorist ἔθηκα ἔδωκα, which themselves were not fertile.

Remark. We must assume that *nōv-ī* goes along with Skr. *ja-jñāú*, *nāv-ī* with Skr. *snāu-ti*, and *nēv-ī* with Goth. *snēv-um*. The old part. perf. active has also been brought in evidence, and *sēvistis* derived from **sē-ves stes*, *sēvimus* from **sēves smos* (though **sēves-smos* could regularly only become **sēvēmus*); and others have connected *genuī* with *in-genuo-s*, *sīvī* with *dē-sīvāre*, and so forth.

The forms in *-vī* and *-ui*, like all perfect forms not based upon the *is*-aorist, were attracted to take the endings of this tense in the other persons: *nōvistī nōvistis genuistī genuistis nōverō genuerō nōverim genuerim nōveram genueram nōvissem genuissem*.

A few original *s*-perfects were transformed to match *genuī*: *pēxuī nēxuī* instead of *pēxī nēxī* (§ 823 p. 361) from *pectō nectō* (§ 683 p. 214 f.), *messuī* instead of **messī* from *metō*.

Keltic.

§ 876. Outside of Irish, few survivals remain of the Idg. perfect. Gall. *dede* 'dedit' or 'posuit', Mid.Cymr. *ciglef* 'audivi' = O.Ir. *ro chuala*.

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1) Beside *pōnō* for **po-s(i)nō* stood *po-sīvī* and since *po-situ-s* was incorrectly analysed *pos-itu-s*, there arose the other Perfect form *posuī*. See Osthoff, Perf., 261 and 611 f.

Of Irish examples, we have already cited, and compared with perfect forms from other Idg. languages in § 846, the following: *do-ro-chair* 'cecidit, periit', *ro gēnar* 'natus sum', *do-mēnar* 'putavi', *ro gegon* 'interfeci', *ro lil* 'adhaesit' 3rd pl. *ro leldar*, *ro chuala* 'audivi', *ro bōi* 'fuit', *ad-con-dairc* 'conspexit', *do-roigu* 'elegit', *ro cechan* 'cecini'; in § 847 *im-chom-arc-air* 'interrogavit', in § 849 *ro tāich* 'fugit' 3rd pl. *ro tāchatar*.

To these examples a few more may be added which show the reduplication either retained, or changed only in accordance with the phonetic rules. *ro reraig* 'porrexit' for **re-rog-e*, pres. *rigim*, √*reǵ-*: cp. O.Icel. *rak*. *ro memaid* 'he broke' (intr.) 3rd pl. *ro me-md-atur*, pres. *maidim*. *ro de-daig* 'oppressit' 3rd pl. *ro de-dg-atar*, pres. *for-dengat* 'opprimunt'. *fris-racacha* 'speravi', pres. *ad-chiu* 'I see'. *ro selaig* 'he struck down' i. e. *se-slaig*, pres. *sligim*: cp. Goth. *slōh* § 888. *ro cechladatar* 'suffoderunt', pres. *-cladar* 'he is buried'. *ro sescaind* 'he sprang', pres. Mid.Ir. *scinnim*: Skr. *ca-skánd-a* 'he sprang'; on the vocalism of this root see § 520 p. 84. *ro sescaing* 'he leapt out', pres. Mid.Ir. *scingim*. Mid.Ir. *ro leblaing* 'he leapt' instead of **lelaing* beside pres. *lingim* O.Ir. *lengaim* (R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. I 48 f.). *ro cechaing* 'he stepped', pres. *cengaim*.

The perfects *fo nenaig* 'he cleansed' and *ro senaich* 'it dropped, trickled' beside pres. *nigim* √*neịg-* and *snigid* √*sneịgh-*, may be derived from **-nenoige* **-sesnoige*, as nothing certain is known of the treatment of *oi* in internal syllables. But perhaps they are modelled after perfects like *reraig*, cp. Goth. *baþ* from *bidja* § 722 p. 253.

Mid.Ir. *ro-fiu* 'he slept', not from √*sụep-*, but, as Thurneysen holds, from √*ụes-* (Skr. *vas-* 'to pass the night' perf. *u-vās-a*), therefore for **ụe-ụo(s)-e*, which became first **fi-ui*, 3rd pl. *-feotar* for **ụe-ụo(s)-atar*; cp. *feiss* 'sleep'. Observe the analogical *e* of the reduplicator, for by I § 66 p. 54 f. **ụeụos-* must have become **ụoụos-*.

§ **877.** Perfects based upon presents with stem-characteristic (cp. § 847). *in-roigrann* 'I pursued' beside

in-grennim from √ *ghredh-* (§ 628 p. 165). *do-sefainn* 'pepulit' 3[rd] pl. *do-sefnatar*, if the present *sennim* § 613 p. 151 is rightly derived from **su̯em-nō.* *ro nenasc* 'I bound, promised' beside *nascim* from √ *nedh-* (§ 675 p. 208).

ad-gēn 'cognovi' 3[rd] sing. *-geuin* 1[st] pl. *-gēnammar* 3[rd] pl. *-gēnatar* comes from the Idg. perfect **ĝe-ĝn-ō-* (Skr. *jajñáú* Gr. ἔγνωκα ἔγνωσται, also perhaps Goth. **kai-knō*, see p. 128 footnote 1), from √ *ĝen-*. The plural may be derived at once from this ground-form. The 1[st] and 3[rd] sing., which point to **ge-gn-a* and **ge-gn-e*, are later re-formates. Compare in Sanskrit the forms *jajñimá jajñivás-* beside *jajñáú* etc. (§ 850 p. 396).

§ **878.** The syllable of reduplication usually has the vowel *e* quite clear; e. g. *ro ge-gon ge-guin* like Gr. πέ-φαται, *ro ce-chan ce-chuin* like Lat. *ce-cinī.*

By dissimilation, the initial consonant of the unaccented reduplicating syllable was dropt after *ro*, after which the *e*-vowel of this syllable was contracted with *ro* into the genuine diphthong *oi* (I p. 483 footnote 1). Of the examples already given *do-roigu* for **-ró-gegu*, and *in-roigrann*, come in here. Others are *for-roichan* beside *ro cechan*, *fo-roiblang* beside *ro leblang*, *arob-roinasc* beside *ro nenasc*, *fo-roichlaid* beside *ro cechladatar.*

By a process of re-formation which cannot now be traced exactly we have *u* in the reduplicator of *ro chuala*, for **cu-clou̯-a*; the Mid.Cymr. *ci-glef* (3[rd] sing. *ci-gleu*) gives no help in determining the age of Ir. *cu-*, because its *ci-* admits of more than one explanation. In Irish, *i* seems also to have been used in reduplicating *i*-roots: *ro lil* 'adhaesit' pres. *lenim* √ *lei̯-*, *ro giuil* 'adhaesit' pres. *glenim* √ *glei̯-*, *do-rad-chiuir* 'redemit' 1[st] sing. *-chēr* pres. *crenim* √ *qrei̯-* (§ 598 p. 142, § 604 p. 145). The last attempts to deal with this difficult group of perfect forms are those of Thurneysen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 89, and R. Schmidt, Idg. Forsch. I 62 f.[1]) The forms which must be

1) Thurneysen informs me that he does not back his explanation against R. Schmidt's, which he recognises as being right in all essentials.

postulated as those which just preceded these show the personal ending affixed immediately to the root-final consonant: 3rd sing. **li-l-e *gi-gl-e *ki-kr-e*, 1st sing. **ki-kr-a* (*-chēr*) 3rd pl. **li-l-ontor* (*leldar*). And again the perfect of *renim* 'I sell' (for **pr̥-na-mi* from √*per-*, § 598 p. 141) shows this perfect formation, 3rd sing. *ro rir* = **pi-pr-e* (this first becomes **ir*, instead of which we get *rir* by § 476 p. 23), whilst what one would expect is **reir* = **pe-pr-e* (with strong stem **pe-por-e*). R. Schmidt conjectures that this **pe-pr-e* and **li-lo(i̯)-e* etc., the present formation being the same for both, became **pi-pre* and **li-le* by mutual analogy. Is it not better to suppose that *-rir* is based upon a reduplicated preterite **pi-pr-e-t*, in Class IV? In Thurneysen's opinion the Conjunctive of this present class is represented in futures like *do-bēr* (§ 565 p. 112), and we shall see anon (in § 879) that some of the Keltic perfects probably come from a thematic preterite (aorist or imperfect). *-ciuir* too may be derived from **qi-qr-e-t*, as the "root" *qrei̯-*, it may be conjectured, is possibly an extension of *qer-* 'make'.[1]) If this be the origin of *-rir* (and *-ciuir*), the difficulty of *-lil* and the rest at once vanishes.

t-ānac 'I came' 3rd sing. *t-ānaic* beside Skr. *ānąśa*, also to be compared with Gr. ἐν-ήνεγκ-ται, if ἐν- is the preposition and not a reduplicator. See § 846 p. 390, § 858 p. 408.

§ 879. Beside the reduplicated forms appear unreduplicated not a few. To those already cited, *do-ro-chair*, *ro bōi*, *ad-con-dāirc*, *im-chom-arc-air*, *ro tāich*, we may add 3rd sing. *ro scāich* beside *scuchim* 'I yield', *ro gāid* beside *gudim* 'I beg', 1st sing. *fo-ro-damar* for *-dāmar* beside *fo-daim* 'patitur', 3rd sing. *du-fu-tharcair* 'wishes'.

There is no proof that these forms have lost a reduplicating syllable in Keltic itself. Like *ro-mīdar* (§ 848. 3 p. 393), they

1) See Per Persson, Wurzelerweiterung p. 108 (where Ir. *taid-chur* 'redemptio' must be struck out; as I learn from Thurneysen, the word rather means 'return').

are forms which never had reduplication; *-dairc* may be compared with Skr. *darś-i-vas-* (§ 848. 2 p. 392).

Unfortunately there is nothing to decide whether in the plural of the Irish perfect, in such forms as *ro cechnammar cechnaid cechnatar*, the vowel preceding the personal ending was the thematic vowel, or Idg. *ə* (= pr. Kelt. *a*); in the 1st plural another question offers, whether *a* does not come from the initial sonant of the personal ending (*-m̥m-*). If, as is most probable, these are thematic, there may have been thematic preterites amongst the above unreduplicated forms, and *-dairc*, for instance, may be identical with Gr. ἔδρακε, *bōi* with Skr. *ábhavat*; *do-cer* 'cecidit' too, beside *do-ro-chair*, gives the impression of such a preterite. Compare the aorist forms which have obtained a footing in the Latin Perfect, e. g. *scidit* = Skr. *áchidat* (§ 867. 5 p. 414). In § 878 p. 427. I conjectured that *-rir* was a reduplicated thematic aorist. In the 3rd singular, the original endings **-e* (perf.) and **-e-t* (thematic pret.) must have run together in Irish; so in the 1st plural with *-ə-m-* (Skr. *-i-ma*), *-m̥m-* (Goth. *-um*), and *-o-m-*; and this may have brought about the commingling of the different tenses.

§ 880. Of the Idg. vowel gradation in the Root Syllable little now remains. Within the indic. active, the differences of gradation between singular and plural were all levelled away in Old Irish; e. g. 3rd sing. *ro geguin* 'vulneravit, trucidavit' for **gegon-e* (Skr. *jaghā́n-a*) 2nd pl. *ro gegnaid* for **gegon-* (Skr. *jaghn-á*). But the original middle shows in some forms the weak stem proper to it; e. g. *ro gēnar* 'natus sum' for **ge-gn-*, like Skr. *ja-jñ-é*.

The vocalism of some forms is exceptional: *ro tāich* beside *techim* 'I flee', *ro rāith* beside *rethim* 'I run', cp. *ro scāich* beside *scuchim, ro gāid* beside *gudim*. Except *ro mīdar*, all unreduplicated preterites with roots having a single initial consonant show *-ā-*.

§ 881. One thing yet remains to say of the personal endings. The 1st and 3rd plural have a deponent formation (*-ammar* and *-atar*).

Germanic.

§ 882. I first give once again the forms cited in § 846, and compared with perfects from other languages. Goth. *ga-tar* 'he tore up, destroyed' *-tērun*, O.H.G. *zar zārun*. Goth. *man* 'remembers, wishes' *munun*, O.Icel. *man muno*. Goth. *qam* 'came' *qēmun*, O.H.G. *quam quāmun*. Goth. *ga-þars* 'dried up' *-þaúrsun*. Goth. *ga-dars* 'dares' *-daúrsun*, O.H.G. *gi-tar -turrun*. Goth. *varþ* 'became' *vaúrþun*, O.H.G. *ward wurtun*. Goth. *hlaf* 'stole' *hlēfun*. Goth. *band* 'bound' *bundun*, O.H.G. *bant buntun*. Goth. *gatáih* 'showed, recounted' *-taíhun*, O.H.G. *zēh zigun*. Goth. *báit* 'bit' *bitun*, O.H.G. *beiȥ biȥȥun*. Goth. *láihv* 'lent' *laíhvun*, O.H.G. *lēh liwun*. O.H.G. *sēh* 'strained, filtered' *sigun*. Goth. *káus* 'tried, chose' *kusun*, O.H.G. *kōs kurun*. Goth. *ana-báuþ* 'bade, commanded' *-budun*, O.H.G. *bōt butun*. Goth. *báug* 'bent' *bugun*, O.H.G. *boug bugun*. O.H.G. *rōȥ* 'wept' *ruȥȥun*. O.Icel. *svaf* 'slept' *svǭfo*. Goth. *gavag* 'moved' *-vēgun*, O.H.G. *wag wāgun*. Goth. *sat* 'sat' *sētun*, O.H.G. *saȥ sāȥun*. Goth. *saí-sō* 'sowed' *saí-sōun*. Goth. *skaí-skáiþ* 'separated, parted' *skaí-skáidun*. Goth. *staí-stáut* 'pushed, knocked' *staí-stáutun*.

The Idg. difference in accent of singular and plural (cf. Skr. *vḗda* : *vidmá*, *cakā́ra* : *cakr̥má*) has left its traces in the final consonants of the root in O.H.G. *ward* : *wurtun*, *zēh* : *zigun*, *kōs* : *kurun* and the like (I § 530 p. 386 f., § 580 p. 434).

Whether the ending of the 1st pl. indic. *-um* represents Idg. *-m̥me*, or is due to the analogy of 3rd pl. *-un* and was originally Idg. *-me* or *-ə-me*, is doubtful; see § 844 p. 385 f.

Besides the indic. perf., the Optative is seen in Germanic; e. g. 1st pl. Goth. *vit-ei-ma* O.H.G. *wiȥȥ-ī-mēs*, Goth. *skaískáid-*

-ei-ma. Then there is one isolated Conjunctive form, used as an imperative, Goth. *ōgs* 'fear thou' (beside indic. *ōg* 'he fears'), and a few substantives based upon the Participle, as Goth. *bēr-us-jōs* 'parents' and A.S. *ēȝesa ēȝsa* O.Sax. *ēcso* 'owner' (II § 136 p. 445, Johansson Beitr. zur griech. Sprachkunde, 134).

The Germanic Perfect falls into two divisions, (I) Reduplicated and (II) Unreduplicated.

§ 883. (I) The reduplicating syllable of the Idg. reduplicated perfect is kept clear and true in Gothic; but this only by roots which as far as Germanic is concerned do not belong to the *e*-series.[1])

All Gothic reduplicating syllables have *aí*, which is regular for *i* = Idg. *e* before *h* and *r*; e. g. *haí-háit raí-rōþ* (I § 67 p. 58). Begining with those cases where it was regular, *aí* spread to the rest by analogy; hence *skaí-skáiþ*; which regularly would be **ski-skáiþ*. As regards Johansson's view that Goth. *aí* is to be read as a long vowel, see Addendum to page 17.

The fact that the analogy of *aí* really did so act is clear from the new forms *aí-áuk* (= O.Icel. *jōk* § 885) beside *áuka* 'I increase', and *af-aiáik* beside *af-áika* 'I deny, refuse' (§ 473 p. 19).

The root syllable of these reduplicated forms is always the same in the plural as in the singular; the strong grade of the singular has become general. *skaí-skáiþ skaí-skáidun*: Skr. *ci-chēda ci-chidur*, √ *s͡khai̯t- s͡khai̯d-*. *staí-stáut staí-stáutun*: Skr. *tu-tṓda tu-tudúr*, √ *(s)tau̯d-*. *faí-flōk* 'he lamented' *faí-flōkun*: Gr. Dor. πέ-πλᾱγε, pres. *flōka* Class II *A* in contrast with Lith. *plakù* Class II *B*, √ *plāq- plăg-* (§ 534 p. 96). *saí-sō* 'sowed' *saí-sōun*: Gr. Dor. ἀφέωκα, pres. *saia* for **sē-i̯ō*, cp. Gr. ἵ-η-μι, √ *sē- sə-*; *saísōun*, like *laílōun* 'they abused',

1) "As far as Germanic is concerned", because the analogy of these attracted into the same group some others which in the parent language did have *e*-vocalism; for instance, Goth. *vaívald* beside *valda* 'I rule' for **u̯l̥dhō* from √ *u̯el-*.

also shows itself not to be in its original form by the ending *-un*, taken over from the stems which had initial consonant. *lai-lōt* 'let' *lai-lōtun*, pres. *lēta*, √ *lēd-* (§ 521 p. 85).

§ 884. This Gothic reduplicated Perfect was also formed from extended roots, or from presents with some stem-characteristic (cp. §§ 847, 889, 891).

vaí-vō 'blew': Skr. *va-vāu* from *u̯-ē-* 'to blow', pres. *vaia* = *u̯ē-i̯ō* (§ 587 p. 128, § 735 p. 262).

fai-fāh 'grasped' *fai-fāhun* (cp. O.H.G. *fiang fiangun* § 885) beside pres. *fāha* (O.H.G. *fāhu*) for **faŋχō*, probably a nasal present from √ *pāk̑-* (§ 632 p. 168, § 634 p. 171).

fai-falþ 'folded' *fai-falþun* beside pres. *falþa* ground-form **pl̥-tō* (§ 680 p. 213); *hai-hald* 'tended, pastured' beside pres. *halda* ground-form **kl̥-tṓ* (§ 585 p. 215). *vai-vald* 'he ruled' *vai-valdun* beside pres. *valda* ground-form **u̯l̥-dhō* (§ 689 p. 219); *ga-rairōþ* 'considered' *-rairōdun* beside pres. *ga-rēda* ground-form **rē-dhō* (§ 689 p. 220). *sai-salt* 'he salted' beside pres. *sal-ta* = Lat. *sallō* for **sal-dō* (§ 690 p. 221).

§ 885. In West Germanic and Norse there are only a few distinct traces of the reduplicated type. The most important forms for our purpose are the following.

First some Anglo-Saxon forms, as *reo-rd* = Goth. *rai-rōþ*, (*leo-rt* = *lai-lōt*), *leo-lc* 'he leapt' = *lai-láik* with long vowel lost in the find syllable, as it is in *hwylc* 'which?' *swylc* 'such' = Goth. *hvileiks svaleiks*.

More uncertain are some forms which Bopp regarded as reduplicated. O.H.G. Alemann. 3rd pl. ind. *pleruȥȥun* 3rd sing. opt. *ca-pleruȥȥi* beside pres. *bluoȥu* 'I offer', 3rd sing. ind. *ki-skrerot* beside pres. *scrōtu* 'I cut' (= Goth. **skráuda*), 3rd sing. ind. *steroȥ* beside pres. *stōȥu* 'I knock, push'. According to Holz (Urgermanisches geschlossenes ē, p. 28) **ske-skrōd-* became **skre-skrōd-* **skre-rōd-*, **be-blōt-* became **ble-blōt-* **ble-lōt-* **blerōt-*; this, he says, produced a perfect type with *r*, whence **sterōt-* instead of **ste-stōt-*. A different view is taken by Zarncke, P.-B. Beitr. xv 350 ff.; but his is more dubious even than that of Holz.

O. Icel. *sera* 'I sowed' for **se-zō-* = Goth. *sai-sō*; *sera* is inflected as a weak preterite in the singular (as is Goth. 2nd sing. *saisōst* perhaps from **saisōs*); in the plural, *serom*. O. Icel. *jōk* 'I increased' (pl. *jōkom*) for **eauka* = Goth. *ai-áuk* (§ 883 p. 430).

In these dialects we usually find, parallel to the Gothic reduplicated perfect, forms whose structure is apparently different; on which works have been brought out of late by Ljungstedt, Ottmann and Holz, whose titles are given in the footnote to page 383.[1]) The facts about O.H.G. are as follows:

(1) Verbs with *ou* or *ō* = Goth. *áu* in the present, and verbs with present *uo* = Goth. *ō*, have, instead of the Gothic dissyllabic reduplicated stem, a monosyllabic stem with *eo*, whence *io ia ie*. *leof liof liaf lief* 'I ran' *leofun liofun* from pres. *loufu*: Goth. *hai-hláup hai-hláupun*. *stioz* 'I pushed, knocked' *stiozun* from pres. *stōzu*: Goth. *stai-stáut stai-stáutun*. *(h)riof* 'I called' *(h)riofun* from *hruofu*.

(2) The others, instead of the Gothic dissyllabic reduplicated stem, show a monosyllabic stem with *ē*, which becomes *ea ia ie* (I § 75 Rem. 2 p. 65):

(*a*) *hiaz* 'I was called' *hiazun* from pres. *heizu*: Goth. *hai-háit hai-háitun*. *sciad* 'separated' from *sceidu*: Goth. *skai-skáiþ*.

(*b*) *fiald* 'folded' *fialdun* from pres. *faldu*: Goth. *fai-falþ fai-falþun*. *hialt* 'held' from *haltu*: Goth. *hai-hald*. *wialt* 'rules' from *waltu*: Goth. *vai-vald*. *sialz* 'salted' from *salzu*: Goth. *sai-salt*. *fiang* 'seized' *fiangun* from *fāhu*: Goth. *fai-fāh fai-fāhun*; the difference between the Gothic and Old High German, *h* : *g*, is explained by remembering that in accordance with the old difference in accent, the singular came to have *h* and the plural *g* (cp. § 882 p. 429). *fial* 'fell' from *fallu* for **fal-nō*, *wial* 'bubbled, boiled'

1) On Holz' attempt, see Holthausen, Anzeig. deutsch. Altert., 1891, p. 187; and Sievers, Paul-Braune-Sievers Beitr., xvi 252 ff. Ljungstedt's work is not accessible to me; his views are only known to me by reviews and citations.

wialun from *wallu* for **u̯al-nō*, see § 614 p. 151; *l* for *ll* because a long vowel precedes. *spian* 'I stretched' *spianun* from *spa-nnu*, see § 654 p. 188; *n* for *nn* has the same reason. *iar* 'ploughed' *iarun* (part. *gi-aran*) from *er-iu* 'I plough' (the perf. of Goth. *arja* is not found), see § 723 p. 253.

(*c*) *liaz* 'I let' *liazun* from *lāzu*: Goth. *lai-lōt lai-lōtun*. *riat* 'I advised' from *rātu*: Goth. *rai-rōþ*. *sliaf* 'slept' from *slāfu* contrasted with Goth. *sai-zlēp sai-slēp* pres. *slēpa*.

Remark. *sāu* 'I sow' passed over to the weak conjugation; hence pret. *sāta* (part. *gi-sāit*), not like Goth. *sai-sō*. See Braune, Ahd. Gr.[2] § 351 Anm. 3 p. 249, § 359 Anm. 3 p. 254.

There can hardly be a shadow of doubt that some at least of these perfect formations, which are repeated to a great extent in the other West Germanic dialects and in Norse, have come from reduplicated forms such as we see in Gothic. But how this happened has not yet been clearly made out. The *eo*-preterite has been best explained, if explained be the word. It is probable that the type of this group arose from verbs which began with *au-*: 1st sing. **é-auka* (Goth. *aiáuk*) became **éōka *eoka* (O. Icel. *jōk*); then on the analogy of **eoka* beside pres. **aukō* was formed beside **hlaupō* the perf. **hleopa* 'I run' (O.H.G. *leof* O. Icel. *hljōp*), and so forth.

Ljungstedt regards this whole perfect class as being composed partly of Idg. reduplicated perfects, and partly of aorists and imperfects; for instance, he calls O. Icel. *kom* 'I came' (beside *kvam* Goth. *qam*) an original aorist.

§ 886. Perhaps the West-Germ. preterite of √ *dhē-* 'to place, do' is a reduplicated perfect: O.H.G. indic. 1st and 3rd sing. *teta* (2nd sing. *tāti*) pl. *tātum tātut tātun* opt. 1st and 3rd sing. *tāti*; O.Sax. 1st and 3rd sing. *deda* 2nd sing. *dedōs* pl. *dedun* and *dādun* opt. *dedi* and *dādi*; A.S. *dyde dydes(t)* etc. like *nerede*, but pl. also *dǣdon*.

It is not clear whether this preterite is to be connected with the Idg. perfect (Skr. *dadhāú*), or the Idg. imperfect (Skr. *ádadhāt* Gr. ἐτίθη, see § 539 p. 99, § 545 p. 103), or both. In any case, however, there can be no comparing of the

1st and 3rd sing. O.H.G. *teta* O. Sax. *deda* and the Skr. middle form *dadhḗ*.

The *y* of A.S. *dyde* is difficult. Sievers deduces an opt. **du-d-ī-* (Paul-Braune-Sievers' Beitr., XVI 236). This would bring us to a weak preterite from a stem *du-*, as to which consult Wilmanns, Zeitschr. für d. Alt., XXXIII 425.

**dēd-* in the weak forms seems to be connected with *-dēdum* in the Gothic weak preterite. To explain how it got there, the following theory is less strained than others. We may suppose that Germanic once had a present answering to the Skr. *dá-dh-a-ti* Lith. *de-d-ù* (§ 540 p. 101, § 561 p. 110); then *tatum* was an ad-formate of *gābum* etc. The suggestions of Johansson (Kuhn's Ztschr. XXX 550) and Holz (as cited, 44) are unsatisfactory.

Remark. Collitz (Am. Journ. Phil. IX 51) and Johansson (as cited, p. 549) see in Goth. *iddja* 'I went' a 1st sing. perf. mid. = Skr. **īy-ḗ* (cp. act. 3rd pl. *īy-úr*). But there never was any pr. Idg. perfect stem *ī̯i̯-*, which fact alone wrecks the hypothesis; Skr. *īy-úr* is an Aryan formation; see § 851 p. 399. On *iddja*, see § 478 p. 26, § 587 p. 128, § 592 p. 133.

§ 887. (II) We now turn to the Second chief class of Germanic Perfects, those which show no reduplication in any Germanic dialect. This class falls into two sections; (*A*) those which have no vowel variation within their own perfect system, as Goth. *skōf skōbun* opt. 1st pl. *skōbeima*; and (*B*) those which have, as Goth. *man munun muneima*, *qam qēmun qēmeima*.

A part of these forms, what are called the Preterite-Presents, kept hold of the proethnic function of the perfect to express the present perfect, and did not become a historic tense; as Goth. *ōg* 'I fear' *áih* 'I have' *váit* 'I know' *man* 'I think'. In this they are like Lat. *meminī* and *ōdī*. As they were isolated in use, so they were exceptional in form. (1) In the Indicative, roots of the *e*-series, ending in a single consonant, lacked the *ē*-form; cp. Goth. *man munun* or *skal skulun* as contrasted with *qam* 'I came' *qēmun*, *stal* 'I stole' *stēlun*. (2) The present meaning demanded an infinitive and participle. The place of these was filled by thematic forms of present Class II, which in verbs that retained ablaut were taken from Class II *B*, e. g. *áihan áihands*

beside *áih* 'I have', *vitan vitands* beside *váit*. Of the forms taken from Class II *B*, some few had come down from pre-Germanic times; as *vitan munan skulan ga-daúrsan* (§ 532 p. 93 f.). The adj. *un-agands* 'fearless' is related to *ōg* 'I fear' as *us-anands* 'exhaling' to *us-ōn* 'I exhaled'. (3) A past tense was needed for them. For this the 'Weak Preterite' was used, as Goth. *vissa* O.H.G. *wissa wessa* beside *váit weiȥ*, Goth. *ga-daúrsta* O.H.G. *gi-torsta* beside *ga-dars gi-tar*. If, as has been assuned, O.H.G. *wiss-um -ut -un* belong to the s-aorist, they must be related to *weiȥ* just as ἤσμεν ἤστε ἤσαν ἴσαν to οἶδα (§ 821 p. 358, § 827 p. 365, § 863 p. 411).

With the Preterite-Presents based upon the Idg. Perfect were associated a variety of Present stems:

Three or four *neu̯*-classes: Goth. *kun-nu-m* O.H.G. *un-nu-m* O.Sax. **dur-nu-m*, to which were added, by analogy of the Perfect singular, the forms *kann an darn*; see § 646 p. 183 f.

Then Goth. O.H.G. *mag* 'I can, am able' pl. *magun* is probably a transformation of a present of Class II *B* **maȝō* = O.C.Sl. *mogą* 'I can' (§ 523 p. 87); it belongs to the root of Gr. μῆχος μηχανή Dor. μᾱχανᾱ́, and must have been an orig. perfect **mōg* **mōgun*. Its transformation into a perfect is easily understood from its meaning. Beside *magan magands* were formed *mag magun* following *áih áigun* beside *áihan áihands*, and *ga-mōt -mōtun* beside *-mōtan -mōtands*.[1]) The form *muȝ-*, found in West-Germ. beside *maȝ-*, e. g. O.H.G. *mugun* beside *magun*, is due to later re-formation, as Osthoff shows (P.-B. Beitr. xv 213 ff.).

Remark. Osthoff (*op. cit.* pp. 217 f.) holds *mag* to be a genuine perfect, and assumes that **mōg magun* levelled out the strong stem. This view is contradicted by *ōg ōgun* (beside *un-agands*) *áih áigun* (beside Skr. *īś-*) *skōf skōbun* (beside *skaban*) and so forth, which all show levelling in favour of the singular stem.

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1) Similarly, in the Rhine-Frankish dialect of Mod.H.G. the identity of inflexion in *ich brauch(e) wir brauche(n)* inf. *brauche(n)* pret. *braucht(e)* and *ich muss wir müsse(n)* inf. *müsse(n)* pret. *musst(e)* led to the coining of a 3rd sing. *er brauch*, instead of *er braucht*, parallel to *er muss*.

§ 888. Group II *A*. The unreduplicated perfects which had no gradation, with the single exception of *mag* (for which see above), show *ai* or *ō* in the root.

ai only in Goth. *áih* 'has' pl. *áigun* (by levelling also *áig* and *áihun*) O.H.G. pl. *eigun* (from the participial stem **aiȝ-us-* comes A.S. *ēȝesa ēȝsa* O.Sax. *ēcso*, see § 882 p. 430): Skr. mid *īś-ē*, see § 848 p. 391. As this Sanskrit form shews, Germanic has levelled in favour of the singular vocalism, *áigun* instead of **īgun* or **igun*. That *áih* has no reduplication (as *af-aiáik stai-skáiþ* etc. have, §§ 883 ff.) shows that this was lacking in pre-Germanic times, and makes the immediate connexion with the Aryan verb certain. Inf. *áihan* part. *áihands* are Germanic re-formates (cp. the thematic Skr. *īś-a-tē* Avest. *is-a-itę*, § 854 p. 404).

All other examples have *ō*, which is the vowel of the singular. These perfects, if we look at Germanic alone, all belong to roots of an *a-* or *o-*series. Goth. *skōf* 'scraped' *skōbun* O.H.G. *scuob scuobun* O.Icel. *skōf skōfo* from pres. *skaba scabu skef*: Lat. *scābī* from *scabō*. Goth. *hōf* 'raised' *hōfun* (instead of **hōbun*) O.H.G. *huob* (instead of **huof*) *huobun* from pres. *hafja heff(i)u*: Lat. *capiō*. O.H.G. *int-suab* 'I marked' *-suabun* from pres. *int-seff(i)u*: Lat. *sapiō*. Goth. *skōþ* 'I hurt' *skōþun* from pres. *skaþja*: cp. Gr. ἀ-σκηθής 'scatheless' (η = ā). Goth. *us-ōn* 'exhaled' *-ōnun* from pres. *us-ana*: Skr. *āna*, cp. Gr. ἄνεμο-ς 'wind' ἠνεμόεις 'windy' (η for ă). O. Icel. *ōk* 'drove' *ōko* beside pres. *ek*: Gr. ἦχε ἦγμαι (η for ă) Skr. *āja*. O.H.G. *buoh* 'baked' *buohhun* from pres. *bahhu* (Class II *B*) beside *backu* (for **bak-nō* Class XIII § 614 p. 152): Gr. πέφωγμαι pres. φώγω (Class II *A*). Pret.-pres. Goth. *ōg* 'fears' *ōgun* (2nd sing. conj. *ōgs* § 882 p. 430) beside *un-agands* 'fearless': O.Ir. *-āgur* 'fear' may also have been originally perfect.

A certain number of perfects of this group come from roots of the *e*-series. Goth. *fōr* 'drove' *fōrun* O.H.G. *fuor fuorun* from *fara faru*, √ *per-* Gr. περάω 'I pass through'. Goth. *mōl* 'I ground' O.H.G. *muol* from *mala malu*, √ *mel-* O.Ir. *melim*

O.C.Sl. *melją* beside Armen. *malem* Lat. *molō* Cymr. *malaf* (§ 523 p. 86). Goth. *grōf* 'dug' O.H.G. *gruob* from *graba grabu*, √ *ghrebh-* O.C.Sl. *grebą*. Goth. *slōh* 'struck' *slōhun* (instead of **slōgun*) O.H.G. *sluoh* (also *sluog*) *sluogun* from *slaha slahu*, √ *slek- sleg-* O.Ir. *sligim*. O.H.G. *gi-wuog* 'mentioned' from *gi-wahann(i)u* (§ 623 p. 161), √ *ụeq-* Gr. ϝέπος 'word'. In most, if not all, of the Verbs of this sort, the first step must have been for the present to get an *a*, and the next to form a perfect with *ō* on the analogy of *skōf skōbun* from *skaba*. See § 509, page 75. There is no need to suppose that *fōr* and *mōl* were formed thus in connexion with some present, if we suppose that they date from a period when this whole class of perfects still had the weak stem in the plural of the indicative, and so forth. At such a period, **far-* and **mal-* = **pr̥̄-* and **ml̥̄-* may have been the weak perfect stem. If so, then the sing. *fōr* and *mōl* were formed beside them just as in Greek μέμᾱλε took the place of *μεμολε on the analogy of forms with με-μαλ- (§ 859 p. 409); a step further, and we have *fōrun* and *mōlun* following the singular.

§ 889. Some perfects of this class are based upon an extended root or a present stem which already has some characteristic (cp. §§ 847, 884, 891). O.H.G. *spuon* 'I enticed' from *spanu* (§ 614 p. 152); Mod.H.G. *būk* instead of Mid.H.G. *buoch* O.H.G. *buoh* following *backe* O.H.G. *backu* for **bak-nō* (§ 888 p. 436). Goth. *vōhs* O.H.G. *wuohs* 'I grew' from *vah-s-ja wahsu* (§ 657 p. 192). O.H.G. *wuosc* 'I washed' from *wascu* probably for **ụat-skō* (§ 676 p. 209). Goth. *stōþ* O.H.G. *-stuot stuont* 'stood' from *sta-nda sta-ntu* 'I stand' (§ 634 p. 172, § 685 p. 216). O.H.G. *luod* from *(h)la-du* A.S. *hla-de* 'I load' (§ 689 p. 220).

§ 890. Group II *B*. Perfects which ever since proethnic Germanic have had vowel gradation in their root, but no reduplication, were formed from roots of the *e*-series. We divide them into two classes, (1) those in which the ablaut of the preterite present agrees with that in other tenses, (2) those

in which it does not. Most of the following examples have come down from the parent language, as we have seen above.

(1) Goth. *báit* 'I bit' *bitun* opt. 1st pl. *biteima* O.H.G. *beiȝ biȝȝun biȝȝîm* O.Icel. *beit bito bitem*. Pret.-pres. Goth. *váit* 'I know' *vitun* O.H.G. *weiȝ wiȝȝun* O.Icel. *veit vito*. Goth. *-báuþ* 'offered' *-budun* O.H.G. *bōt butun* O.Icel. *bauð buðo*. Pret.-pres. Goth. *dáug* 'valet' O.H.G. *toug tugun*.

Goth. *band* 'I bound' *bundun* O.H.G. *bant buntun* O.Icel. *batt bundo*. Goth. *varþ* 'I became' *waúrþun* O.H.G. *ward wurtun* O.Icel. *varð urðo*[1]). Pret.-pres. Goth. *ga-dars* 'dares' *-daúrsun* O.H.G. *gi-tar -turrun*.

(2 *a*) Perfects with Preterite meaning. Goth. *bar* 'carried' *bērun* O.H.G. *bar bārun* O.Icel. *bar bǭro* (*bāru*). Goth. *qam* 'came' *qēmun* O.H.G. *quam quāmun* O.Icel. *kvam kvǭmo* (*kvāmu*). Goth. *sat* 'I sat' *sētun* O.H.G. *saȝ sāȝun* O.Icel. *sat sǭto* (*sātu*). Goth. *brak* 'I broke' *brēkun* O.H.G. *brah brāhhun*. Goth. *frah* 'asked' *frēhun* O.Icel. *frā frǭgo* (*frāgu*). There are reformates following this class; one is Goth. *baþ* 'I bade' *bēdun* O.H.G. *bat bātun* from pres. *bidja bitt(i)u*, √*bheịdh-* (§ 722 p. 253).

(*b*) Preterite-presents. Goth. *skal* 'shall' *skulun* O.H.G. *scal sculun* O.Icel. *skal skolo*. Goth. *man* 'thinks' *munun* O.Icel. *man muno*. Goth. *ga-nah* 'is enough' **-naúhun* O.H.G. *gi-nah* A.S. pl. *ȝe-nuȝon* (probably akin to O.C.Sl. *nesą* 'I carry', √*neḱ-*).

§ 891. Numerous perfects of this class are made from roots already extended, or from characterised present stems (cp. §§ 847, 884, 889).

With *n*-suffix (§ 614 p. 151 f.). O.H.G. *spurnun* 'they trod, kicked' (sing. **sparn*) A.S. *spearn spurnon* from *spur-nu*. O.Sax. *fragn* 'I asked' *frugnon* A.S. *frægn fruȝnon* (cp. 1st sing. *ga-fregin* in the Prayer of Wessobrunnen) from *frig-nu friȝ-*

1) Of the same sort is Goth. *þrask* 'I threshed' *þruskun* O.H.G. *drask druskun*, which probably contains the present suffix *-sko-*. Cp. § 676 p. 209, and § 891.

-ne Goth. *fraih-na*. Goth. *skáin* 'appeared' *skinun* O.H.G. *scein scinun* from *skei-na scī-nu*; so too O.H.G. *swein* 'disappeared' from *swī-nu* etc. O.H.G. *qual(l)* 'welled up' *quullun* from *quillu* for **quel-nō*; so also *hal(l)* 'sounded, rang out' *hullun* from *hillu* for **hel-nō*, and other like forms.

With Nasal Infix (§ 634 pp. 170 ff.). Goth. *sagq* 'sank' *suggun* O.H.G. *sank sunkun* from *sigqa sinku*, √ *seiq- seig-*. Goth. *stagq* 'struck, knocked' *stuggun* from *stigqa*, √ *steig-*. O.H.G. *chlamb* 'climbed' *chlumbun* from *chlimbu*, from *glei-p-*. O.H.G. *sprang* 'sprang' *sprungun* from *springu*, √ *spergh-*. O.H.G. *scrant* 'burst' *scruntun* from *scrintu*, *sqer-dh-*. — Goth. *fanþ* 'found' *funþun* O.H.G. *fand funtun* from *finþa findu*, as I conjecture from √ *pet-*. — Goth. *vand* 'turned' *vundun* O.H.G. *want wuntun* from *vinda wintu*, from *uei-t-*. The Goth. *þeiha* O.H.G. *dīhu* 'I thrive', for **þeəχō*, which is connected with Lith. *tenkù* inf. *tèk-ti* (√ *teq-*), had originally a perf. **þaəχ *þuəχun*, which is now represented only by A.S. *đunʒon* (cp. part. *ʒe-đunʒen* O.Sax. *gi-thungan*); the regular phonetic change of the present led to the formation of the perf. forms Goth. *þáih* O.H.G. *dēh* following *stáig* beside *steiga* etc. (I § 67 Rem. 2 p. 57).

From Present stems in *-nnō* for *-nu-ō* and in *-innō* for *-enu-ō* (§ 654 pp. 187 f.). Goth. *du-gann* 'began' *-gunnun* O.H.G. *bi-gan -gunnun* from *du-ginna bi-ginnu* = Skr. *hí-nva-ti*. Goth. *rann* 'ran' *runnun* O.H.G. *ran runnun* from *rinna rinnu* = Skr. *ri-ṇvāmi* Idg. **ri-nu-ō* or = Idg. **r-enuō*. O.H.G. *tran* 'I separated myself' *trunnun* beside *trinnu* = Idg. **dr-enuō*.

Root with *s*-extension (§ 664 p. 197). Goth. *-þans* 'I pulled' *-þunsun* O.H.G. *dans dunsun* from *þin-sa din-su*, √ *ten-*. O.H.G. *bal(l)* 'barked' *bullun* from *billu* = **bhel-sō*. Goth. *fra-láus* 'I lost' *-lusun* O.H.G. *vir-lōs -lurun* from *-liu-sa -liu-su* 'I lose'.

From the *sk*-Present O.H.G. *ir-lisku* 'I quench', the perf. *ir-lask *-luskun* (§ 676 p. 208).

Root with *t*-extension (§ 685 p. 215 f.). O.H.G. *flaht*

'plaited' *fluhtun* from *flih-tu*; *faht* 'fought' *fuhtun* from *fih-tu*[1]). Goth. *ga-vaþ* 'bound' *-vēdun* O.H.G. *wat wātun* from *ga-vida witu*, ground-form doubtless **u̯i-tó*. Compare the perf. Goth. *vand*, which belongs to a *t*-present with nasal infix, p. 439.

Root with *dh*-extension (§ 698 p. 225). O.H.G. *brat(t)* 'I swung, jerked' *bruttun* A.S. *brægd bruʒdon* from *brittu breʒ-de*. Also with internal nasal O.H.G. *scrant* from *sqer-dh-*, p. 439.

Root with *d*-extension (§ 699 p. 225 f.). Goth. *gáut* 'poured' *gutun* O.H.G. *gōʒ guʒʒun* from *giu-ta giu-ʒu*. O.H.G. *flōʒ* 'flowed' *fluʒʒun* from *fliu-ʒu*. Goth. *svalt* 'was burnt up' *svultun* O.H.G. *swalz swulzun* from *svil-ta swil-zu*.

§ **892.** Levelling between perfect singular and plural as we see it in Mod.H.G. *biss* 'I bit' following *bissen*, *quoll* 'welled up' following *quollen*, *banden* following *band* 'I bound', which is also seen here and there in Middle H.G., is comparatively rare in the old Germanic dialects; examples are A.S. *nōm nōmon* contrasted with O.H.G. *nam nāmun*[2]), O.Icel. *ōf ōfo* instead of *vaf ōfo* = O.H.G. *wab wābun* (O.Icel. *vefa* O.H.G. *weban* 'to weave').

§ **893.** We now have to examine in Group II (*A*) and (*B*) those forms which lack the reduplicating syllable.

The following perfects were always unreduplicated.

(1) Weak forms like Goth. *sētun mētun qēmun*; see § 848. 3 p. 393. The reason why they drove out of the field forms of the same type as Skr. *pa-pt-úr sēdúr* = **sa-zd-ur*, was that in course of phonetic change the unity of the tense-system had been considerably destroyed; thus the reduplicated 3rd pl. of the Goth. *mitan* must needs become **mintun* (sing. *mat*), from Goth. *saíhvan* the form must be **sisk(u̯)un* (sing. *sahv*), from Goth. *qiþan* it must be **qaíhtun* (sing. *qaþ*), from O.H.G. *jesan*

1) Mid.H.G. pl. *vlāhten vāhten*, and even in O.H.G. *brāstun*, beside an earlier form *brustun* from *bristu* 'I break'. For the change in the perf. plural see Osthoff, Perf. 119.

2) *nōmon* is regular, and drew the singular under the influence of *fōr fōron*.

it must be **jīrun* (sing. *jas*), and from O.H.G. *lesen* it would be **lillun* (sing. *las*). Thus the same difficulty had to be met here as was met in Sanskrit by the spread of the type *sēd-yēm-* (§ 852 p. 401).

(2) The pret.-pres. Goth. *áih* and probably also *váit* which answers to Skr. *véda* and Gr. *οἶδε*, see § 848 p. 391, § 888 p. 436.

Further, the following may be regarded as perfect forms originally unreduplicate:

(3) Goth. *fr-ēt -ētun* O.H.G. *āʒ* O.Icel. *āt*, and

(4) O.Icel. *ōk ōko*, Goth. *ōn* and *ōg*; see § 848. 3 and 4, pp. 393 f.

As regards the Preterite-Presents in particular, we must remember that the 3rd pl. Goth. *munun* and *ga-daúrsan* were in all probability injunctive, as we may regard *vitun* (§ 508 p. 74 f.). The two former may not have been associated in one tense with *man* and *ga-dars* until the reduplication was quite lost in the singular.

If, again, we remember that among forms like *skōf* (Lat. *scābī*) there may very well be some which were unreduplicate when they became part of the Germanic stock, it cannot seem strange that Germanic has lost its reduplication to such a great extent. Such forms as the perfect of *háitan* or *valdan* were exempted from the change, and kept their reduplication, simply because their present and perfect had the same root-vowels, and without the reduplication there would be no sufficient difference between them.

As in the Italic perfect system we find preterite forms of our Present Class II *B* (e. g. Lat. *fid-i-t*, § 867. 5 p. 414), so we do in West Germanic. From this group we cite the 2nd sing. like O.H.G. *biʒʒi* A.S. *bite* 'thou didst bite' (Skr. *á-bhid--a-s* Lat. *fid-i-t*), O.H.G. *zigi* AS. *tiȝe* 'thou didst draw' (Skr. *á-diś-a-s*), see § 532 p. 928; further perhaps those like O.H.G. *māʒi* A.S. *mǣte* 'thou measuredst' (Gr. *ἐ-μήδ-ε-ο*), see § 514 p. 81. Such forms as these were at first quite rare. In proethnic W.Germ. they had become identical with the 2nd sing.

optative, whose ending *-*īz* became -*i*, e. g. A.S. *bite* opt. for **bitīz*. And by analogy of these forms, which legitimately had both optative and indicative meanings, a large number of others, which originally were optative only and nothing more, took the indicative meaning too. An example is O.H.G. *fiangi* A.S. *fenze*. But in O.H.G. and O.Sax. the 2nd sing. opt. and indic. were differentiated afresh, -*i* being restricted to the indicative, and in the optative the ending -*īs* (-*īst*), used since proethnic Germanic beside *-*īz*, being made proper ending: O.H.G. indic. *bizzi* opt. *bizzīs(t)*, but A.S. *bite* opt. and indic. both. The reason why the old forms in -*t* (-*þ*) preserved in Gothic and Norse, such as Goth. *báist* 'didst bite' *gaft* 'gavest', were driven out of the West Germanic speech, is doubtless chiefly this, — that the stem-final consonant which preceded the personal ending was so often changed, the form thus becoming isolated (cp. Gr. πέπονθας etc. with -ας instead of -θα).

This West-Germ. 2nd sing. pret. seems to belong entirely to unreduplicated present stems. (It seems impossible to prove that any old reduplicated forms like Lat. *te-tig-i-t* Gr. κε-κάδ-ο-ντο are included amongst O.H.G. *fiangi hiazi* and that type.) But since they were absorbed into the Perfect system in West-Germanic, not before, we have no right to assume that they have at all aided in the tendency to drop the reduplicating syllable.

By analogy of the thematic present we have O.H.G. Alemann. *eigamēs*, *wāramēs* (cp. *piramēs* instead of *pirum*).

Balto-Slavonic.

§ 894. The inroads into the Idg. Perfect system here took a direction opposite to their course in Keltic and Germanic. The Participle survived, while the Finite Verb disappeared.

One vestige of this has been left in Slavonic; the O.C.Sl. *věd-ě* 'I know', answering to Skr. *vḗda* Gr. οἶδα Goth. *váit*, with the middle ending, which here as in Lat. (*tutud-ī*) drove

out the active. This perfect was transformed into a present, giving *věmĭ* 'I know' 3rd sing. *věstŭ*; the 2nd pl. *věste* opt. 1st pl. *vědimŭ* imper. *věždĭ* (which keep *ě* instead of *ĭ* by levelling out all but the strong stem) may be real perfect forms; if so their present inflexion is due to the attraction of the other forms into the present system.

The Participial forms are all unreduplicated. Examples are Lith. *kir̃t-ęs* (pres. *kertù* 'I cut, strike'), O.C.Sl. *črĭtŭ* (pres. *črĭtą* 'I cut'): Skr. *ca-kr̥t-vás-*. Lith. *dēg-ęs* (*degù* 'I burn') O.C.Sl. *žegŭ* (*žegą* 'I burn'): Skr. *dēh-i-vás- dēh-úṣ-*. Lith. *dā-vęs* (*dů́du* 'I give') O.C.Sl. *da-vŭ* (*damĭ*): Skr. *da-di-vás- da-dā-vás-*. Pruss. *signā-uns* beside *signā-t* 'to bless', O.C.Sl. *želě-vŭ* beside *želě-ti* 'to wish', which must be compared with Gr. κεκοτηώς. See II § 136 pp. 445 f. Along with O.Ir. *mīdar* Goth. *sētun* go Lith. participles like *sė́d-ęs* (from *sė́du* 'I sit, take my place'). Again, with Lat. *ēdī* Goth. *fr-ēt* goes the part. Lith. *ė́d-ęs* O.C.Sl. *jad-ŭ*, and with Lith. fem. *ė́d-us-i* may be compared *ė̃j-us-i* as being the regular descendant of Idg. *ēi̯-us-ī.

How the first-named participles, *kir̃tęs črĭtŭ* and the like, lost their reduplication, cannot be made out; the losses which the Perfect System of this group of languages had undergone before the historical period begins are too great to admit of this being done. But anyhow the reason was not regular phonetic change, any more than it was in Germanic.

The agreement of the initial syllable in Lith. *ė̃j-ęs kir̃t-ęs* etc. and the connected present stems *ė̃j-o kir̃t-o* (§ 586 p. 126 f.) caused the coining beside *dė́-jo stó-jo* of the part. *dė́jęs stójęs*. Just so the agreement between *mìr-ęs gìm-ęs* etc. and *mìr-ė gìm-ė* (§ 593 p. 133) caused the coining beside *ė́m-ė* of the partic. *ė́m-ęs* instead of **ìm-ęs* (Pruss. *immus-* O.C.Sl. *imŭ*). Vice versâ, by analogy of participles similar to *sė́d-ęs*, as *vė́m-ęs* (from *vemiù* 'I vomit') *gė́r-ęs* (from *geriù* 'I drink') were formed the preterites *vė́mė gė́rė* with *ė* in the root syllable.

PERIPHRASTIC FORMATIONS.

§ 895. We may notice here a number of periphrastic formations which were more or less intimately connected with the Verbal System. Some of them undoubtedly existed in the parent language, though at that time not one had become fused into a single word.

In the historical period, these syntactical groups, which for convenience we shall call phrases, are sometimes found in the shape of single words, as Lat. *ferē-bam* O.C.Sl. *nesě-achŭ*; sometimes they seem to be changing from phrase to word before our very eyes, as Skr. *dātā́smi* instead of *dātā́ asmi*;[1]) sometimes they were still phrases, as Lat. *factus sum*, O.H.G. *ward ginoman*. Where the position of the auxiliary is not fixed as regards the verbal noun, coming either before or after it, the phrase could not fuse into one word.

The use of a Participle for the predicate, particularly the part. pret. middle or passive, with or without the auxiliary *es-* or a synonym of it, is a usage which occurs all over the Indo-Germanic area; examples of this are Skr. *iṣṭā́ dēvátāḥ* 'honoured are the gods' *iṣṭā́ dēvátā āsan* 'honoured were the gods' (see Delbrück, Altind. Synt. 392 ff.; Spiegel, Altpers. Keilinschr.[2] § 68 p. 189). This predicative use of the participle was found in the parent language, especially when it was wished to lay stress on the duration of an action more than could be done by the simple forms of the finite verb. In several languages periphrases of this kind were permanent parts of some tense, where they were combined with simple forms, as Att. *γεγραμμένοι εἰσί* instead of *γεγράφαται*, Lat. *āctus est* (cp. Gr. *ἦκται*), Goth. *gemēliþ ist* '*γέγραπται*'.

§ 896. Sanskrit.

Beginning with the Brahmanas, we find a periphrastic future, consisting of a nomen agentis with the suffix *-ter-* (as *dātár-*

1) Compare Ital. *canterò* Fr. *chanterai* for Lat. *cantāre habeō*, Serv. *ubiću* ('I will kill') = O.C.Sl. *ubiti chošta̧*, Pol. *dzialalem -aleś* etc. 'I have built') = *dzialal jeśm*, — *jeś* etc.

'dator') and the verb 'to be', but only in the 1st and 2nd persons. There is a difference in usage between this and the *si̯ó*-future (§ 752 p. 273 f.), the latter being used only for something about to take place at a certain particular point of future time, without any reference to the intention or hope of the speaker. On the analogy of *dātā́smi* instead of *dātā́ asmi* we have 1st pl. *dātā́smas* instead of *dātā́raḥ smas* etc. (cp. Lat. *potis sumus*, not **potēs sumus*), a certain token that the phrase has become a word. Middle forms are found as well, e. g. *dātā́smahē*. Compare II § 122 p. 385.

Again, it is not until the historical period that we see a productive type arising out of the Periphrastic Perfect, the union of a case inding in *-ā́m* with *cakā́ra*, *ā́sa*, or *babhū́va*, as *vidā́ṃ cakāra* 'I knew', *gamayā́ṃ cakāra* 'I caused to go'. The outspread of this type was due to a lack which it supplied; for there was need of a historic preterite to perfects which had a present meaning, as *vḗda* 'I know' *bibhā́ya* 'fears'. Such a preterite was also wanted by Causals and Denominatives, which originally had no simple perfect. Lastly, they were most desirable where present and perfect were not clearly distinguisht in form, as in *ās-* 'to sit'. Following *vidā́m āsā́m* and the like, forms like *gamayā́m* and *bibhayā́m* were derived from the present stem (pres. *gamá-ya-ti bi-bhḗ-ti*).

Remark. Since in such formations *cakā́ra* is almost exclusively used in the older language, and *babhū́va* never, Delbrück (Altind. Synt. 426 f.) infers that *-ā́m* is the ending of the acc. sing. of an abstract noun in *-ā* (cp. *bhidā́* 'split'). The accusative must have crystallised, much as the infinitive did, before *ā́sa* and *babhū́va* could be used with it. But there is such a striking parallel in Lat. *āre faciō* and *āre fīō* (Deecke, *Facere* und *fieri* in ihrer Composition mit andern Verbis, Strassburg 1873), *ārē-bam*, *flā-bam*, *amā-bam* and O.C.Sl. *nesě-achŭ děla-achŭ*, that we can hardly separate the *-ā́m* of Sanskrit from the cases in *-ē* or *-ā* preserved in these forms. *-ē* and *-ā* must surely be instrumental; be it observed that the forms in *-ē* can often be connected with *o*-stems (cp. III § 275 p. 176), and often with *ē*-stems like Lat. *quiē-s* Gr. χρῆ ὁμο-κλή (§ 578 p. 120), e. g. *plē-* in *plē-bam*. It may be that *vidā́m* when used with *cakā́ra* is accusative; but when used with *as-* or *bhū-* it may be instrumental. That *vidā́m* might be instr. is shewn by O.C.Sl. *rąką* (III § 276 p. 179) and Skr. *pratarā́m* (Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 20) and the like. Compare too the 3rd sing. imper mid. *vidām* § 968. 2.

§ 897. Armenian has several periphrastic formations; as the part. aor. (active or passive) in *-eal* coupled with *em* 'I am', e. g. *gereal ē* 'cepit, captus est' *gereal ēr* 'ceperat, captus erat' from *gerel* 'capere, to take prisoner'.

§ 898. Greek. Here we find as far back as we can go variants γέγραπται and γεγραμμένος ἐστὶ with little or no difference in meaning; and in Attic, beginning about 400 B. C., the periphrastic form became obligatory, and that in -αται and -ατο dropt out of use altogether: γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶ and ἦσαν. In the other tenses and moods -αται and -ατο had dropt in Attic long before, giving place to -νται and -ντο.

A future perfect, to express what will be completed in the future and will have enduring effects, could be formed only in the Middle and only from a few verbs; e. g. λελείψεται βεβλήσεται (§ 756. 6 p. 276). For the Active, and for such verbs as could not form this tense, a participle + ἔσται had to be used; as κατακεκονὼς ἔσται 'he will have killed, he will be a murderer', τετελεσμένον ἔσται 'it will be accomplisht'.

The periphrasis of the perfect by using ἔχω with a participle, as κρύψᾱς ἔχω 'I keep hidden' (Lat. *abditum habeō*), gained currency largely because certain verbs were without the simple perfect form; e. g. ἐρασθεὶς ἔχω (Plato) from ἐράω 'I love', στήσᾱς ἔχω (Soph.) from ἵστημι 'I place' (because ἕστηκα is intransitive).

Desideratives in -σείω at first used only the participle active, as ὀψείων 'wishing to see'. This form, as Wackernagel makes very probable, comes from ὄψει ἰών 'going out for to see' (Kuhn's Zeitschr., XXVIII 141 ff.); similarly ξυμβασείων 'wishing to make a bargain' from ξύμβασις, ἀπαλλαξείων 'wishing to get rid of' from ἀπάλλαξις. When the phrase had become a single word, the Attic added Indicative, Conjunctive, and the other parts of the conjugation. Compare Lat. *eō* with the supine, as *datum eō* (the same in Umbrian, *aseriato eest* 'observatum ibit'), from which type of sentences sprang the so-called fut. inf. passive *datum īrī* (Kühner, Ausf. Gr. der lat. Spr., II 534 f.).

§ 899. Italic and Keltic. In both we see the present of *bheu̯-* 'to become' joined with a preceding infinitival word to express the future. Lat. *ārē-bō vidē-bō albē-bō, cubā-bō flā-bō plantā-bō*, (O.Lat.) *scī-bō audī-bō, ī-bo da-bō*, Falisc. *carē-fō pipā-fō*. O.Ir. *no charub* 'I will love' for **-bhu̯-ō*, elsewhere stem **-bhu̯-ā-*, as in 3[rd] sing. *-carfa carfid*; *dolēciub* 'I will relinquish' *-lēicfea lēicfid*.

The Umbr.-Samn. Perfects like Osc. aa-mana-ffed 'mandavit' contain the Idg. thematic aorist **(e-)bhu̯-e-t*, see § 874 p. 422 f. The pret. of Class X **(e-)bhu̯-ā-m* (§ 583 p. 123 f.) from the time of pr. Ital. made Imperfects, e. g. Lat. *ārē-bam vidē-bam albē-bam plē-bam nē-bam dīcē-bam* (in O.Lat. also a future like *dīcē-bō*), *capiē-bam farciē-bam fīniē-bam, cubā-bam flā-bam plantā-bam*, (O.Lat.) *scī-bam fīnī-bam, ī-bam da-bam*, Osc. fu-fans 'erant'.

There is unquestionably some connexion between the first word in Latin phrases like *āre faciō* and the case-forms in *-ē* and *-ā* (instr. sing.) in the first part of the O.C.Sl. imperfect, *vidě-achŭ děla-achŭ*; there is probably a connexion with such a form as Skr. *vidā́m* in *vidā́ carati*. See § 896 Rem., § 903. Following the lead of Lat. *plantā-bō*, we may derive O.Ir. *no charub* from **carā-bō* (*carfid* from **carā-bāt(i)*, etc.). But there is no proof that *a* was long; and as the *s*-aorist *ro-char* comes from **carăs-t* (§ 840 p. 377), it is possible that **cară-bō* was the pr. Keltic form. Still, that the first member was originally a nomen actionis need not be doubted whichever theory we adhere to.

§ 900. In Italic the Idg. perf. mid. passive gave place to a periphrasis with *sum* and the *to*-participle: Lat. *ortus sum, captus sum, plantātus sum, fīnītus sum*, Umbr. *screhto est* 'scriptum est' *screihtor sent* 'scripti sunt', Osc. prúftúset 'probata sunt'. How firmly rooted in the verbal system this periphrasis became is clear from two facts. (Whether the same holds for Umbro-Samnitic we cannot say; there is too great dearth of material.) (1) As the act. *fīnīvit* meant both 'he has

ended and done with', and in narrative 'he put an end to', so *fīnītum est*, which properly meant 'it is ended and done with', got in addition the meaning 'it was ended'; and *fīnītum erat* meant not only 'it was' but 'it had been ended'. Beside *praeceptum est* 'it is prescribed' we get *praeceptum fuit* 'it was prescribed'. (2) The other fact is the use of this periphrasis with deponents, where we see e. g. *cōnfessus sum* made the perfect of *cōnfiteor* for all purposes, and taking the same construction (II § 79 p. 219).

Just as in Attic the 3rd pl. *γεγράφαται* was driven out by *γεγραμμένοι εἰσί*; so in Latin — perhaps even in proethnic Italic — the old 2nd pl. middle (cp. Skr. *bháradhvē* Gr. *φέρεσθε*, § 1063) was superseded by a periphrasis with a participle: **feriminī estis* = Gr. *φερόμενοί ἐστε*, which in the historical period dropt its copula, and then the participial character of *feriminī* fell out of sight; see II § 71 p. 165. We may conjecture that **feriminī erātis*, **feriminī essētis* were also used. By and by this form buried itself in the present system, which it became part of; then its ending *-minī* became recognised for a personal suffix; and lastly we have *ferāminī ferēminī ferrēminī ferēbiminī ferēbāminī* on the analogy of *ferāmur ferēmur* etc. to *ferimur*.

Old Latin had an indeclinable inf. fut. in *-tūrum*, as *crēdō inimīcōs meōs dictūrum* (C. Gracchus), which Postgate (Class Review, v 301) neatly explains as compounded of *dictū* and *erum* = Umbr. *erom* Osc. *ezum* 'esse'. To this crystallised infinitive *esse* was superadded, as *dīxērunt omnia . . . prōcessūrum esse*; and then, the apparent analogy of *hoc prōcessūrum (esse)* with *hoc factum (esse)* caused the form to be inflected as an adjective (*o*-stem), e. g. *hanc rem prōcessūram (esse)* etc. Similarly, as beside Gr. *ὀψείων* an indic. *ὀψείω* was formed (§ 898 p. 446), so beside *mē datūrum (esse)* we have e. g. *datūrus sum*.

Remark. The traditional interpretation, that *datūrus* is an extension of *dator* (cp. II § 122 p. 387), has been recognised for wrong by Kretschmer too (Kuhn's Zeitschr., XXXI 463 f.). He also connects the form with the supines in *-ū* and *-um*, but assumes the suffix to be *-ro-*, comparing Gr. *ἰσχυρό-ς* from *ἰσχύ-ς*. Postgate's explanation I think the likelier.

In formation, as in meaning, there is no connexion between the verbal adj. in *-tūrus* and the abstract noun in *-tūra*; the latter has nothing future in it, and contains a secondary suffix *-rā-*. As regards Desideratives like *parturiō canturiō*, see § 768 p. 282, § 778. 1 p. 301.

Further, Latin has the periphrastic inf. fut. passive, *datum īrī*, mentioned above in § 898 p. 446. The complete fusion of these two words is shown by the spelling *-tuiri* instead of *-tum iri* (see Brandt, Arch. Lat. Lexicogr. II 349 ff.; Schmalz, Fleckeisen's Jahrbb., 1892, pp. 79 f.).

In Umbro-Samnitic, we have the part. perf. active (suffix *-u̯es-*) combined with an injunctive from *es-* 'esse' to make a future perfect, as Umbr. *dersicust* 'dixerit' Osc. *fefacust* 'fecerit'. See § 872 p. 421.

§ 901. Germanic. The Idg. perf. passive in its original meaning, that of a present perfect, used to describe what has been completed in the past and is now a finished result, has been superseded all through Germanic by the phrase made up of the part. pret. pass. + the auxiliary *bin*; e. g. Goth. *gamēliþ ist* 'γέγραπται, it is written', O.H.G. *ginoman ist* 'it is taken'; similarly pret. Goth. *ana þammei sō baúrgs izē gatimrida vas* 'ἐφ' οὗ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ᾠκοδόμητο, was built, stood builded', O.H.G. *ginoman was* 'it had been taken, was in that condition'. Cp. Lat. *scrīptum est* 'it is written' *scrīptum erat* 'it was written' § 900 p. 447 f.

The same Idg. form in its later function of a historic perfect was superseded by the same participle with the auxiliary *ward* (*wurde*), e. g. Goth. *fralusans vas jah bigitans varþ* 'ἀπολωλὼς ἦν καὶ ηὑρέθη, was lost and has been found again', O.H.G. *ginoman ward* 'it was taken'.

Everywhere but in Gothic the present passive too had to be superseded by a periphrasis: O.H.G. *ginoman wirdit* or *ist* 'is being taken' (Goth. *nimada*).

In the Active, the preterite present meaning could no longer be clearly put by the old perfect, Goth. *skaískáiþ* 'parted, divided' *nam* 'took' for example, as this had become a historic tense. Nor could it be put any better by the "weak" Preterite, as

Goth. *vaúrhta* 'worked' *nasida* 'saved'. This led to a periphrasis (not found in Gothic) of *bin* and *habe* with the preterite participle, as O.H.G. *queman ist* 'he has come, and is here' pret. *queman was* 'he had come and was here', *funtan habēt* 'he has found and possesses' pret. *funtan habēta* 'he had found and possessed'. The participle with *habēm* was a true passive and belonged predicatively to the accusative object, cp. Lat. *cōgnitam hanc rem habet* and gr. *κρυπτὸν ἔχω* 'abditum habeo' beside *κρύψᾱς ἔχω* (see Thielmann, Abhandlungen W. v. Christ dargebracht, München 1891, p. 298). The participle with the presents *bin* and *habe* was used later, in Upper and Middle German, as a simple narrative tense without any reference to the present (cp. Lat. *fīnītum est* 'it was ended' on the analogy of *fīnīvit* 'ended'), whilst with the preterites *war* and *hatte* it had always served to express the pluperfect (cp. Lat. *fīnītum erat* 'it had been ended').

In Germanic the Idg. *si̯o*-future was lost, nor did this branch, as others did, use certain conjunctive forms with future meaning only (as Lat. *erō*). For future events were used either perfect Present forms (see Streitberg, P.-B. Beitr. xv 119 ff.); or the living conjunctive, i. e. the Idg. optative (as Got. *jah sijáina þō tva du leika samin* 'καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν'); or thirdly, periphrases with auxiliaries which naturally pointed to the future. But the use of these last with dependent infinitive (Goth. *haban*, *duginnan*, *skulan*, O.H.G. *scolan*, *muozan*, *wellen wollen*) did not lead to any fixt type in the old Germanic dialects, and each auxiliary bore its own proper meaning. Only phrases with *sollen* and *wollen* gained by degrees a simple future sense. Besides these periphrastic turns there was an idiom made up by *werden* (Goth. *vaírþan* O.H.G. *werdan*) with the present participle, which is found a few times, in Gothic, as *jūs saúrgandans vaírþiþ* 'ὑμεῖς λυπηθήσεσθε, you shall be grieved'. This idiom in O.H.G. little by little won its way till all others had disappeared; but in Mid.H.G. the participle was exchanged for the infinitive.

§ 902. Baltic. In Lithuanian all the old middle forms which were used passively dropt out of use, and the reflexive with *-si* only partially did for the passive, as *teĩp kal̃ba-si* instead of *teĩp kal̃bamà* 'so it is said'; hence a periphrasis was used for the passive in all tenses. To express habit or duration the pres. part. in *-ama-s* is used, as *taĩ (yrà) sãkoma* 'that is being said, that is usually said', *jìs prakéikiams bùs nũ visũ* 'he is constantly curst by all'. For completed action the participle in *-ta-s* is used; as *jìs (yrà) prakéiktas* 'he is accurst', *dùrys uždarýtos bùvo* 'the door was shut'. But it is usual to avoid passive constructions and so to express the idea as to make the active do for it.

Active Preterites like *vilkaũ* (§ 586 p. 126) and *viriaũ* (§ 593 p. 133) combine the meanings of historic perfect and present perfect; as *isz-áugo* 'he grew up' and 'he is grown up'. If it is needful to make the latter meaning clear beyond a doubt, the part. pres. act. with *esù* may be used; as *àsz (esù) iszáugęs* 'I am grown up', *àsz (esù) iszmókęs* 'I have learnt', *jìs bùvo pavar̃gęs* 'he was impoverished'. This participle with *buvaũ* also serves for a more exact expression of pluperfect time, cp. O.H.G. *qeman was* 'he had come' § 901 p. 450.

Wish is expressed by the Injunctive forms 1. pl. *-bime* 2. pl. *-bite* from √*bheu̯-* preceded by the Supine in *-tum*, as *sùktum-bime*. See § 727 p. 257. The 3[rd] sg. pl. and dual *sùktũ* is without the auxiliary; for the 1[st] sing. we have *sùkcziau sùkcze*. There are a great many bye-forms of this mood in the dialects (see Schleicher, Lit. Gramm. 228 f.; Kurschat, Gramm. d. litt. Spr. 300 f.; Bezzenberger, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. lit. Spr. 212 ff.; Leskien-Brugmann, Lit. Volksl. u. Märch. 315 f.; for Lettic, see Bielenstein, Die lett. Spr. II 158 ff.); we cannot here enter into the history of these, which is sometimes very obscure.

§ 903. Slavonic. The Slavonic Imperfect is the imperf. **jachŭ* 'eram' for **ēs-o-m* (§ 510 p. 76) added to the Instrumental case of nomina actionis in *-ē* and *-ā*. To the first members of these compounds there are parallels in Italic

and Keltic, and doubtless in Sanskrit, as we have seen in § 896 Rem. p. 445, § 899 p. 447. O.C.Sl. *vidě-achŭ* 'I saw' like Lat. *vidē-bam*, *oslabě-achŭ* 'I became weak' like *albē-bam*, *nesě-achŭ* 'I carried' *pečaachŭ* 'I backed' for **pekě-achŭ* (I § 76 p. 65) like *ferē-bam*, *borja-achŭ* 'I fought' for **borjě-achŭ* (see as cited) like *capiē-bam*, *ląka-achŭ* like *plantā-bam*.

For Present Perfect was used the pres. part. in *-lŭ* (II § 76 p. 212) with *jesmĭ*, as *prišĭlŭ jesmĭ* 'I am come, I am here'. The same participle and *běachŭ* or *běchŭ* formed the Pluperfect, if need were to express this point of time exactly; as *posŭlalŭ běaše* 'he had sent'.

As in Germanic, when the old *si̯o-* future was lost (cp. § 760 p. 278), future time was expressed either by the present of perfect verbs, or by a periphrasis consisting of Auxiliaries + dependent Infinitive. Such auxiliaries were in O.C.Sl. *imamĭ* ('I have'), *choštą* ('I wish'), *načĭną* ('I will begin'), all of which with others (Miklosich, Vergl. Gr. IV 862 ff.), including *bądą* ('I will, will be'), occur in other dialects. In some of the modern dialects, one or other of these verbs is used exclusively, just as *werde* with the infinitive in High German.

UNEXPLAINED FORMATIONS.

§ 904. A number of fertile tense types have now, with certain reservations, been compared with those of other languages, or explained as due to some analogy which has been pointed out within the same language; for instance the Greek ϰ-perfect (§ 864 Rem. p. 412), or the Latin preterite in *-vī* and *-uī* (§ 875 p. 423). But there are many such types, characteristic enough in their own language, whose origin is still so dark that they cannot be brought in place amongst those already given. These may now be mentioned.

§ 905. Aryan. The 3rd sing. aor. pass. (also mid.) in *-i*, mostly with *ā* in the root-syllable, in Vedic and Avestic, with or without augment like the other augmented tenses (as

usual, the unaugmented forms can have a conjunctive meaning). Examples: Skr. *á-vāc-i vā́c-i* Avest. Gath. *a-vāc-ī vāc-ī* √ *ụeq-* 'speak'; Skr. *á-dhār-i* O.Pers. *a-dār-iy* √ *dher-* 'hold fast'; Skr. *ájani* √ *ĝen-* 'gignere', *ádarśi* √ *der̂k-* 'see', *áyōji* √ *jeụg-* 'yoke', *á-jñā-yi* stem *ĝn-ē- ĝn-ō-* 'noscere'; Avest. *jaini* √ *ghen-* 'strike, slay'.

It has often been assumed that *-i* is identical with the ending of the 1st sing. mid. *-i* (as in *á-kr-i*), just as *-ē* in the perfect did for both 1st and 3rd singular. The difference of vowel grade in the root syllable is generally compared with that in the 3rd sing. *u-vā́c-a* : 1st sing. *u-vác-a*. Compare § 1054. 3.

§ 905a. The Armenian verb is permeated with analogical formations, which have largely destroyed the original structure of it. Specially difficult are the Conjunctive, Aorist, and Future forms characterised by *-ç-*, such, for instance, as conj. pres. *geriçem* (for **gerēçem*) aor. *gereçi* (for **gereaçi*, 3rd sing. *gereaç*) fut. *gereçiç* from *gerem* 'capio', where not only does *ç* need further explanation (cp. § 672 pp. 204 f.), but also the vowels that go with it.

§ 906. In Irish, no explanation has been found for what is called the Secondary Present (indic. and conj. impf.),[1] as *no berinn* 2nd sing. *no bertha* etc. The 3rd sing. *no bered* is perhaps for **bhere-to* = Gr. *φέρε-το*.

§ 907. In Germanic, explanation is still to seek for the much discussed Weak Preterite,[2] whose chief mark is a *t*-sound.

1) Windisch, Das ir. praes. secundarium, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 156 ff.

2) Begemann, Das schwache Präteritum der german. Sprachen, Berl. 1873. *Idem*, Zur Bedeutung des schw. Prät. der germ. Spr., Berl. 1874. Fr. Carter, On Begemann's Views as to the Weak Preterite of the Germanic Verbs, Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc. VI (1875) pp. 22 ff. Wickberg, Über den Ursprung der schwachen Präteritalbildung in den german. Sprachen, Lund 1877. Bugge, Das schwache german. praeteritum, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 523. Amelung, Die Perfecta der schwachen Conjugation, Zeitschr. deutsch. Altert. XXI 229 ff. Paul, Zur Bildung des schwachen Präteritums und Participiums, Paul-Braune's

This is found alongside of the so-called primitive Presents, as often as their part. pret. pass. is formed with the suffix *-to-*, as Goth. *vaúrhta* O.H.G. *worhta* from *vaúrkja wurk(i)u* 'I work', Goth. *þūhta* O.H.G. *dāhta* from Goth. *þugkja* O.H.G. *dunk(i)u* 'I think', Goth. O.H.G. *brāhta* from *brigga bringu* 'I bring'. Next, the Preterite Present has also this preterite, as Goth. *ga-daúrsta* O.H.G. *gi-torsta* from *ga-dars gi-tar* 'I dare', Goth. *skulda* O.H.G. *scolta* from *skal scal* 'I shall', Goth. *munda* from *man* 'I think', *kunþa* from *kann* 'I know, learn'. Lastly, it is found with all weak verbs, as Goth. *nasida* O.H.G. *nerita* from *nasja neriu* 'I save', Goth. *salbōda* O.H.G. *salbōta* from *salbō salbōm* 'I smear, anoint', Goth. *habáida* O.H.G. *hapta habēta* from *haba habēm* 'I have'.

In the Indicative, the dental was followed by *ē* sometimes and sometimes *ō*, as Goth. 2nd sing. *nasidēs* contrasted with O.H.G. *neritōs* (but also *chi-minnerōdēs* like O.Sax. *habdes*); 1st and 3rd sing. Goth. *-da* O.H.G. *-ta*; Norse Run. 1st sing. *worahto* 'I made' 3rd sing. *wurte urte* 'he made'; in the plural O.H.G. *-tum -tut -tun* (Alemann. *-tōm -tōt -tōn*), Goth. *-dēdum -dēduþ -dēdun*. Opt. Goth. *-dēdjau -dēdeis* etc., O.H.G. *-ti -tīs* etc.

The connexion with the *to*-participle is unmistakable, if the treatment of the participial *t* under Verner's Law be borne in mind; e. g. Goth. *kunþa* like partic. *kunþa-*, *munda* like partic. *munda-*.[1]) But is does not follow that the dental of the weak preterite was always Idg. *t*. Not so; but forms with Idg. *dh*, *d*, or *th* may be included in this group, and the relation to the participle may be secondary. Indeed, there must be some

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Beitr. VII 136 ff. Möller, *Kunþa* und das *t*-Präteritum, *ibid.* VII 457 ff. Sievers, Zur Flexion der schwachen Verba, *ibid.* VIII 90 ff. Collitz, Das schwache Präteritum des Germanischen, Am. Journ. Philol. IX 42 ff. = Bezzenberger's Beitr. XVII 227 ff. Johansson, Zur Flexion des schwachen Präteritums im Got., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 547 ff. Other works are cited in those here enumerated.

1) For O.H.G. *forah-ta* 'feared', whose old participle is the adj. *forah-t* Got. *faúhr-t-s* 'timid', the present *t* must be taken into account (*furiht(i)u* Got. *faúrhtja*). See § 685 p. 216.

such forms in the group; for example, O.Sax. *libda* 'lived' from √*leip-* cannot have had Idg. *t* in the ending, and the partic. *ge-libd* must be instead of **-lift* and due to the analogy of the preterite.[1]) Just as the Latin Perfect included a variety of quite different tense forms, to which similar use has given the same inflexions, so the Weak Preterite in Germanic may have absorbed alien elements. That Goth. *iddja* (pl. *iddjēdun*) is the Sanskrit *á-yā-m* or perhaps its byeform *iyā-m* we have seen in § 478 p. 26, § 587 p. 128 (compare § 886 Rem. p. 434). Preterites of our Present Class I. may be included in the weak preterite, since e. g. Goth. *mun-dēs*[2]) *vil-dēs* may be equated with Skr. 2nd sing. mid. *ma-thā́s* (*á-ma-thās*) *vr̥-thā́s* (*á-vr̥-thās*), compare Gr. ἐ-τά-θης = Skr. *á-ta-thās* § 503 p. 67. Again, O.H.G. *wissun* as an *s*-aorist may be compared with Gr. ἴσαν (§ 827 p. 365), and forms like *salbō-ta* may be compounds of the same kind as Lat. *amā-bam* O.C.Sl. *děla-achŭ* (§ 899 p. 447, § 903 p. 451 f.), having for the second member the preterite of *dhē-* 'do' **(e-)dhē-m*, or the preterite *ā*-injunctive **dh-ā-m* (§ 507 p. 74, § 937).

§ 908. In Lithuanian, the growth of the Imperfect of habit in *-davau* is obscure; examples are *piáu-davau* 'I used to cut' 3rd sing. *piáu-davo* part. *piáu-davęs* (fem. *-davusi*), *sùk-davau* 'I used to twist', *matý-davau* 'I used to see'. The ending *-avau* recals *bal̃tavau* pret. of *bal̃tůju* 'I gleam white', and recals *d* in the present endings *-d-inu* and *-d-au*, treated in §§ 700 f. pp. 226 ff.

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1) Nothing prevents our putting this re-formation of the participle back to proethnic Germanic; and so Goth. *ga-hugd-s* O.Sax. *gi-hugd* 'thought, reason, understanding' beside pret. O.Sax. *hogda hugda* O.H.G. *hocta* part. O.Sax. *gi-hugd* O.H.G. *ge-huct* does not weigh against the connexion of Germ. *hug-* with Skr. *śuc-* (I § 439 p. 327, § 447 p. 332).

2) For Goth. *mun-dēs* = Skr. *ma-thā́s* compare some recent remarks by Streitberg, Zur Germ. Sprachgesch., 79.

FORMATION OF THE MOOD STEM.[1])

INJUNCTIVE.[2])

§ 909. Injunctive (or Spurious Conjunctive) is a name given to forms which look like unaugmented indicative forms belonging to a tense which is properly augmented; thus **bhere-t* = Skr. *bhárat* Gr. *φέρε*, cp. imperf. *á-bhara-t* *ἔ-φερε*. Injunctive forms therefore have the secondary personal endings.

In the parent language they had a very wide scope; perhaps these are really the oldest forms of the verb finite, which do not yet show in their form either distinction of time, or distinction of the ideas conveyed by the words indicative and conjunctive (wish, futurity). In historical times we find these used in three different ways:

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1) L. Tobler, Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus etc., see p. 33 footnote 1. S. H. A. Herling, Vergleichende Darstellung der Lehre vom Tempus und Modus, Hannover 1840. Wüllner, Die Bedeutung der sprachlichen Casus und Modi, Münster 1827. C. F. Nägelsbach, De vera modorum origine, Erlang. 1843. M. L. E. Rusén, Unde notiones modorum verbi sint repetendae, Upsala 1855. A. Bergaigne, De coniunctivi et optativi in Indoeuropaeis linguis informatione et vi antiquissima, Paris 1877.

R. Kohlmann, Über die Modi des griech. und des lat. Verbums in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander, Eisleben 1883.

Scheuerlein, Über den Charakter des Modus in der griechischen Sprache, Halle 1842. W. Büttner, Vom Optativus und Conjunctivus, I, Schweidnitz 1879.

W. Weissenborn, De modorum apud Latinos natura et usu, I, Eisenach 1846. *Idem*, Bemerkungen über die Bildung des Modus im Lat., Philologus I 589 ff. Works on the future perfect and the conjunctive perfect are given in the footnote to page 346.

Jellinek, Germanische Conjunctive, in: Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion (Berl. 1891) pp. 94 ff.

2) The Author, Der sogen. unechte Conjunct., Morph. Unt. III 1 ff. M. Bloomfield, On Certain Irregular Vedic Subjunctives or Imperatives, Am. Journ. Phil. V 16 ff. Thurneysen, Der ir. Imperativ auf *-the*, Idg. Forsch. I 460 ff.

(1) Indicative Present. Skr. Ved. *cōdaya-t* 'he sets afire' and others (Delbrück, Altind. Syntax 354 f.). Gr. Dor. and Cypr. *φέρε-ς* 'thou bearest', Att. *τίθη-ς* 'thou placest'; cp. also the Author, Gr. Gr.[2] § 160 Anm. p. 185 on the present (timeless) use of the ind. aor., as in *κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὅ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὅ τε πολλὰ ἐοργώς.*[1]) Lat. *vehi-s im-plē-s ī-s s-u-m* (§ 528 p. 91). O.Ir. 2nd sing. *-bir* 'fers' for **bhere-s* 3rd sing. *-beir* for **bhere-t.* O.Icel. *ero eru* 'are' for **iz-únþ* (§ 507 pp. 73 f., § 508 p. 74). Lith. *bìj-o-si* 'he fears' for **bhii̯-ā-t, jů'sto* 'he girds' for **jōstā-t,* Pruss. *waitia* 'he speaks' (§ 782. 4 p. 310); O.C.Sl. *beretŭ* 'fert' 3rd pl. *berątŭ* for **bhere-t *bhero-nt* with the particle *u* (§§ 999 and 1026).

The only difference between these and the indic. forms in *-ti -nti* is that the latter have the particle *i* affixed; and this is apparently just what marked the new forms clearly out as present indicative (§ 973).

(2) Indicative Preterite. Skr. Ved. *bhára-t* 'he bore'. Gr. Hom. *φέρε* 'he bore'; special mention must be made of the Ionic frequentatives *φεύγεσκον* etc. (§ 673 p. 206), which regularly lack the augment. Lat. *-bā-s* Osc. 3rd pl. -fans, Lat. *erā-s* (§ 583 p. 124), Osc. kúm-bened 'convēnit' (§ 867. 5 p. 415). O.Ir. *do bert* 'he brought' for some middle form in *-to* (§ 506 p. 72 f., § 826 p. 364). O.H.G. *bizzi* 'thou didst bite' = Skr. *(á-)bhid-a-s* (§ 893 p. 441). Lith. *bùvo* 'he was'; O.C.Sl. *tekŭ* 'I ran'. Cp. § 483 p. 31 ff.

(3) Conjunctive.

(*a*) Conj. = Wish. The 2nd pl. and 2nd and 3rd dual were firmly rooted among the imperative forms as early as the parent language: Skr. *bhára-ta* 'ferte' *bhára-tam bhára-tām,* Gr. *φέρε-τε φέρε-τον*, Lat. *agi-te*; O.Ir. 2nd pl. *beri-d*; Goth. 2nd pl. *bairi-þ* (2nd dual *baira-ts* with primary ending); beside **es-ti* 'is' Skr. *s-tá s-tám s-tā́m*, Gr. *ἔσ-τε ἔσ-τον*, Lat. *es-te*;

1) The use of the augmented forms in the same way may be compared with the use of Skr. *agāt* instead of *gāt* after *mā* in the Mahā-Bhārata (Holtzmann, Gramm. aus dem Mahābh., 28).

s-Aorists Skr. *aviš-ṭá-na* (*-na* is a particle, see § 1010) *aviš-ṭám aviš-ṭám* from *áv-a-ti* 'he desires', Gr. *δεῖξα-τε δεῖξα-τον* from *δείκ-νῡ-σι* 'shows'. In the other persons the proethnic imperative has other formations.

But in some of the derived languages these other persons also are found with the sense of Wish; and here and there one of them does duty for some part of the imperative.

Skr. Ved. *prá vōcam* 'I will praise', *dā́s* 'give', *juṣata* 'let him be pleased' 3rd pl. *juṣanta*, and many more. Then we have as part of the Aryan imperative such forms as 3rd sing. Skr. *bhárat-u* Avest. *barat-u* 'ferto' 3rd pl. Skr. *bhárant-u* Avest. *baran-tu* 'ferunto', Injunctives + particle *u* (§§ 992. 2 and 1017).

Gr. 2nd sing. mid. *φέρεο φέρου* for **φέρε-σο* (cp. imperf. *ἐ-φέρεο*), *βαλοῦ* for **βαλέ-σο* (on the accent of this form see § 958), *φάο* from *φη-μί* 'I say', aor. *θέο θοῦ* beside *ἐ-θέ-μην* 'I placed for myself', used as regular imperative forms. Rarely also the corresponding 2nd sing. act. as *ἐνί-σπ-ε-ς* beside *ἐνί-σπ-ε* 'insece', *ἐπί-σχε-ς* beside *ἐπί-σχ-ε* 'stop', *ἄγ-ε-ς· ἄγε, φέρε* (Hesych.); cp. also § 932 on *θές ἕς δός*.

Lat. *sequere* = gr. *ἕπεο*, as regular imperative.

O.Ir. forms of the *s*-aorist, as *comēir* 'get up' for **-rec-s-s*, *tair* 'let him come' for **-inc-s-t* (§ 826 p. 363). Also the 2nd sing. imper. mid. in *-the*, as *cluinte* 'exaudi' beside indic. *ro-chluinethar*, *aigde* 'fear' beside *-āgur*, *foilsigthe* 'revela', since *-the* is the Skr. secondary ending *-thās* (§ 1051).

O.H.G. *ni curi* 'noli' for **kuz-i-z *ĝus-e-s* beside 2nd pl. *ni cur-e-t*; Goth. *visa-m vaila* 'εὐφρανθῶμεν', O.H.G. *fara-m* (*fara-mēs*) 'transeamus'.

Lith. *te ne ei* 'let him not go' for **ei̯-t*, *tè-suka* 'let him turn' *te-mãto* 'let him see',[1] 1st pl. *ei-mè* 1st dual *ei-và* 'let us go' (§ 511 p. 77), O.C.Sl. *bǫdǫ* 'sunto' (also found *bǫdǫtŭ* 'erunt'), *veli-te* 'command ye' (also indic. *veli-te* 'ye command'), see § 955 Rem.

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1) Since forms like *sùka mãto* were also used for pres. indic., it came about that indicative forms with primary endings, as *eĩ(i)*, could be used with a "permissive" meaning; e. g. *t'eĩt(i)*.

(*b*) Conj. = Future. Skr. Ved. *nḗm* (= *ná īm*) *aghą naśat* 'him no mischief will reach' (cp. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax 358). In Lithuanian, some dialects have forms of the *s*-aorist like *dė́-s-me* 'we will lay' *dė́ste dė́sva dė́sta* (§§ 828 f. pp. 365 f.).

CONJUNCTIVE.[1])

§ **910.** It has been pointed out (§ 489 pp. 47 f.) that in all the languages the same formative elements which mark what from its use is called the Conjunctive are also found in the Indicative. In this way we find used both *-e-* and *-o-*, the "Thematic Vowel", and also *-ā-* and *-ē-* (*-ō-*). It follows that these forms had originally a much wider use than they came to have afterwards; and it was only by degrees that some of then were appropriated to the Indicative and others for the Conjunctive. Even in the parent language the rule held good that forms with a thematic vowel were Conjunctive, where the Indicative was distinguisht by having none; whilst if the Indicative had a thematic vowel, the Conjunctive had the suffixes *-ā-* or *-ē-* (*-ō-*). If the Indicative itself had *-ā-* or *-ē-* *-ō-* (Classes X and XI, §§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.), then Injunctive forms commonly served for the Conjunctive mood (§ 930).

Remark. As stems with *-e-* *-o-* and stems with *-ā-* *-ē-* (*-ō-*) originally did for both Indicative and Conjunctive, we may suppose that

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1) Moulton, The Suffix of the Subjunctive, Amer. Journ. of Philol. x 285 f.

Bartholomae, Indisch *āi* in den Medialausgängen des Conjunctivs, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxvii 210 ff.

Joh. Paech, De vetere coniunctivi Graeci formatione, Breslau 1861. H. Stier, Bildung des Conjunctivs bei Homer, Curtius' Stud. ii 125 ff. Stolz, Zum Conj. des griech. sigm. Aor., Idg. Forsch. ii 153 ff.

Thurneysen, Der italokeltische Conjunctiv mit *ā*, Bezzenberger's Beitr. viii 269 ff.

Bréal, Un mot sur les subjonctifs latins en *am*, Mém. Soc. ling., vi 409 ff. L. Job, Le subjonctif latin *en -am*, *ibid.* vi 347 ff. V. Henry Esquisses morphologiques III: Le subjonctif latin, Douai 1885. G. Curtius, Der lat. Conjunctiv des Imperfects, in his Stud. viii 460 ff. Corssen, Die syncopierten Futurformen auf *-s* im Umbr., Osk. und Volsk., in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. 533 ff.

tense-stems of other kinds had the same double use. As a matter of fact this was so in the fullest sense wherever these stems had the secondary personal endings, that is, were Injunctive (§ 909). But even some forms with the primary endings and without these conjunctive suffixes are so used: Skr. 2nd sing. *vé-ṣi* 'thou comest near' and 'come near' (3rd sing. *vé-ti* 'he comes near'), *kṣé-ṣi* 'thou abidest' and 'abide thou' (3rd sing. *kṣé-ti* 'he abides') are two examples out of many (Delbrück, Altind. Verb. 31 and 34 f.), Avest. Gath. *dōišī* 'perceive thou', Gr. imper. 2nd sing. *λέξαι* 'lay thyself' for **λεκ-σ-σαι* (§ 969. 2). Compare § 974 Rem. On the use of the Att. indic. forms *μισθοῖς μισθοῖ* for the conjunctive see § 923.

The Conjunctive has a simple Future meaning in addition to that of wish (in which I include deliberative and dubitative). Often these forms drop their other meanings in the separate languages, and have that of Future only, or chiefly. Then they are called future in the grammars, as are for instance Lat. *erō vīderō*.

In Armenian the Conjunctive formation appears to be entirely lost.

In Germanic and Balto-Slavonic it is lost all but a few scanty survivals, which will be given below. In both these branches the Optative took its place. First both these groups were used together (as in the Latin conjunctive, *edā-mus agā-mus* true conj. and *edī-mus sī-mus* optative); then the Optative won the day. Examples of Opt. forms used as Conj. in these languages are: Goth. *þairhgaggáima* 'διέλθωμεν, let us go through', *ni maúrþrjáis* 'μὴ φονεύσῃς'; *te-sukē̆* 'let him turn' (imperative) [1]), O.C.Sl. *ne vŭvedi nasŭ vŭ iskušenije* 'ne nos inducas in tentationem, μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς' etc.

We now come to details. The Conjunctive formations may be divided into two groups, according as the Indicative stem (I) ended in a consonant, as **es-ti *ei̯-ti *r̥neu̯-ti*, and contained the thematic vowel, as **bhere-ti*, or (II) ended in a long vowel, as **e-stā-t *plē-ti*.

1) May also mean 'he may turn, he is to be allowed to turn'.

I. CONJUNCTIVE WHERE THE INDICATIVE STEM ENDS IN A CONSONANT OR HAS A THEMATIC VOWEL.

A. Indicative Stem ends in a Consonant.

§ 911. The Conjunctive from these stems had in the parent language, and continued to have, the Thematic Vowel, as **ei̯-e-t(i)* (Skr. *áyati áyat*) beside Indic. **ei̯-ti* 'goes'. The stemhad its strong form, the ablaut-syllable the 1[st] strong grade (*e*-grade in the *e- : o*-series): pres. conj. **ei̯-e-t(i)* beside indic. *ei̯-i-*, **r̥-neu̯-e-t(i)* (Skr. *r̥-ṇáv-a-t(i)*) beside indic. **r̥-neu̯- *r̥-nu-*, **steu̯-e-t(i)* (Skr. *stáv-a-t(i)*) beside indic. **stēu̯- *stu-* (§ 494 p. 54 f.); *s*-aor. conj. **qei̯-s-e-t(i)* (Skr. *cḗ-ṣ-a-t(i)* Gr. 2[nd] pl. *τεί-σ-ε-τε*) beside indic. *(e-)qēi̯-s- *(e-)qi-s-* (§ 811 p. 348); perf. conj. **te-ten-e-t(i)* (Skr. *ta-tán-a-ti*) beside indic. **te-ton- *te-tn- *te-tn̥-* (§ 843 p. 384).

§ 912. Pr. Idg. Conjunctives of this group have been touched upon frequently in our discussion of the Tense Stem. I therefore confine myself here to a few examples.

Present. Class I (§§ 492 ff.): **és-e-t(i)* beside **és-ti* 'is': Skr. *ásat(i)*, Gr. 1[st] sing. *ἔ-ω* (but *ἔῃς ᾖς* etc. belong to *B*), Lat. (fut.) *er-i-t*. Class III (§§ 536 ff.): Skr. *bi-bhar-a-t* beside *bi-bhar-ti* 'bears', *bī-bhay-a-t* beside *bi-bhḗ-ti* 'fears'. Class V (§§ 555 ff.): Skr. *ba-bhas-a-t* beside *bá-bhas-ti* 'eats, devours'. Class VII (§§ 567 ff.): Skr. *jaṅ-ghán-a-t* beside *jáṅ-ghan-ti* intens. 'strikes, kills'. Class XV (§§ 625 f.): Skr. *riṇác-a-t* beside *riṇák-ti* 'lets go, makes empty'. Class XVII (§§ 638 ff.): Skr. *r̥-ṇáv-a-t* beside *r̥-ṇṓ-ti* 'excites, sets in motion'. Class XIX (§§ 656): *dvē-ṣ-a-t* beside *dvḗ-ṣ-ṭi* 'hates'.

s-Aorist (§§ 810 ff.). Skr. *nḗ-ṣ-a-t(i)* beside *á-nāi-ṣ-am* 'I feared', Gr. *τεί-σ-ο-μεν* beside *ἔ-τει-σ-α* 'I paid', Lat. (fut.) *dīx-ō* beside *dīx-ī*, O.Ir. *for-tias* 'subveniam' beside injunct. *for-tē* 'subveniat' (§§ 826 p. 363 f.). Gr. *εἰδ-έ-ω εἰδῶ* (but *εἰδῇς* etc. belong to *B*) beside *ᾔδεα* 'I knew' for **ἠ-ϝειδ-εσ-α*,

Umbr. *eest est* 'ibit' beside Gr. *ᾖειν* 'I went' instead of **ēi̯-es-m̥* (§ 836 pp. 372 ff.). Skr. *bṓdh-iṣ-a-t* beside ind. 3rd pl. mid. *á-bōdh-iṣ-ata* from *budh-* 'watch, notice', *gā-siṣ-a-t* beside ind. 3rd pl. *á-gā-siṣ-ur* from *gā-* 'to sing'; add perhaps Gr. fut. *κρεμάω* from stem *κρεμασ-* 'to hang' (§ 840 p. 377). Lat. (fut.) *vīd-er-ō* beside ind. 2nd pl. *vīd-is-tis.* Gr. *ἐρύ-σσ-ο-μεν* beside *εἴρυ-σσ-α* 'I dragged', Lat. *amā-ss-i-t.*

Perfect (§§ 843 ff.). Skr. *ta-tán-a-t(i)* beside ind. *ta-tā́n-a* from √ *ten-* 'stretch'. Gr. *πεποίθομεν* instead of **πε-πειθ-ο-μεν* beside *πέ-ποιθ-ε* 'he trusts', *εἴδ-ο-μεν*[1]) *εἴδ-ο-μαι* beside *οἶδ-ε*; but it can be grouped with the pres. **u̯ei̯d-mi* Skr. *vḗd-mi* (§ 493 p. 52). Goth. *ōgs* 'fear thou' for **āgh-e-s* beside *ōg* 'fears' (§ 882 p. 430).

§ 913. Aryan. The Thematic formation is fertile in Vedic, Avestic, and Old Persian. In later Sanskrit nothing remains but the 1st persons, which are now called 1st person Imperative.

The personal endings here as in the *ā*-conjunctive (§ 921) were in Sanskrit and Avestic sometimes primary and sometimes secondary; the Middle had the primary almost always (details may be seen in Delbrück, Altind. Verb. 191 ff.; Whitney, Skr. Gr. §§ 560 ff.; Bartholomae, Altiran. Verb. 130 f.). The few Old Persian forms which occur all show a primary ending. As to Skr. middle forms like *kr̥ṇávāmahāi* instead of *kr̥ṇávāmahē*, see § 922.

Further examples (cp. § 912). Present. Skr. *kár-a-ti kar-a-nti* Avest. 1st sing. *carā-nī* beside ind. Skr. *kár-ṣi* Avest. *corᵉ-þ* from √ *qer-* 'make'; Skr. *áy-a-t(i)* Avest. *ay-a-þ* beside ind. *ḗ-ti aę-iti* from √ *ei̯-* 'go'; Avest. *aṇh-a-itī -a-þ* O.Pers. *ah-a-tiy* Skr. *ás-a-t(i)* beside ind. Skr. *ás-ti* etc. from √ *es-* 'esse'. In Sanskrit this Conjunctive formation is also found beside Indicatives with the suffix *-ī-*, as *bráv-a-t(i)* beside *bráv-ī-ti* 'speaks' (§ 574 p. 116). Skr. *ju-hav-a-ti* beside *ju-hṓ-ti* 'offers', Avest. *ci-kay-a-þ* 3rd pl. *cikaęn* = *ci-kay-en*

1) Compare for this Conj. W. Schulze, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 251.

beside Skr. *ci-kḗ-ti* 'observes, perceives'. Skr. *yunáj-a-tē* beside *yunák-ti* 'yokes', Avest. 1st pl. mid. *cinaþ-ā-maiđę* beside *cinas-ti* 'teaches'. Skr. *kr̥-ṇáv-a-t(i)* Avest. 1st sing. *kerᵉ-nav-ā-ni* beside *kr̥-ṇṓ-mi kerᵉ-nao-mi* 'I make'. *s*-Aorist. Skr. *vą́-s-a-ti* Avest. *vēṇgh-a-itī* from √ *u̯en-* 'win, get, conquer'. Skr. *san-iṣ-a-t* beside *á-sān-iṣ-am* 'won', Avest. 1st sing. *xšnev-īš-a* from *xšnu-* 'join oneself'. Perfect. Skr. *ja-ghán-a-t(i)* beside *ja-ghā́n-a* from √ *ghen-* 'strike, kill', *mu-mōc-a-t* beside *mu-mṓc-a* from *muc-* 'let go', Avest. 1st pl. *å̊ṇh-ā-ma* beside *å̊ṇh-a* (Skr. *ā́s-a*) from √ *es-* 'esse' (but the form may also be connected with the 3rd sing. *å̊ṇh-ā-þ*, under *B*).

Rarely we find a divergence in the Present from the rule of gradation which holds for this Conjunctive formation (§ 911 p. 461), as Skr. 3rd dual *añj-a-tas* beside 3rd pl. *anáj-an* (indic. *anák-ti* 'anoints, adorns') formed as though the indic. were **áṇk-ti*. On the numerous analogical forms in the *s*-aorist, such as Skr. *dŕ̥k-ṣ-a-sē tār-iṣ-a-t*, see § 815 p. 353 and § 839 p. 375.

For the *ā*-Conjunctive with an unthematic Indicative see § 921.

§ **914.** Greek. The 1st sing. act. in *-ω* is regular in all dialects and periods. With this exception, the Conjunctive with a long vowel proved a formidable rival to the thematic formation. The latter held its ground most tenaciously in the *s*-aorist.

Very little trace is left in the stem of the proethnic law of gradation (§ 911 p. 461).

Present. This Conjunctive is fertile only in the oldest poetical language. Hom. *ἴομεν* instead of **ἐ(ι̯)-ο-μεν* and *ἴ-ο-μεν* from *εἶ-μι* 'I will go'; *ἴομεν* is to be compared with Skr. *ī́-mahē* (see § 493 p. 52, § 497 p. 56), or else it is due to the analogy of *θή-ο-μεν δώ-ο-μεν* and the like (cp. § 934 on Messen. *ἦνται* Hom. *μετ-ήω*). Hom. *φθί-ε-ται* (instead of **φθε(ι̯)-ε-ται*) beside *φθί-το* 'was destroyed', *ἅλ-ε-ται* beside *ἆλ-το* 'he leapt' On the analogy of these were made similar Conjunctives for indic. stems in *-ā -ē* or *-ō*, as *στή-ο-μεν θή-ο-μεν δώ-ο-μεν βλή-ε-ται* (§ 934).

Some such conjunctives survived elsewhere, for instance in Attic, crystallized and used only for the Future; ἔδ-ο-μαι 'I will eat' (cp. inf. ἔδ-μεναι, Skr. indic. *át-ti*), πί-ο-μαι 'I will drink' (beside imper. πῖ-θι), χέ(Ϝ)-ω 'I will pour' (beside indic. ἔ-χε(Ϝ)-α ἔ-χυ-το).

Remark 1. In an Aeolic inscr. (discussed by Meister, Anzeiger für idg. Spr.- und Altertumsk., I 203 f.) we have the 3rd pl. τέκοισι with the meaning of Att. τέκωσι. If the reading is true, we must grant it to be an instance of the *o*-conj. invading the domain of the long vowel. If so, we should have a right to question whether Homeric conjunctives like στρέφεται (in subord. clause after ὅτ' ἄν) ought really to be denied. These are collected by Stier in Curtius' Stud. II 138 f.; Curtius himself regards them as mythical (Verb, II² 87 ff.).

s-Aorist. There are many examples in Homer and other Homeric poets; as τείσομεν τείσετε, βιήσεαι, ἀμείψεται. So there are in inscriptions of the 5th cent. B. C., from Ephesus, Teos, and Chios; as 3rd sing. in -ει, ἀποκρύψει, and 3rd pl. πρήξοισιν (Att. πράξωσιν) with -οι- instead of -ου- by Lesbian influence (I § 205 p. 172). In Cretan we find such forms as 3rd sing. δείξει. Then there are Epic imperatives such a ἄξ-ε-τε 'bring ye' ἄξ-ε-σθε ὄψ-ε-σθε 'see ye' (§ 833 p. 370), and the futures ἄξω ὄψομαι, which must not be separated from the imperatives; indeed the whole Greek *s*-Future may perhaps come from the Conj. of the *s*-aorist (§ 747 p. 269). Lastly, the 1st sing. εἰδέω εἰδῶ (2nd sing. εἰδῇς etc. goes under *B*) beside indic. ᾔδεα 'I knew' for *ἠ-Ϝειδ-εσ-α (§ 836 pp. 372 ff.).

Perfect. Survivals in Homer: πε-ποίθ-ο-μεν ἴδ-ο-μεν, see § 912 p. 462; mid. προσ-αρήρε-ται Hes. Op. 431 (Vat. 2 προσαρήσεται). Attic imper. like κε-κράγ-ε-τε κε-χήν-ε-τε (§ 854 p. 404).

Remark 2. It is strange that while Homer has τείσομεν etc. he has no complementary conj. forms in -εις -ει -ουσι. We may conjecture that he really had, but that the symbols of the old alphabet, -ΕΙΣ -ΕΙ -ΟΣΙ, which had more than one value, were here misunderstood, and the forms disappeared, -ῃς -ῃ ωσι being written instead.

Those conjunctives which are not used exclusively for future or imperative, are being attracted even in Homer to follow the

lead of those with long vowels, as ἴωμεν, ἄληται, πεποίθωμεν. See § 923.

§ 915. Italic. Only found as a Future (cp. Att. ἔδ-ο-μαι, § 914).

Present. Lat. *erō er-i-s*: Skr. *ás-ā-ni* Gr. ἔ-ω, see § 912 p. 461.

s-Aorist. Lat. *dīx-ō dīx-i-s*, *fax-ō fax-i-tur*, *cap-s-ō* and the like, Umbr. Osc. *fust* 'erit', Umbr. furent 'erunt' prupehast 'ante piabit', Osc. *deivast* 'iurabit' (§ 824 p. 362). Umbr. *eest est* 'ibit' ferest 'feret', Osc. *pert-emest* 'perimet' (§ 837 p. 374). Lat. *vīderō līquerō*, then by analogy *sciderō totonderō dīxerō* etc. (§ 841 pp. 378 f.). In the 3[rd] pl. of these future perfects, the ending **-erunt*, which was also the ending of the 3[rd] pl. indic. perfect, gave place to the optative ending *-erint* (beside 1[st] sing. *vīd-erim*), just as we find *vīderīmus* instead of *vīderimus*, *vīderītis* instead of *vīderitis*.[1]) Lastly, Lat. *amāssō turbāssitur habēsso*, for which infinitives were coined, as *impetrāssere*, on the analogy of *capessere* to *capessō* (§ 842 p. 381).

In the Conjunctive use (Wish), only the *ā*- and *ē*-forms (*B*) remained fertile; these also spread into the thematic conjunctive, as Lat. *e-ā-s* beside indic. *ī-s*, *plē-r-ē-s* beside indic. Skr. *á-prā-s-am*.

§ 916. Keltic. *s*-aorist with meaning of Wish and more rarely of the Future; as from *tiagim* 'I step, go' the 1[st] sing. *-tias*, 3[rd] sing. *tēs tēis*, see § 826 p. 364.

§ 917. Germanic. Isolated Got. *ōgs* 'fear thou' beside perf. *ōg* 'fears' (§ 822 p. 430, § 912 p. 462).

B. Conjunctive to a Thematic Indicative.

§ 918. These Conjunctives have for the Suffix long vowels, not subject to gradation, *-ā-* or *-ē-* (*-ō-*). These are the same

1) With this contamination compare the use of *sim edim* as conj. On the analogy of the fut. perf. *vīderint* itself we have *erint poterint* instead of *erunt poterunt*.

as in the Indicative, Gr. ἔ-δρ-ᾱ-ν Lat. *pl-ē-s*, which also have no gradation; this has been pointed out in § 578 p. 119.

-ā- is a Conj. vowel in Italic, Keltic, Slavonic, Germanic (?); *-ē-* in Greek and Italic; *-ō-* in Greek. *-ē-* and *-ō-* (φέρ-η-τε φέρ-ω-μεν) are connected closely (cp. Gr. indic. ζ-ῇ and ζ-ώ-ω, ψ-ῇ and ψ-ω-ρό-ς); but their distribution in the Greek system can hardly be original, through it is the same as *-e-* and *-o-* in the Indicative. It is likely that they just imitated the Indicative, differing only in length, for symmetry (cp. Arc. conj. ἵ-στᾱ-τοι beside indic. ἵ-στᾱ-μι ἵ-στα-μεν, Mess. conj. τί-θη-ντι beside indic. τί-θη-μι τί-θε-μεν § 934). What was the quality of sound which became Aryan *-ā-* cannot now be seen. And as long as this remains dark, so long it will be unknown how the *ā-* and *ē-* (*-ō-*) formations were distributed in the parent language. No inference can be drawn from the different use in Latin of *ag-ā-s* and *ag-ē-s*.

Remark. From the form of the 1st sing. act. Ved. *árcā* (3rd sing. *árc-ā-t*) Avest. *perᵉs-ā* (3rd sing. *perᵉs-ā-iti*) we may perhaps assume some direct connexion with the Greek formation (φέρ-ω beside 3. sing. φέρ-η); compare Lat. *ag-a-m* O.Ir. *do-ber* for **ber-ā-m* O.C.Sl. *berą* for **ber-ā-m*. The O.Lat. 1st sing. *age* may be for **agō* by qualitative assimilation with *agēs* etc.: **agō* beside *erō* like Skr. *árcā* beside *brávā*.

§ 919. Pr.Idg. Class II (§§ 513 ff.): Skr. *bhár-ā-t(i)*, Gr. φέρ-ω-μεν φέρ-η-τε, Lat. (conj.) *fer-ā-s* (fut.) *fer-ē-s*, O.Ir. *do-ber* for **ber-ā-m*, beside indic. Skr. *bhár-a-ti* etc. from √ *bher-* 'bear'; Skr. *vid-á-t(i)* Gr. ἴδ-ω-μεν beside indic. Skr. *á-vid-a-t* 'found' Gr. εἶδ-ε ἴδ-ε 'saw' from √ *u̯eid-*; Skr. *bhuv-ā-ni* Lat. *fu-ā-s* Osc. *fuid* 'fuerit' (for **fu-ē-d*) beside indic. Skr. *á-bhuv-a-t* Lat. (perf.) *fu-i-t* from √ *bheu̯-* 'be, become'. Class IV (§§ 547 ff.): Gr. γί-γν-η-ται Lat. *gi-gn-ā-s gi-gn-ē-s* beside indic. γί-γν-ε-ται *gi-gn-i-t*, Mid.Ir. *gignid* 'nascetur' ground-form **gi-gen-ā-ti* (§ 544 p. 103) from √ *ĝen-* 'beget'. Class VI (§§ 561 ff.): Avest. *ja-γn-ā-þ* Gr. πέ-φν-ω-μεν Mid.Ir. 1st pl. (fut.) *gēnam* for **ge-gn-ā-m* beside indic. ἔ-πε-φν-ε from √ *ghen-* 'strike, kill'; Avest. *vaoc-ā-þ* Gr. εἴπ-ω-μεν beside indic. Avest. *vaoc-a-þ* Gr. ἔ-ειπ-ε Idg. **(e-)u̯e-u̯q-e-t* from √ *u̯eq-* 'speak'. Class XIII (§§ 607 ff.): Gr. πί-ν-ω-μεν from πί-νω 'drink',

Lat. *li-n-ā-s li-n-ē-s* from indic. *li-nō* (cp. § 935). Class XVI (§ 627 ff.): Skr. *siñc-á-s* beside *siñc-á-ti* 'sprinkles' from √ *sei̯q-*, Gr. *σφίγγ-ω-μεν* from *σφίγγ-ω* 'I tie, bind', Lat. *jung-ā-s -ē-s* from *jung-ō*. Class XVIII (§§ 648 ff.): Skr. *inv-ā-t* from *í-nva-ti* 'subdues, oppresses', O.Pers. *kū-nav-ā-hy* from *a-kū-nav-a* 'he made', Gr. Att. *τίν-ω-μεν* from *τίνω* 'I pay' for **τι-νϜω*, Lat. *minu-ā-s -ē-s* from *mi-nu-ō*. Class XX (§§ 657 ff.): Avest. 3rd pl. *baxš-å-nti* from *bax-ša-iti* 'divides, receives as a share', Gr. *ἀέξ-ω-μεν αὔξ-ω-μεν* from *ἀέκ-σω αὔκ-σω* 'I increase', *τρέ-ω-μεν* from *τρ-έ(σ)-ω* 'I tremble, flee', Lat. *vīs-ā-s -ē-s* from *vīsō* for **vīt-sō*. Class XXII (§§ 670 ff.): Skr. *pr̥ch-á-t* Lat. *posc-ā-s -ē-s* beside *pr̥chá-ti posci-t* from √ *prek̑-* 'ask, demand', Gr. *φάσκ-ω-μεν* from *φά-σκω* 'I inform, say' O.Ir. 1st pl. *-nasc-a-m* beside *nascim* 'bind' from √ *nedh-*. Class XXIII (§ 678): Gr. *διδάσκ-ω-μεν* from *δι-δά(κ)-σκω* 'I teach', Lat. *disc-ā-s -ē-s* from *discō* for **di-tc-scō*. Class XXIV (§§ 679 ff.): Gr. *πέκτ-ω-μεν* from *πέκ-τω* 'I comb', Lat. *pect-ā-s -ē-s* from *pec-tō*. Class XXV (§§ 688 ff.): Gr. *πλήϑ-ω-μεν* from *πλή-ϑω* 'I am full', *ἔλδ-η-ται* from *ἔλ-δο-μαι* 'I wish, desire', Lat. *cūd-ā-s -ē-s* from *cū-dō*. Class XXVI (§§ 705 ff.): Skr. *har-y-ā-s* Gr. *χαίρ-ω-μεν* Osc. heriiad 'velit' beside Skr. *hár-ya-ti χαίρω* from √ *ĝher-* 'take pleasure in'; Skr. *páśy-ā-t(i)* Lat. *cōn-spici-ā-s -ē-s* beside *páś-ya-ti -spic-iō* from √ *spek̑-* 'see'; O.Ir. 3rd sing. *do-lēcea* beside *-lēc-iu* 'I let'. Class XXVII (§§ 728 ff.) Gr. *γαργαίρ-ω-μεν* beside *γαρ-γαίρω* 'I swarm with', Lat. *tin-tinni-ā-s -ē-s* beside *tin-tinn-iō*. Class XXVIII (§§ 734 ff.): Skr. 2nd sing. mid. *pyāyā-sē* beside *py-á-ya-tē* 'swells', Gr. *ζώ-ω-μεν* (Gort. 3rd pl. *δώ-ω-ντι*) beside *ζ-ώ-ω* 'I live', Lat. *-pleā-s* for **plē(i̯)-ā-s* beside *pleō* for **pl-ē-(i̯)ō*, *videā-s* for **vidē(i̯)-ā-s* beside *videō* for **vid-ē-(i̯)ō* (*hiē-s* for **hiā(i̯)-ē-s*? beside *hiō* for **hi-ā-(i̯)ō*). Class XXIX (§§ 742 ff.): Skr. *pr̥tan-y-á-t* from *pr̥tan-yá-ti* 'fights', Gr. *ἰαίν-ω-μεν* from *ἰαίνω* for **ἰ(σ)ανι̯ω* 'I quicken, make alive'. Class XXX (§§ 766 ff.): Skr. *apasy-á-t* from *apas-yá-ti* 'is active', *vasūy-ā-t* from *vasū-yá-ti* 'desires wealth', Gr. *τεκταίν-ω-μεν* from *τεκταίνω* 'I fashion' for **τεκταν-ι̯ω*, *τῑμά-ω-μεν τῑμῶμεν τῑμά-η-τε τῑμᾶτε*

from *τῑμά-ω* 'I honour', *φιλέ-ω-μεν φιλῶμεν φιλέ-η-τε φιλῆτε* from *φιλέ-ω* 'I treat as a friend', Lat. *custōdi-ā-s -ē-s* from *custōd-iō*, *fīni-ā-s -ē-s* from *fīni-ō*, *claude-ā-s* from *claude-ō*, *statu-ā-s -ē-s* from *statu-ō* (*plantē-s* for **plantā(i̯)-ē-s*? from *plantō* for **plantā-(i̯)ō*). Class XXXII (§§ 788 ff.): Skr. *yōdháy-ā-s* Lat. *jube-ā-s* from *yōdháy-a-ti* 'involves in a fight' *jube-ō* (§ 794 p. 329), Gr. *φορέ-ω-μεν φορῶμεν* from *φορέ-ω* 'I wear'.

§ 920. In all the languages which have this Conjunctive, forms of the type are found in connexion with an unthematic Indicative; and it may be assumed that in the parent language itself both types of Conjunctive were sometimes used with the same verb, just as many verbs had thematic and unthematic inflexion in the Indicative and elsewhere. Skr. 3rd pl. *ád-ā-n* Gr. *ἔδ-ω-μεν* Lat. *ed-ā-s* beside indic. Skr. *át-ti* Lat. *ēst*, cp. ind. Skr. *ád-a-t* (imper. 2nd sing. mid. *ad-a-sva*) Gr. *ἔδ-ω* Lat. *ed-ō* Goth. *it-a* from √*ed-* 'eat'. Skr. *ás-ā-t* 2nd pl. *as-ā-tha* Gr. *ἔ-ω-μεν* beside Skr. *ás-ti* Gr. *ἔσ-τι*, cp. Hom. *ἔ-ο-ν ἔ-ο-ι ἐ-ών* Lat. *s-u-nt* O.C.Sl. (O.Russ.) *s-ątĭ* from √*es-* 'to be'. Skr. *ay-ā-s ay-ā-t* Lat. *e-ā-s* beside indic. *é-ti i-t*, cp. *áy-a-tē* Lat. *e-ō e-u-nt* from √*ei̯-* 'go'. For the long-vowel Conjunctive from the *s*-aorist, as Skr. *má-s-ā-tāi* Gr. *δείξ-ω-μεν εἰδέ-ω-μεν* Lat. *es-s-ē-s ager-ē-s*, thematic Indicatives like Skr. *á-dik-ṣ-a-t* Gr. *ἔ-δειξ-ε ἶξ-ο-ν* Lat. *dīx-i-t* must be compared (§ 833 p. 369). So for Perfect forms like Skr. *vā-vr̥dh-ā-ti* Gr. *λελήκῃ* Osc. *fefacid* 'fecerit' we compare the thematic indic. Skr. *á-ca-kr-a-t* Gr. *ἐ-μέ-μηκ-ο-ν μέ-μβλ-ε-ται* Lat. *te-tig-i-t* *vhe-vhak-e-d* 'fecit' (§ 854 p. 403 § 865. 2 p. 413, § 866 p. 413 f., § 867. 5, 6, and 7 p. 414 f., §§ 872 f. pp. 420 ff.).

§ 921. Aryan. On the distribution of primary and secondary Personal endings see § 913 p. 462.

Further examples for the normal Conjunctive formation (cp. § 919). Skr. *yáj-ā-tē* Avest. *yaz-ā-itę* beside *yáj-a-tē* *yaz-a-itę* 'he honours with an offering'. Skr. *bháv-ā-ti* Avest.

2nd sing. *bav-å* O.Pers. *bav-ā-tiy* beside Skr. *bháv-a-ti* etc. 'becomes'. Avest. *perᵉs-ā-iti* O.Pers. *pars-ā-tiy* Skr. *pṛchā́-t(i)* beside Skr. *pṛchá-ti* etc. 'asks'. Skr. *many-ā-tē* Avest. *many-ę-itę* O.Pers. 2nd sing. act. *maniy-ā-hy* beside Skr. *mán-ya-tē* 'thinks'. Skr. *pāráy-ā-t(i)* Avest. *pāray-ā-þ* beside Skr. *pāráya-ti* 'carries over'; O.Pers. 2nd sing. *gauday-ā-hy* from *gud-* 'hide'.

Not uncommonly we find an *ā*-Conjunctive to an unthematic Indicative (cp. § 920); here we must bear in mind that in Aryan the 1st persons of the Active and Middle were the same in the two Conjunctive series, 1st sing. act. Skr. *-ā* (*-ā-ni*) Avest. *-a* (*-ā-ni*) mid. Skr. and Avest. *-āi*, 1st pl. Skr. act. *-ā-ma* mid. *-ā-mahē* (*-ā-mahāi*). (1) Present. Skr. *ás-ā-t* Avest. *aŋh-ā-iti* 2nd sing. *aŋh-å* beside Skr. *ás-ti* 'is', cp. O.Pers. 3rd sing. pret. *aha* i. e. *āha*. Skr. *ay-ā-t* Avest. *ay-ā-þ* beside Skr. *ḗ-ti* 'goes', cp. Skr. indic. *áy-a-tē*. Skr. 2nd pl. *han-ā-tha* Avest. *jan-ā-þ* beside Skr. *hán-ti* 'strikes, kills', cp. indic. Skr. *han-a-ti* Avest. *jan-a-iti*. Skr. *brav-ā-t* Avest. 3rd pl. mid. *mrav-ā-irę* beside Skr. *bráv-ī-mi* Avest. *mrao-mi* 'I speak', cp. Avest. indic. *mrav-a-itī*. Skr. *bi-bhar-ā-si* beside *bí-bhar-ti* 'bears', cp. Avest. indic. *bī-bar-ā-mi*. Avest. 3rd sing. mid. *vōi-vīd-ā-itę* beside Skr. part. *vḗ-vid-āna-s* intens. of *vid-* 'find', cp. Avest. indic. *naę-niž-a-iti* (§ 570 p. 113). Skr. 3rd pl. *yunaj-ā-n* beside indic. *yu-nák-ti* 'yokes'. Skr. *kṛ-ṇáv-ā-t* Avest. *kerᵉnavā-þ* O.Pers. 2nd sing. *kūnavā-hy* beside indic. Skr. *kṛ-ṇṓ-ti* etc. 'makes', cp. indic. O.Pers. *a-kū-nav-atā* and the like, § 649 p. 185. (2) *s*-Aorist. Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *mā́s-ā-tāi* beside indic. 1st sing. mid. *á-mā-s-i* from *mā-* 'measure', Avest. *jaŋh-ā-þ* beside conj. Gath. *jēŋgh-a-itī* from √ *gem-* 'go' (§ 814 p. 352), cp. the thematic Indicative Skr. *á-dikṣ-a-t* Avest. *a-sąs-a-þ* § 833 p. 369. (3) Perfect. Skr. *vā-vṛdh-ā-ti* beside indic. *va-várdh-a* from *vardh-* 'to grow', *pa-pṛc-ā-si* beside indic. 3rd pl. *pa-pṛc-ur* from *parc-* 'to mix', Avest. *åŋh-ā-þ* beside indic. *åŋh-a* from *as-* 'to be', cp. the thematic Ind. Skr. *á-ca-kr-a-t* etc. § 854 p. 403.

§ **922.** In Sanskrit an extra mark was added to the Middle of the *ā*-conjunctive; the final *-ē* of those persons that ended therewith was changed to *-āi*, as *-mahē* to *-mahāi*. This came from the 1st sing., as *bhárāi*, which was all that had it in pr. Idg. (§ 1042. 1).

First were formed 1st pl. *bhárāmahāi* 1st dual *bhárāvahāi* instead of **bhárāmahē *bhárāvahē*, to distinguish conjunctive from indicative: so that *bhárāmahāi* answered to indic. *bhárāmahē* as *bhárāi* to indic. *bhárē*.

Next *-mahāi* and *-vahāi* took their place in other conjunctives which had no confusing indicative of the same form, both in *ā-* and *a*-conjunctives: e. g. aor. *vōcā-vahāi* beside indic. *a-vōcā-vahi* (*vōcā-vahi*) 3rd sing. *a-vōc-a-ta* from *vac-* 'to speak', pres. *kṛṇáv-ā-mahāi* beside indic. *kṛ-ṇu-máhē*. Amongst these we find also the older *-mahē* used, as in *kár-ā-mahē* beside indic. *á-kṛ-ta* from *kar-* 'to make', *saniṣ-ā-mahē* beside indic. *á-san-iṣ-ṭa* from *san-* 'to get, gain'.

From the 1st pl. and dual *-āi* next went on to the other persons of the *ā*-conjunctive: 2nd sing. *-ā-sāi* beside *-ā-sē*, 3rd sing. *-ā-tāi* beside *-ā-tē*, 2nd pl. *-ā-dhvāi* beside *-ā-dhvē*, 3rd pl. *-ā-ntāi*. In the Rig-Veda two such new forms, but only two, occur: *yaj-ā-tāi* from *yaj-* 'to honour with an offering' and *māday-ā-dhvāi* from *mad-* 'to enjoy'.

In the 2nd and 3rd dual the ending *-āi* is not found. Here the endings were *-āithē -āitē*, in which *-āi-* on account of the 2nd dual *trā́sāthē* (indic. *á-trā-s-ta* from *trā-* 'to protect') must doubtless be regarded as also coming from the 1st sing. in *-āi*: following *bhárāi* beside indic. *bhárē* were coined the conj. *bhárāithē* and *bhárāitē* beside *bhárēthē* and *bhárētē*. See Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 214 f.

Some few instances occur of a 3rd pl. in *-antāi* beside a thematic indicative; as *vartantāi* beside indic. *várt-a-ntē* 'vertuntur'. The origin of this form is clear: *bhárāi bhárāmahāi bhárāvahāi* are distinguisht from *bhárē bhárāmahē bhárāvahē* only by the ending, which suggested a symmetrical relation and caused *-antāi* to arise in place of *-antē*.

§ **923.** Greek. Examples in § 919.

The Personal endings are nearly all primary. But in the 3rd singular many dialects (amongst others Arcadian and Cyprian) have -η for -η-τ, as ἔχη, instead of -ηι (-ῃ).

In the 3rd pl. φέρωντι (Att. φέρωσι) φέρωνται, ω is not regular: there is the same analogical change as in ἄηνται instead of *ἀενται cp. act. ἄεισι (I § 611 Rem. p. 462, IV § 582 p. 123).

In Attic the ending -ῃς -ῃ (§ 987. 1, § 995) ran together with the indic. -εις -ει, that is φέρῃς and φέρεις had the same pronunciation; so too φιλῇς (for φιλέῃς) and φιλεῖς (for φιλέεις). And since after contraction τῑμάῃς τῑμάῃ became the same as τῑμάεις τῑμάει, namely τῑμᾷς and τῑμᾷ, and since the 1st sing. in all verbs of this form was the same for both indic. and conj., — φέρω φιλῶ τῑμῶ μισθῶ — the result was that the indic. μισθοῖς μισθοῖ came to be used as conjunctive too.

By degrees, the η-ω-inflexion drove out that with ε and ο from the Conjunctive Mood; as ἴωμεν instead of ἴομεν (§ 914 p. 463 f.); the latter only held its own where any form was used exclusively in the sense of a future or imperative. This tendency, which, as we saw in § 920 p. 468, may have begun in the parent language, was made easier because the 1st sing. act. in both these conjunctive systems ended in -ω; as ἔω (ὦ) beside indic. ἔσ-τι (Lat. *er-ō* 3rd sing. *er-i-t*), φέρω beside indic. φέρει (cp. Skr. *árcā* beside indic. *árc-a-ti*).

It remains for the present a question whether the reverse be true, and the thematic conjunctive ever took the place of a long-vowel form; see § 914 Rem. 1 p. 464.

§ **924.** Italic. The long-vowel Conjunctive drove out the Optative in thematic tenses (e. g. *ag-ā-s* is used as equivalent to both ἄγῃς and ἄγοις), whilst in Germanic and Balto-Slavonic the Optative won the day (§ 910 p. 460). The short-vowel Conjunctive had a different fate. It remained only as the Future (§ 915 p. 465), and its conjunctive use (Wish, Deliberation, Doubt) passed either to the long-vowel series, for which see below, or to the Optative (as Lat. *s-iē-s s-ī-s* beside *es-t*).

The suffixes *-ā-* and *-ē-* are both found, and the personal endings are secondary: Lat. *ag-a-m* (like injunct. — pret. — *-b-a-m*), 3[rd] sing. Osc. pútíad *fuid*, 3[rd] pl. Osc. putíans herríns (but Osc. has also 3[rd] sing. *tadait* = **-ā(i̯)ē-ti*, § 996).

On the spread of long-vowel forms in place of those with a short vowel, as in Lat. *e-ā-s es-s-ē-s* Osc. *fefacid*, see § 920 p. 468.

§ **925.** The *ā*-suffix appears in the Present only. To the forms cited in § 919 add the following. Lat. *fu-ā-s* beside indic. *fu-i-t*. Lat. *dīc-ā-s* Osc. *deicans* 'dicant' beside indic. Lat. *dīc-i-t*. Umbr. emantur 'emantur'. Lat. *faci-ā-s* Umbr. fašia 'faciat' beside indic. *fac-iō*. Lat. *fīni-ā-s* beside indic. *fīni-ō* i. e. *fīni-i̯ō*, *claude-ā-s* beside indic. *claudeō* for **claude-i̯ō*, *mone-ā-s* beside indic. *moneō* for **mon-ei̯ō*.

In Umbrian *-iā-* spread from fašia and like forms to the *ā*-denominatives; hence kuraia 'curet' *etaians* 'itent'.

Lat. *e-ā-s* beside indic. *i-t* (like Skr. *ay-ā-t*), whilst in the verbs *est vult ēst* the Optative (*s-iē-s s-ī-s*, *vel-ī-s*, *ed-ī-s* beside *ed-ā-s*) added the conjunctive function to their own. The opt. of *i-t* may have been lost by the plural **i-ī-mos* becoming **īmos*, and thus being identical with the indicative.

Remark. The only example of *-ā-* outside the Present would be Lat. *dum-taxat*, if Bréal be right in taking *-taxat* as the conj. of the *s*-aorist of *tangō* (cp. opt. *tax-ī-s*): 'donec tetigerit, jusqu'à ce qu'il *ait atteint*', then 'jusqu'à (et non plus loin)' (Mém. Soc. Ling. v 35 f., Dict. étymol.[2] p. 385). As in the whole area of Italic the *s*-aorist has only the *ē*-conjunctive (§ 926), it would be better to take *-taxat* as conj. of an indic. **taxō*, Class XX (§ 662 p. 197).

§ **926.** The *ē*-suffix appears in all tense Stems.

(1) Present. Lat. (fut.) *fer-ē-s capi-ē-s farci-ēs fīni-ē-s.*[1]) Umbr. heriiei 'velit' or 'volet' (cp. Osc. heriiad 'velit' § 919 p. 467).

The following may also be examples: Osc. *deivaid* 'iuret' for **deivā(i̯)-ē-t*, *tadait* 'censeat' for **tadā(i̯)-ē-ti*, sakahíter 'sacretur' for **sakā(i̯)-ē-ter*; Lat. *nēs plantēs* for **nā(i̯)-ē-s* **plantā(i̯)-ē-s* (indic. 1[st] sing. *nō plantō* for **-ā-(i̯)ō*); similarly

1) These forms are wrongly explained in vol. I § 81 Rem. 3 p. 74 f.

stēs for **stā(i̯)-ē-s* (indic. 1st sing. *stō* for **stā-(i̯)ō*), by analogy of which would come *dēs* (cp. § 946). The difference between *plantēs* and *claudeās fīniās* — the conj. suffix being in the one group *ē* and in the other *ā* — may be explained by remembering that **plantā(i̯)-ā-s* must become **plantās*, and a confusion with the indicative would result (compare § 930 *sub fin.*); the loss of **claude(i̯)-ē-s* (cp. *fīni-ē-s plantēs*), because it too would become **claudēs* like the indicative. But all these *ē*-forms may be optative: **deivā-i̯ē-t* **plantā-i̯ē-s*, **da-i̯ē-s*. If, as is possible, the origin of these forms is double, the intermingling of Conjunctive and Optative would be due to formal analogy as well as syntax. See § 946.

(2) *s*-Aorist (cp. Skr. *mā́-s-ā-tāi* Gr. δείξ-η-τε εἰδέ-η-τε § 920 p. 468). Lat. *es-s-ē-s in-trā-r-ē-s im-plē-r-ē-s vidē-r-ē-s plantā-r-ē-s* Osc. fusíd 'foret' Pelign. *upsaseter* 'operaretur' or 'operarentur' (§ 824 p. 362). Lat. *ag-er-ē-s gnōsc-er-ē-s*, Umbr. *ostensendi* 'ostenderentur' for **-tend-es-ē-ntēr*, Osc. herríns 'caperent' for **her-es-ē-nt* (§ 837 p. 374). Lat. *vīd-is-s-ē-s totondissē-s dīxissē-s* (§ 842 p. 381). Compare the short-vowel conjunctive-futures Lat. *fax-i-tur vīder-i-s* Umbr. Osc. *fust* § 915 p. 465.

(3) Perfect Forms (cp. Skr. *vā-vṛdh-ā-ti* Gr. λε-λήκ-η § 920 p. 468) occur only in Umbro-Samnite, as in Latin the *s*-Aorist had intruded in place of the perfect forms. Osc. *fefacid* 'fecerit' *hipid* 'habuerit' *fuid* 'fuerit'; Osc. sakrafír 'sacraverint' Umbr. *pihafei* 'piaverint'; Osc. tríbarakattíns 'aedificaverint'. See §§ 872 f. pp. 420 f. Most of these forms may be regarded as belonging originally to a thematic aorist, as *fuid* to indic. Lat. *fu-i-t* = Skr. *á-bhuv-a-t* (see *loc. cit.*); if so they belong to (1).[1]

§ 927. Keltic. For Irish examples see § 919. Only *-ā-* is proved as the Conjunctive suffix. Conjunct flexion, e. g. sing. *do-ber*, *-berae -bere*, *-bera*, pl. *-beram -berid -berat* based

1) In regarding the Umbro-Samnitic forms in this section as *ē*-conj. I follow my pupil G. Bronisch. Meanwhile Bartholomae likewise explains sakahíter as a conj. like Gr. ὁράη-ται (Stud. Idg. Spr., II 154, 185).

upon **ber-ā-m -ā-si -ā-t, -ā-m- -ā-te -ā-nt(o)*; with primary endings, the "absolute" 1st sing. *bera* (certainly a new form), 3rd sing. *berid*, pl. *bermme berthe berit*. Similarly 3rd sing. *dolēcea* for **leikᵤi-ā-t* etc.

With the conj. *-bera* harmonised fully in inflexion *-cara*, beside indic. *no charu* for **carā-i̯ō*, cp. Cymr. conj. 3rd sing. *caro* pl. *carom caroch caront* with *o* for *ā*. The conj. *carā-* may be for **carāi̯-ā-*, but may also be for orig. *carā-* (§ 930).

To the Present in *-enim* (Class XII, § 604 pp. 145 f.) the conjunctive was a series of forms without the nasal suffix. E. g. with *crenim* 'I buy' (from √ *qrei̯-*) and *benim* 'I strike, cut' (beside O.C.Sl. *bi-ti* 'to strike') the conjunctives are 3rd sing. *(ni-)cria* for **qrii̯-ā-t* (cp. Gr. πρί-ω-μαι πρί-η-ται) and *(fom-)bia* for **bhii̯-ā-t*. Compare Thurneysen in Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXI 87 f. On the analogy of these, *renim* 'I sell' for **pr̥-nā-* (√ *per-*) had the conj. *ni-ria* made for it; levelling seems to have taken place between these two verbs in the indic. perfect too, though in the reverse direction (§ 878 p. 426 f.).

§ 928. Germanic. Only one form, and that very dubious; the 1st sing. *baírau* = O.Icel. *bera* beside the clear optatives Goth. *baírái-s baírái* etc.; this has hitherto been derived from **berai̯-u* Idg. **bheroi̯-m̥* (cp. I § 142 p. 126), which is called the "only tenable hypothesis" by Kluge, Paul's Grundr. I 381.[1]) According to Hirt (Idg. Forsch. I 206) the form comes from **berō-m* = Lat. *feram*, and *-au* must be pronounced *-aú*, that is as a single sound; similarly Goth. *viljau* O.H.G. *wille* would be derived from **ᵤel-i̯-ā-m*, pr. Germ. **uili̯ōn*. Compare § 947.

§ 929. Slavonic. 1st sing. indic. *berą* for **berām* is a conj. form used as future, which displaced the old form in *-ō*

1) I cannot agree to a recent criticism of this explanation, that it violates well establisht laws of sound. *i̯* would drop between vowels *in unaccented syllables*, and *u* may have been contracted with the preceding *a*, before acc. **frijōnd-u* became *frijōnd*, if this form really so arose (see III § 219 p. 96). Others see the particle *u* in *baírau* (cp. Wiedemann, Lit. Prät. 159).

first in perfect verbs whose present served for the future. Compare § 955 on imperative *pija-te* and the like.

II. CONJUNCTIVE WHERE THE INDICATIVE STEM ENDS IN A LONG VOWEL.

A. Indicative Stem ends in *-ā-*, *-ē-* *-ō-* without gradation.

§ 930. We have here the Conjunctive to our Present Classes X and XI (§§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff.), that is, stems such as **dr-ā-* 'to run' (Skr. *drā-ti* Gr. ἔ-δρᾱ-ν), **pl-ē-* 'fill' (Skr. *á-prā-t* Gr. πλῆ-το Lat. *im-plē-s*), **mn̥n-ē-* 'to think' (Gr. ἐ-μάνη Lith. *minė́*), **tak-ē-* 'to be silent' (Lat. *tacē-s* O.H.G. *dagē-s*), with which are grouped denominative stems without *-i̯o-* like Lat. *plantā-* (*plantā-mus*) O.Ir. *carā-* (*no chara-m*) Goth. *salbō-* (*salbō-m*) Lith. *jůstō-* (*jů'stō-me*) Gr. Aeol. τῑμᾱ- (τί̄μᾱ-μεν) (§ 769 pp. 283 ff.) and Perfects like Skr. *ji-jyāú* Gr. βε-βίη-ται βέ-βλη-ται τε-τί̄μᾱ-ται (§ 847 pp. 390 ff.).

The long vowels of these stems we have already identified with the conjunctive suffixes *-ā-* and *-ē-* (*-ō-*), in § 578 p. 119 f. Thus the Conjunctive and Indicative had here originally the same stem.

In Aryan we get Injunctive forms with Conjunctive use; as Ved. *pr-á-s* from *pr-ā-* 'to fill'. Forms with primary ending in conj. meaning do not occur, except *prá-si* 'let him fill', which however belongs to the group *vé-ṣi kṣé-ṣi* etc. (§ 910 Rem. pp. 459 f.).

Greek. Messen. -γράφ-η-ντι conj. of ἐ-γράφ-η 'it was written' 1st pl. ἐ-γράφ-η-μεν, -σκευάσθη-ντι beside ἐ-σκυάσθη 'was prepared'. Perf. Gortyn. πέ-π-ᾱ-ται beside indic. πέ-π-ᾱ-ται 'he has gained, he possesses' from *ku̯-ā-* (II § 117 p. 370 f.), Ther. πέ-πρ-ᾱ-ται beside indic. πέ-πρ-ᾱ-ται 'is sold', also conj. Heracl. οἰκοδόμη-ται from οἰκοδομέω 'I build', Gortyn. ἐσ-τετέκνω-ται beside (Att.) ἐκ-τεκνόω 'I beget children'. For clearer distinction between conj. and indic. these forms followed the

analogy of our I[st] conjunctive class: hence we have on the one hand forms with short conj. vowel, as Hom. *βλή-ε-ται τραπή-ο-μεν γνώ-ο-μεν κι-χή-ο-μεν* (cp. *κί-χ-η-μι* § 594 p. 135), and on the other hand forms with long vowel, as Hom. *δαμή-ῃς γνώ-ωσι*,[1]) contracted Att. *τραπῇς τραπῶμεν γνῷς γνῶμεν*, *μεμνῆται* Hom. *μεμνώμεθα*, Heracl. *ἐπι-βῇ* for *-*βάει* or *-*βάῃ*.

From Keltic we may cite the conj. of *ā*-verbs, as O.Ir. *-cara* for **carā-t* (cp. § 927 p. 474), and from Germanic the corresponding conjunctives, such as Goth. *salbō -ō-s -ō -ō-ma -ō-þ -ō-na* O.H.G. *salbo -ō-s -o -ō-m -ō-t -ō-n*; also O.H.G. conj. *habe -ē-s -e -ē-m -ē-t -ē-n* beside indic. *habēm -ēs* etc., and Gr. conj. *γράφ-η-νται* beside *ἐ-γράφη-μεν*.[2]) Similar Latin forms, **plantā-m -ā-s* etc., may have been the predecessors of *plantem -ēs* etc.; cp. § 926 p. 473.

B. Indicative Stem has a Long Final Vowel, with Gradation.

§ 931. We have now to deal with the Conjunctive of Indicative Stems like **dhē-* **dh(ə)-* (Skr. *á-dhā-t á-dhi-ta*), **dhi-dhē-* **dhi-dh(ə)-* and **dhe-dhē-* **dhe-dh(ə)-* (Gr. *τί-θη-σι τί-θε-ται τέ-θε-ται*, Skr. *dá-dhā-ti da-dh-más da-dhāú da-dh-úr*), **mr̥-nā-* **mr̥-n(ə)-* (Skr. *mr̥-ṇā́-ti mr̥-ṇ-ánti* Gr. *μάρ-να-ται*).

Two conjunctive types appear to be proethnic; one with the thematic vowel, which we may call the regular type, as Skr. *da-dh-a-tē* beside indic. *dá-dhā-ti*, and one with long

1) It is true there is nothing to prove that the forms Homer really used were not *δαμή-εις γνώ-ουσι*; compare § 934, on conj. like *στήῃς στήωσι*. The absence of such forms as *δαμήωμεν δαμήητε στήωμεν στήητε* in Homer is in favour of the short-vowel conjunctive.

2) But how are we to explain Goth. *habau -ais -ai*? That *habēs* in Gothic became *habais* (*ai* = long *ai*) by simple action of regular change is to my mind as little proven as the identity of Goth. *sijais* and Lat. *siēs*. The student may now refer to Streitberg, Zur Germ. Sprachgeschichte 73 f., who regards *habais habai* as optative with the suffix *-i̯ē-*.

vowel, as Skr. *da-dh-ā-tāi*, Gr. ἐπί-στ-ω-μαι ἐπί-στ-η-ται beside indic. ἐπί-στα-ται, Lat. *si-st-ā-s*. The latter are not independent of the fact that the Indicative so often has a thematic side by side with the unthematic series, thus Skr. *da-dh-a-tē* beside indic. *dá-dhā-ti*, *da-dh-ā-tāi* beside indic. *dá-dh-a-ti* (§ 562 p. 110 f.). Cp. conj. *áy-a-t* and *ay-ā-t* and the like (§ 920 p. 468).

§ **932.** (1) Thematic Conjunctive Type.

Skr. *da-dh-a-t* 2nd dual *dá-dh-a-thas* mid. *da-dh-a-tē* beside indic. *dá-dhā-ti* 'places'. 2nd dual mid. *dh-ḗthē* 3rd sing. act. *práti-dhat* beside indic. *á-dhā-t*. *mi-n-a-t* beside indic. *mi-nā́-ti* 'lessens, injures'. The forms with secondary personal ending, *da-dh-a-t mi-n-a-t*, may be regarded as injunctive to the thematic indic. *dá-dh-a-ti á-mi-n-a-nta*; *-dh-a-t* as injunctive is to be compared with *ā́da-t* (§ 524 p. 88). Avest. 1st sing. *xšt-ā* (cp. indic. 3rd sing. *paiti-štā-þ* Skr. *á-sthā-t* from √ *stā-* 'stare') may come in here as easily as under (2); cp. § 933.

Greek perhaps has specimens of this type of conjunctive in the imperative 2nd sing. θές (from τίθημι) and ἕς (ἵημι). If so, their ε is not the same as ε in ἔ-θε-μεν, which has displaced α = Idg. ə (§ 493 p. 53); they would be on the same plane as σχ-έ-ς. On the model of θ-έ-ς (*dh-e-s*): θέ-τε (Idg. *dhə-te*) δός beside δότε would then be coined. Or are θές ἕς δός transformates of *θῆς *ἧς *δῶς (which would be injunctive like Skr. *dhā́s dā́s*) by levelling with θέτω θέτε etc. (§ 909 p. 458).

§ **933.** (2) Long-Vowel Conjunctive Type.

Aryan. Skr. *da-dh-ā-tāi da-d-ā-tāi* beside indic. *dá-dhā-ti* 'places' *dá-dā-ti* 'gives', cp. indic. *dá-dh-a-ti dá-d-a-ti* Avest. *da-þ-a-iti* (§ 562 p. 111). Skr. *dh-ā́-ti d-ā́-ti sth-ā-ti sth-ā́-thas* 2nd dual mid. *dhāithē* (cp. § 922 p. 470 on *bhárāithē*), Avest. 2nd sing. *d-ā-hī* 3rd sing. *d-ā-itī* mid. *d-ā-itę xšt-ā-itę* 3rd pl. mid. *d-ā̊-ntę* beside indic. Skr. *á-dhā-t á-dā-t á-sthā-t* Avest. *dā-þ -štā-þ*, cp. indic. Skr. *ā́da-t* (§ 524 p. 88). Skr. 2nd pl. *krī-ṇ-ā-tha* mid. 3rd sing. *krī-ṇ-ā-tāi* beside indic. *krī-ṇā́-ti* 'buys' (Whitney, Skr. Gr. § 720), Avest. mid. 3rd sing. *perᵉ-n-ā-itę verᵉ-n-ā-tā* (with secondary ending) 3rd pl. *verᵉ-n-ā̊-ntę*

beside indic. *ger'u-nā-iti* 'grasps, comprehends', cp. indic. Skr. *mṛ-ṇ-á-ti* (§ 598 p. 141, § 609 p. 149).

On the ending *-ā-tāi* see § 922 p. 470.

§ 934. Greek. ἐπί-στ-ω-μαι ἐπί-στ-η-ται beside indic. ἐπί-στα-ται 'understands'. δύ-ν-ω-μαι beside indic. δύ-να-ται 'can', μαρ-ν-ώ-μεσθα (Hesiod) beside indic. μάρ-να-ται 'fights', cp. opt. μαρ-νο-ί-μεθα (Od. 11. 513) and indic. like πτάρ-νο-μαι (§ 611 p. 149). Whether the Attic accent be τίθωμαι or τιθῶμαι (for *τιθέ-ωμαι) cannot be decided; the grammarians contradict each other, and the MS. tradition is uncommonly inconsistent; τί-θ-ω-μαι τί-θ-η-ται would answer to Skr. *da-dh-ā-tāi*.

A second type is represented by forms like Messen. τίθηντι beside τίθημι 'I place', Arcad. ἵ-στᾱ-τοι Cret. ἴθθᾶντι beside ἵ-στᾱ-μι 'I place, set up', Cret. δύ-νᾱ-μαι beside δύ-να-μαι 'I can', ῥήγ-νῡ-ται (Hipponax) beside ῥήγ-νῡ-μι 'I break, tear'. I assume that this type is due to imitation of such a conjunctive as -γράφ-η-ντι (§ 930 p. 475) — observe that in both series the optative formation had become the same in proethnic Greek, as γραφείην and τιθείην, see § 943; — τίθηντι : τίθημι ἐτίθην = γράφηντι : ἐγράφην; ῥήγνῡται like ὑμεναίουν § 480 p. 29. Cp. Hom. τιθήμενο-ς instead of τιθέμενο-ς like κι-χή-μενο-ς βλή-μενο-ς, indic. ἐπί-στηται (Il. 16. 243, from ἔ-στη-ν) like πλῆ-το 'drew near' (for *πλᾶ-το). If Greek once had the conj. ā-suffix, ἵ-στᾱ-τοι might be compared with Lat. *si-st-ā-s*.

In the same way, and at the same time, with the forms γράφηντι etc., Conjunctives like τίθηντι came under the influence of o- and ω-conjunctives. Hom. στή-ο-μεν στή-ε-τον, θή-ο-μεν -θή-ο-μαι, δώ-ο-μεν and Hom. στή-ῃς στή-ωσι, φή-ῃς,[2])

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1) The forms here treated have been wrongly explained in vol. I §§ 113 ff. pp. 106 ff.

2) Perhaps in Homeric times the forms used were στήεις στήουσι. See p. 476 footnote 1.

Delph. *δώ-ῃ*, Boeot. *καθ-ιστάει*. Contracted Att. *στῶ στῇς*, *ἱστῶ ἱστῇς*, *ἑστῶ ἑστῇς*, *θῶ θῇς*, *δῶ δῇς*.

The relation of *τίθηντι* to indic. *τίθεντι* produced in Messenian a conj. *ἧνται* 'sint' beside indic. *ἐντί*. With this must be grouped Hom. *μετ-είω* (Il. 23. 47), for which read *μετ-ήω* and place it parallel to *θή-ω ἐφ-ήω*. Compare also § 502 p. 66 on *ἐμὲν* and *ἔμεν ἔμεναι* and § 914 p. 463 on Hom. *ἴομεν*.

§ **935**. Italic. Lat. *si-st-ā-s* cp. indic. *si-st-i-t* √ *stā-*; *serās* for **si-s-ā-s* cp. indic. *se-r-i-t* √ *sē-*; *red-d-ā-s* Osc. da-dad 'dedat' (da- prefix) cp. indic. Lat. *red-d-i-t* (the indic. forms *dās dat* may contain the same stem *d-ā-* which with injunctive Flexion could also be indic. pres., cp. § 505 p. 71, § 909 p. 456 f.), Pelign. *di-d-a* 'det' Umbr. *di-rs-a* 'det' cp. indic. Vest. *di-d-e-t* 'dat' √ *dō-*. Compare § 493 p. 53, § 524 p. 88, § 550 p. 106, § 553 p. 107.

Lat. *ster-n-ā-s li-n-ā-s* cp. indic. *ster-n-i-t li-n-i-t*. Compare § 603 p. 145.

§ **936**. From Irish we may cite the Mid.Ir. 2nd sing. *eba* 'bibas', cp. indic. *ibid* for **pi-b-e-ti* √ *pō-*. Compare § 539 p. 100, § 554 p. 108.

§ **937**. Germanic. In § 507 p. 74 it was pointed out as possible that O.Sax. *dō-m* O.H.G. *tuo-m* 'I do' may represent the stem *dh-ā-* of Lat. *condā-s* and be compared with Lat. indic. *d-ā-s* (§ 935). The same stem as Conj. is seen in O.Sax. 1st 2nd and 3rd pl. *dua-n* O.H.G. 2nd pl. *tuo-t* 3rd pl. *tuo-n*.

OPTATIVE.[1])

§ **938**. The Optative of the Unthematic Indicative has for suffix in the Singular Active *-i̯ē- -ii̯ē-* (Strong form), in the Plural and Dual Active and in the Middle of all numbers *-ī-*

1) Th. Benfey, Über die Entstehung und die Formen des idg. Optativ (Potential) so wie über das Futurum auf sanskritisch *syāmi* u. s. w., Abhandl. der Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. XVI 135 ff. J. Schmidt, Die

before consonants and *-i̯- -ii̯-* before sonants (Weak forms). The Tense Stem had its Weak form. Thus from **es-ti* 'is': **s-i̯ē- *s-ii̯ē-* 2nd sing. Skr. *s-yā́-s s-iyā́-s* O.Lat. *s-iē-s*, **s-ī- *s-i̯- *s-ii̯-* 1st pl. Lat. *s-ī-mus* 3rd pl. Skr. *s-y-úr s-iy-úr* O.Lat. *s-i-ent*. But the Optative of Thematic tense stems had in all persons of the Active and Middle *-oi̯-* before the personal ending; as **bheroi̯-* (Gr. *φέροι-ς φέροι-τε*) beside indic. **bhere-ti* 'bears' from √*bher-*. Probably *-oi̯-* is for *-o-ī-* and this *-ī-* identical with that of **s-ī-*; 2nd pl. **bhero-i̯-te* : **s-ī-te* = loc. **u̯oi̯k̑o-i̯* (Gr. *οἴκοι*) : **k̑un-i* (Gr. *κυν-ί* Skr. *śún-i*).

The Personal endings of the Optative are Secondary. Compare § 942 Rem.

In Armenian and Irish [1]) the Optative seems completely dead; in Italic the *oi̯*-type can no longer be traced. The commingling of optative and conjunctive has been described in § 910 p. 460.

I. OPTATIVE WITH *-i̯ē- -ī-*.

§ **939.** Pr.Idg.

Class I (§§ 492 ff.). **gm̥-i̯ē- *gm-ī-* beside indic. **gém-ti* 'goes' (Skr. *á-gan*): Skr. *gam-yā́-t* mid. 1st sing. *gm-īya*, A.S. *cyme* (Goth. **kumjau*). **bhū̆-i̯ē- *bhu̯-ii̯ē- *bhu̯-ii̯-* beside

ursprüngl. Flexion des Optativs und der auf *ā* auslautenden Präsensstämme, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 303 ff.

G. H. Müller, De Graecorum modo optativo, Philologus XLIX 548 ff.

Fr. A. Börsch, Hat die lat. Sprache einen Optativus? Marburg 1820.

Loth, L'optatif, les temps secondaires dans les dialectes britanniques, Mém. Soc. Ling., V 133 ff.

F. Bech, Der umgelautete Conjunctivus praeteriti rückumlautender Zeitwörter, Germania XV 129 ff.

Miklosich, Imperativ [in Old Slovenian], Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXXXI 132 ff. Oblak, Ein Beitrag zum slavischen Imperativ, Archiv slav. Phil. X 143 ff.

1) "What the British conjunctive, in which *i* seems to be mixt up with *ō* (for *ā*), really is, has not yet been made out. It may be partly derived from an optative of the *s*-aorist." (Thurneysen.) Compare also Loth, Mém. Soc. Ling. V 133 ff.

1st pl. Skr. *á-bhū-ma* Gr. *ἔ-φῡ-μεν* from √*bheu̯-* 'be, become': Skr. *bhū-yā́-t* O.Pers. *b-iyā*, Gr. Cypr. *φύι̯η*, 1st pl. Avest. *buyamā* i. e. *bviyamā* for **bhu̯-ii̯-m̥m-* (§ 942). **u̯id-i̯ē-* **u̯id-ī-* beside Skr. *vḗd-mi* from √*u̯ei̯d-* 'see, know' (see § 493 p. 52): Skr. *vid-yā́-t* Goth. 1st pl. *vit-ei-ma*. **s-(i)i̯ē-* **s-ī-*: Skr. *s-yā́-t* *s-iyā́-t*, O.Lat. *s-ie-t* 1st pl. O.Lat. and class. *s-ī-mus*, O.H.G. 1st pl. *s-ī-m*. **d-(i)i̯ē-* **d-ī-* beside Skr. *ád-mi* 'esse': Skr. *ad-yā́-t* Lat. *ed-ī-mus* O.C.Sl. *jad-i-mŭ*; in all three branches a strong root-form has taken the place of the weak.

Indicatives like **é-dhē-t* 'he placed' had two optative types, one having the "unaccented weak grade" of root (*dh-*) and the other the "weak grade with secondary accent" (*dhə-*); compare the two forms of the root in Skr. *d-yá-ti* and *dá-ya-tē*, and the like (§ 707 p. 238). (1) **dh-i̯ē-* **dh-ī-*: Avest. *d-yā-þ* Osc. da-did 'dedat' (*-ī-* from the plural), cp. redupl. Avest. *daidyā-þ* mid. *daidī-tā*. (2) **dhə-i̯ē-* **dhə-i̯-* (cp. **bheroi̯-* and Skr. superl. *sthḗṣṭha-s* 'the steadiest, most stable' for **stə-i̯s-to-* II § 81 p. 244). Gr. pl. *θεῖ-μεν* *δοῖ-μεν* *σταῖ-μεν* (*θε-* *δο-* instead of and *θα-* **δα-*, see § 493 p. 53), beside which we have *θείην* *δοίην* *σταίην* instead of **θε-ι̯η-ν* etc., like 3rd pl. *φέροιεν* *-οίατο* instead of **-ο(ι̯)εν* *-ο(ι̯)ατο* following *φέροιμεν* etc. Skr. pl. **dhēma*[1]) **dēma* **sthēma* (cp. precative *dē-ṣ-ma* § 942), whence sing. *dhēyā-t* *dēyā-t* *sthēyā-t* instead of **dha-yā-t* etc. (cp. *bhárēyam* following *bhárē-ma* instead of **bharāy-am* § 951, and compar. *sthḗyas-* following superl. *sthḗṣṭha-s* instead of **sthā-yas-* II § 81 p. 244), and hence again by further analogy pl. *dhēyāma* *dēyāma* *sthēyāma* like *syā́-ma* following *syā́-t* and like Gr. *θείημεν* following *θείην* (§ 945); the root syllable in

1) The 2nd pl. Ved. *dhētana*, R.V. VIII. 56. 5, X. 37. 12 (*-tana* as often instead of *-ta*, see § 1010), probably does not belong to this place; it is either a thematic form like Avest. 2nd sing. *dōi-š* Gr. *ἐπί-θοιτο* *-θοίμεθα*, or a new form coined beside *dhēhí* on the analogy of *attana* *attá* beside *addhí*, *itana* *itá* beside *i-hí*, *yātána* *yātá* beside *yāhí*, and the like. The latter view is supported by Pali pres. *dhēmi* *dhēsi* etc. and *dēmi* *dēsi* etc., which undoubtedly are new formates complementary to the imperative *dhēhi* and *dēhi*.

the presumptive form **dhē-ma* stands to that of 3rd sing. mid. *da-dh-ī-tá* just as the indic. 3rd sing. mid. pret. *á-dhi-ta* to the 3rd sing. mid. pres. *dha-t-tē*. It is uncertain whether Lat. *dēs* comes from **da-(i̯)ē-s* (§ 946), and whether O.H.G. 1st pl. *stēn* is to be equated with Gr. σταῖμεν (§ 947).

Remark. Others assume that Skr. *dhēyā-t* Gr. θείη come from **dhə-ii̯ē-t*. With this view, attractive enough at first sight, I cannot agree. The explanation, now put forward again by Jellinek (Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion, p. 95), that *bhárēyam* comes from Idg. **bhero-ii̯-m̥*, is proved by the evidence of Iranian to be wrong.

Class III (§§ 536 ff.). Skr. *da-dh-yā́-t da-d-yā́-t* mid. *da-dh-ī-tá da-d-ī-tá*, O.Sax. pl. *ded-ī-n* 'we did' (beside *dād-ī-n*), unless this form is to be put with the perfect (§ 886 p. 433), O.C.Sl. *da-d-i-mŭ da-d-i-te* (indic. *da-d-ętŭ* 'dant'); Gr. τι-θε-ῖ-μεν δι-δο-ῖ-μεν ἱ-στα-ῖ-μεν like θε-ῖ-μεν etc., see above Skr. *bi-bhi-yā-t bi-bhī-y-ā́t* beside *bi-bhḗ-ti* 'fears', *bi-bhr̥-yā-t* beside *bí-bhar-ti* 'bears'.

Class VII (§§ 567 f.). Skr. *vē-viṣ-yā-t* beside indic. *vḗ-vēṣ-ṭi* 'works, is active'.

Classes X and XI (§§ 579 ff.). Skr. *jñā-yā-t* (gramm.) Gr. γνοῖμεν for *γνω-ι̯-μεν from *ĝn-ē- ĝn-ō-* 'to learn'. Skr. *mnā-yā-t* 'commemoret' 3rd pl. *mnā-y-ur*. Gr. δρᾷμεν for *δρᾱ-ι̯-μεν beside ἔ-δρ-ᾱ-ν 'I ran'. Lat. *nēs* for **sn-ā-i̯ē-s*? (s. § 946). — Gr. κιχεῖμεν beside κί-χ-η-μεν 'we reach, find'.

Class XII (§§ 597 ff.). Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *śr̥-ṇ-ī-tá* beside *śr̥-ṇā́-ti* 'shatters'. Gr. δύναιτο (beside δύ-να-ται 'is able') for **du-nə-i̯-to* stands to Skr. *śr̥-ṇ-ī-tá* as τιθεῖτο (on the accent see § 944) to *dadhītá*.

Class XV (§§ 625 f.). Skr. *yuñj-yā́-t* mid. *yuñj-ī-tá* beside *yunák-ti* 'yokes'.

Class XVII (§§ 638 ff.). Skr. *r̥-ṇu-yā́-t* mid. *r̥-ṇv-ī-tá* beside *r̥-ṇō-ti* 'excites, sets a-going', mid. *aś-nuv-ī-tá* beside *aś-nō-ti* 'attains'. Hom. δαινῦτο for *δαι-νυ-ι̯-το beside δαί-νυ-ται 'eats', 3rd pl. δαινύατο for -νυ-ι̯-ατο (§ 944). Goth. *kunneima* for **kun-nv-ī-* Idg. **ĝn̥-nu-ī-* beside *kun-nu-m* 'we learn, know'.

Class XIX (§ 656). Skr. *dviṣ-yā́-t* beside *dvē-ṣ-ṭi* 'hates'.

s-Aorist (§§ 811 ff.). Skr. mid. *dikṣ-ī-ta* beside 1st sing. *á-dik-ṣ-i*, Lat. *dīx-ī-mus* beside *dīx-ī*, √ *dei̯k̑-* 'show'; Skr. mid. *ma-s-ī-ta* Idg. **mn̥-s-ī-to*, √ *men-* 'think'; O.H.G. *wiss-ī-mēs* 'we knew' must be named here, if *wissun* 'they knew' is to be compared with Gr. ἴσαν (§ 827 p. 365). *es*-Aorist: Gr. εἰδεῖμεν 'we should like to know' for *Ϝειδ-εσ-ῑ-μεν (cp. Lat. *vīd-er-ī-mus*), δείξειαν for -σ-εσ-ι̯-αν or -σ-εσ́-ι-αν see § 944. *əs*-Aorist: Skr. 1st pl. mid. *jan-iṣ-ī-mahi* beside indic. *á-jan-iṣ-ṭa* from *jan-* 'gignere', *pyā-s-iṣ-ī-mahi* from *pyā-* 'swell'. *is*-Aorist: Lat. *vīd-er-ī-mus* for **u̯ei̯d-is-ī-* beside conj. *vīder-ō* (cp. Gr. εἰδεῖμεν).

Perfect (§§ 843 ff.). **u̯e-u̯r̥t-i̯ē- -ī-* from √ *u̯ert-* 'vertere': Skr. *va-vr̥t-yā-t* 1st pl. mid. *va-vr̥t-ī-mahi*. Goth. *vaúrþ-ei-ma* (instead of reg. **vaúrdeima*) O.H.G. *wurt-ī-mēs*. **se-zd-(i)i̯ē- -ī-* from √ *sed-* 'sedere': Skr. *sēd-yā́-t* Avest. *hazd-yā-þ*, cp. Goth. *sēt-ei-ma*. Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *īś-ī-ta* Goth. 1st pl. *áig-ei-ma* beside indic. *īś-ē áih* 'has something in his power' (§ 848 p. 391).

Often both types, *-i̯ē-* and *-oi̯-*, occur together, just as in the Indicative thematic and unthematic forms are found side by side, and as in the Conjunctive we see both long-vowel type and thematic. Examples are: Gr. ἔοι Lith. *tesē̃* beside εἰμὶ *es-mì* 'I am', Avest. *d-ōi-š* Gr. ἐπί-θοιτο beside indic. *dā-þ* ἔ-θε-το from √ *dhē-* 'place', Pruss. *dais* 'give' from √ *dō-*, Gr. μαρνοίμεθα beside μάρ-να-ται 'fights', πεπόνθοι beside πέ-πονθ-α 'I have experienced'.

§ **940.** Aryan. In Sanskrit, the *-yā-* of the sing. active is invariable for active plural and dual forms that have a personal ending with initial consonant; as *s-yā́-ta* instead of **s-ī-ta* (Lat. *s-ī-tis*), *jñā-yā-ta* instead of **jñāi-ta* (Gr. γνοῖ-τε); in the Middle it is invariably absent. The same relation may be seen in Indicative stems like *dhā-* (Idg. **dhē-*): as *va-vr̥t-yā-t va-vr̥t-yā-ta* mid. *va-vr̥t-ī-ta*, so *á-dā-t á-dā-ta* mid. *á-di-ta* (§ 495 p. 55). In Avestic *-yā-* preponderates for the plural active, as Gath. *x̌yā-tā* = Skr. *syā́-ta*; but *-ī-* seems to occur, as in *srvīmā* i. e. *sruv-ī-mā* beside imper. *srao-tū* = Skr. *śrṓ-tu* from √ *k̑leu̯-* 'hear'.

Instead of the Skr. ending *-īya* of the 1st sing., as *va-vr̥t-īy-a*, we should expect *-ya* or *-iya* following the *-y-ur -iy-ur* of the 3rd pl. active; indeed, the MS. *ī* of the Veda must often be read short for metrical reasons, as in *íśīya* and *rāsīya* Rig.-V. VII. 32. 18, and Avestic regularly has *tanuya* i. e. *tanv-iy-a* (Bartholomae, Handb. § 91 *b* p. 40). This *-ī-* came from the other middle forms; similarly we have *bhárēyam* following *bhárē-ṣ* etc., instead of **bharay-am* or **bharāy-am* (§ 951).

More examples to add to those given in § 939:

Class I. Skr. *kr-iyā-t* beside *á-kar* 'he made', *dīr-yā-t* = **dr̥̄-i̯ē-t* beside *á-dar* 'he split, burst' (cp. below, Class VII Avest. *darᵉ-dairyā-þ*), mid. *vur-ī-ta* beside *á-vr̥-ta* 'he chose'. Avest. *jam-yā-þ* O.Pers. *jam-īyā* with *jam-* instead of *gam-*, which is preserved in Skr. *gam-yā́-t* (mid. *gm-īya*) (I § 451 Rem. p. 334), cp. § 939 p. 480. Skr. *han-yā́-t* Avest. *jan-yā-þ* O.Pers. *jan-iyā* beside Skr. *hán-ti* 'strikes, kills' from √ *ghen-*; pr.Ar. **jhan-i̯ā-t* instead of **ghan-* = **ghn̥-*, with which we have the reg. mid. Skr. *ghn-ī-ta* Avest. *γn-i-ta*, but in Skr. following the active also *han-ī-ta* (I § 454 Rem. p. 335, II § 498 p. 57 f.). Skr. *stu-yā́-t* mid. *stuv-ī-tá* Avest. *stu-yā-þ* beside indic. Skr. *stāu-ti* (*stu-mási*) Avest. *stao-iti* 'he praises'. Skr. *i-yā-t* beside *ḗ-ti* 'goes'. Skr. *vr̥j-yā-t* beside *á-vark* 'he twisted together' (pres. *vr̥ṇák-ti*). Skr. *uś-yā́-t* Avest. *us-yā-þ* beside Skr. *váṣ-ṭi* Avest. *vas-tī* 'wishes' (*uś-mási us-mahī*). On Skr. *dēyā-t* Avest. *d-yā-þ* and the like, see § 939 p. 481; on Avest. 2nd sing. *dā-yå*, below, Class X.

Skr. *brū-yā-t* mid. *bruv-ī-tá* (Avest. *mru-yā-þ*) beside *bráv-ī-ti* 'he speaks' Class IX (§ 574 p. 116).

Class III. Skr. *ju-hu-yā́-t* mid. 1st pl. *jú-hv-ī-mahi* beside *ju-hṓ-ti* 'offers'. Avest. *daidyā-þ daiþyā-þ* mid. *daidī-tā daiþī-ta* like Skr. *da-dh-yā́-t da-d-yā́-t da-dh-ī-tá da-d-ī-tá*, § 939 p. 481.

Class VII. Avest. *darᵉ-dairyā-þ* beside indic. Skr.

1) On the active singular forms with *-ī-*, like *sāhīþ*, which used to be wrongly taken as optative, see Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Sprachg. II 157, 169.

dár-dar-ti intens. of *dar-* 'to split'; the ground-form may be **-dṝ-i̯ē-t*, see § 568 p. 112.

Class X. Skr. *yā-yā-t* beside *y-ā́-ti* 'goes'. Avest. *pā-yā-þ* from *pā-* 'protect' (§ 588 p. 129). The forms Skr. *mnēyā-t jñēyā́-t* beside the regular *mnā-yā-t jñā-yā-t* (§ 939 p. 482) are adformates of such as *dhēyā-t sthēyā-t* (Class I), just as Skr. *jyḗṣṭha-s* 'the mightiest' beside comp. *jyā́-yas-* is an adformate of *sthḗṣṭha-s* (II § 81 p. 244); compare the precative *jñēṣam*, § 942. Levelling in the reverse direction is shown by Avest. *dā-yā-þ* beside *d-yā-þ*.

Class XII. Skr. mid. *pṛ-ṇ-ī-tá* beside *pṛ-ṇā́-ti* 'fills'; act. *pṛ-ṇī-yā́-t* with the same *-ī-* as indic. *pṛ-ṇī-más*, see § 597 p. 141.

Class XV. Skr. *rundh-yā́-t* mid. *rundh-ī-tá* beside *ruṇádh-mi* 'I hold back, stay'. Avest. *merąš-yā-þ*, see § 626 p. 162.

Class XVII. Skr. *kṛ-ṇu-yā́-t* mid. *kṛ-ṇv-ī-tá* Avest. *kerᵉ-nu-yā-þ* beside *kṛ-ṇṓ-ti kerᵉ-nao-iti* 'makes, does'. Skr. *aś-nu-yā́-t aś-nuv-ī-tá* Avest. *aš-nu-yā-þ* beside *aś-nṓ-ti aš-nao-iti* 'attains'. Avest. 1[st] sing. mid. *tanuya* i. e. *tanv-iy-a* (beside Skr. *tanvīy-á*), see p. 484.

s-Aorist. Skr. 1[st] pl. mid. *dhuk-ṣ-ī-máhi* from *duh-* 'to milk', 1[st] sing. mid. *di-ṣ-īy-a* from *dā-* 'divide, share'; Avest. *dišyā-þ* from √ *dei̯k̑-* 'to show, point' from a ground-form **dik̑-s-i̯ē-t*, cp. Skr. mid. *dik-ṣ-ī-ta*. On the intrusion of the strong root in Skr., as *mą-s-ī-máhi* beside *ma-s-īy-a*, see § 815 p. 353. The *iṣ-* and *siṣ*-aorist in Sanskrit: *ruc-iṣ-īy-a* and *rōc-iṣ-īy-a* from *ruc-* 'to shine', *sah-iṣ-ī-mahi* and *sāh-iṣ-ī-máhi* from *sah-* 'to overcome', *vą-siṣ-īy-a* from *van-* 'to gain'. Optatives from sigmatic aorist are in Sanskrit only found in the middle voice, and the 2[nd] and 3[rd] sing. show regularly the precative form, as *mą-s-ī-ṣṭhā́s mą-s-ī-ṣṭa van-iṣ-ī-ṣṭa yā-sis-ī-ṣṭhās* (§ 942).

Perfect. Skr. *ja-gam-yā-t* Avest. *jaγmyąm* i. e. *ja-γm-iyąm* beside indic. Skr. *ja-gā́m-a* from √ *gem-* 'go'. Skr. *ri-ric-yā-t* beside *ri-rḗc-a* from *ric-* 'let loose'. Avest. *vaonyā-þ* beside

indic. 3rd pl. *vaon-arᵉ* from *van-* 'to gain', O.Pers. 3rd sing. *ca-xr-iyā* from *kar-* 'to make'.

§ **941.** According to Bartholomae, Avestic has in the 1st pl. active forms with *-ama* for *-m̥me*: *jam-y-ama* (the 3rd sing. is *jam-yā-þ*, § 940 p. 484), *buyamā* i. e. *bv-iy-amā* (cp. *tanuya* § 940 p. 434) beside O.Pers. *biyā* for **b(v)-iyā-t* (Avest. 2nd sing. *buyå* 3rd sing. *buyā-þ* may also be derived from *bv-iyā-*, because of the Avestic mode of spelling). Following *buyama* we have 2nd pl. *buya-ta*: perhaps 2nd pl. *dāya-ta* springs from 3rd sing. *dāyā-þ* in the same way. A similar explanation is given of Skr. *duhīyá-t* beside 3rd pl. *duhīyán*; perhaps the *ī* of this 3rd pl. may be accepted as evidence that *-ī-ma* and *-ī-ta* once existed in the Sanskrit language (cp. middle *-īy-a* following *-ī-thās* etc.). See Benfey, Abh. Gött. Gesellsch. Wiss. XVI 182 f., 197; J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 318; Bartholomae, *ibid.* XXIX 274 f.

§ **942.** The "Precative", as it is called, is a mood peculiar to Sanskrit. This is a optative with *-s-* between mood-suffix and personal ending;[1] in the middle, the 1st persons and the 3rd pl. could not take this form. Examples are act. sing. 1st *bhū-yā́-s-am* 2nd and 3rd *-yā́-s* (2nd **-yā-s-s* 3rd **-yā-s-t*) pl. *-yā́-s-ma -yā́-s-ta -yā́-s-ur*, mid. sing. 2nd *muc-ī-ṣ-ṭhās ma̧-s-ī-ṣ-ṭhā́s yā-sis-ī-ṣ-ṭhās* 3rd *muc-ī-ṣ-ṭa* etc.

Beside *á-dā-t* 'gave', 1st pl. *dēṣma* i. e. **də-i̯-s-me* (confirming the assumed **dē-ma* = Gr. δοῖ-μεν, see § 939 p. 481); 3rd pl. *sthē-ṣ-ur* beside *á-sthā-t*. To this the 1st sing. is *dēṣam sthēṣam*. *jñēṣam* (from *jñ-ā-* 'know'): *dēṣam* = *jñēyā́-t* : *dēyā-t*, see § 940 p. 485.

The history and origin of the Precative are as yet unknown. But there must doubtless be a connexion between its *s* and the aorist *s*.

Remark. If the optative suffix is the same as the Root-determinative *ī*, described in § 498 p. 61 and § 572 p. 114, it would be obvious to

1) Avest. *tūtuyå* is not a precative; see Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 561. On Skr. forms assumed to be precative, which do not have *s* just before the personal ending, see the same, p. 587.

assume the same connexion between Skr. *dē-ṣ-ma* (**da-i̯-ṣ-ma*) and Gr. *θο-ῑ-μεν* as between Skr. *á-grah-ī-ṣ-ṭa* and *á-grah-ī-t*; Skr. *ájāi-ṣ* 'thou didst drive' could be analysed **aj-ā-ī-ṣ*, as the opt. *ájē-ṣ* into **aj-a-ī-ṣ*. Then the optative would be an Injunctive to the indicative with *-ī-*.

§ **943.** Greek. Here we see *-i̯ē-* *-ī-* always and only after sonant vowels, with which *-ī-* is contracted.

The fact that Skr. forms like *vid-yā́-t gam-yā́-t bi-bhr̥-yā-t da-dh-yā́-t ri-ric-yā-t* are missing in Greek as we have it, is easy to explain. The *i̯* of *-i̯ē-m -i̯-ent* etc. in proethnic Greek, together with the consonant preceding, formed sound-groups which disguised certain parts of the paradigm, and obscured their connexion with the rest. Thus **ἰζην* (**ἰzδην*) **ἰδῖμεν* beside *οἶδα ἴδ-μεν*, **κτωινην* **κτανῖμεν* beside *ἔ-κτα-μεν*, **θισσην* **τιθῖμεν* beside *τί-θη-μι*, **λελισσην* **λελιτῖμεν* (**λελιπῖμεν*) beside *λέ-λοιπ-α*, the regular forms, would be unrecognisable for the same kin.

§ **944.** Class I. Hom. *εἴην* 'sim' for **ἐσ-i̯η-ν* or trisyllabic **ἐσ-ιη-ν*, 3rd pl. *εἶεν* for **ἐσ-i̯-εν* or **ἐσ-ι-εν* (cp. Skr. *s-iyā́-m s-iy-úr* beside *s-yā́-m s-y-úr*), 1st pl. *εἶμεν* for **ἐσ-ῑ-μεν* with intrusion of strong root (cp. § 502 p. 65). El. *ἔᾱ* for **ἔη* 3rd pl. *συν-έαν* possibly for *-εεν* answering to the Ion. *εἶεν* (cp. I § 64 p. 51, § 72 p. 63, where *ἔᾱ* must be read and not *εἴᾱ*, and IV §§ 952, 1020. 1 *a*). *εἰ-* in Att. *εἴην εἶεν* is either to be explained by the fact that the Greek ground-forms **ἑσιην* **ἑσιεν* were trisyllabic, or else if these were really **ἑσi̯ην* **ἑσi̯εν* it must have come from *εἶμεν*, as *θείην* follows *θεῖμεν* and *φέροιεν* follows *φέροιμεν* (I § 131 p. 118, IV § 939 p. 481).

On *θείην δοίην σταίην* see § 939 p. 481. Of the same sort are *φαίην φαῖμεν* mid. 2nd sing. *φαῖο* from *φη-μί* 'I say'.

Cypr. *φύi̯η*, see I § 130 p. 118: Skr. *bhū-yā-t*, see § 939 p. 481. Hom. *ἐκ-δῦμεν* (beside *ἔ-δῡ* 'went in' *ἔ-δῡ-μεν*) for **δυi̯-μεν* (like *σταῖμεν γνοῖμεν*) stands for **δυ(ϝ)-ῑ-μεν* or **δϝ-ῑ-μεν*, 3rd sing. *δύη* = **δυιη* like *σταίη* beside *σταῖ-μεν*. Cp. *δαινῦτο δαινύατο* Class XVII p. 488. Whether Hom. *φθῖτο* (beside *ἔ-φθι-το* 'was destroyed' is regularly descended from **φθιi̯-ῑ-το*, which must be assumed as original, is a question; it may have been coined beside *ἔφθιτο* on the analogy of *δοῖτο* to *ἔδοτο*.

Class III. *τιθείην διδοίην ἱσταίην* like *θείην* etc., cp. § 939 p. 481. *τιθεῖτο* : Skr. *dadhītá* = *τίθεμεν* : *dadhmás*. If the Gr. Indicative with *ə* need not be regarded as a new formation in Greek (cp. Skr. *dadhi-dhvḗ ja-hi-mas*), neither need *τιθεῖμεν τιθεῖτο* be such; we should then postulate Idg. **dhi-dhə-i̯-* = **dhi-dhə-ī-*. But in that case the accentuation *τιθεῖμεν διδοῖμεν* etc. (not certain before the Alexandrian period) must be new, and the original accent **τίθειμεν* **δίδοιμεν* etc., as *δύναιτο* shows (see below); the influences at work in the change may have been the accent of *εἰδεῖμεν* for **ϝειδέ(σ)-ī-μεν* (beside *εἰδείην*), *παρ-εῖμεν* for **-έσ-ī-μεν* (beside *παρ-είην*), and *φιλοῖμεν* for *φιλέοιμεν* (beside *φιλοίην*, see § 952), and again that of *τιθείημεν* (§ 945). Similarly the accent of *ἐκ-θεῖμεν ἐκ-δῦμεν* and *δαινῦτο* is not original.

Classes X and XI. *δραῖμεν* for **δρᾱ-i̯-μεν* by I § 611 p. 461, hence *δραίην* instead of **δρᾱ-(i̯)η-ν* like *σταίην* following *σταῖ-μεν*. Similarly, *γηραίην* beside *ἐ-γήρᾱ-ν* 'I grew old', *βλείην βλεῖμεν βαλείην βαλεῖμεν* beside *ἐ-βλη-ν ἐ-βάλη-ν* 'I received a missile, was struck', *δοθείην* beside *ἐδόθην* 'I was given', *κιχείην* beside *κί-χη-μι* 'I attain, reach', *γνοίην γνοῖμεν* beside *ἔ-γνω-ν* 'I learnt', *ἁλοίην* beside *ἑάλω-ν* 'I was caught'. Again Lesb. *φιλείην* beside *φίλη-μι* 'I treat as a friend', El. *συλαίη* beside *σύλᾱμι* 'I rob', and on the same principle we explain *στεφανοίην* etc.

The Middle formation *ἐμ-πλῆτο* (beside *πλῆ-το* 'filled itself') is to be compared with the 3^rd^ pl. indic. *ἔμ-πληντο* : as this is a transformate of **-πλεντο* on the analogy of *πλῆτο*, so *-πλῆτο* is instead of **-πλεῖτο* (§ 582 Rem. p. 123). The same is true of *μεμνήμην κεκτήμην*, p. 489. *-πλῆτο μεμνήμην* : *βλεῖμεν δραῖμεν* = *-πληντο μέμνηται* : *ἔβλεν(τ) ἔδραν(τ)*.

Class XII. Apparently the only form found is *δύναιτο* from *δύναμαι* 'I am able'; *κιρναίην* from *κίρ-νη-μι* 'I mix' and the like may be left out of count. *δύ-να-ι-το* beside Skr. *śr̥-n̥-ī-tá* like **τί-θε-ι-το* (*τιθεῖτο*) beside *da-dh-ī-tá*.

Class XVII. Hom. *δαινῦτο* (beside *δαί-νυ-ται* 'eats') for *-νυi̯-το*, like *ἐκ-δῦμεν*; instead of **-νυ(ϝ)-ī-το* or **-νϝ-ī-το*, cp. Skr. *aś-nuv-ī-tá kr̥-n̥v-ī-tá* § 940 p. 485. 3^rd^ pl. *δαινύατο* = *-νυι-ατο*, like *δύη* (p. 487).

s-Aorist. *εἰδείην εἰδεῖμεν* (beside *ᾔδεα* 'I knew') for **ϝειδ-εσ-ι̯η-ν* or *-εσ-ιη-ν* and *-εσ-ῑ-μεν*, cp. Lat. *vīd-er-ī-mus*; Att. *εἰδείην* is to be explained in the same way as *εἴην*, page 487. On the optative of *εἶμι* 'I go' see § 836 p. 372 f.; the form *ἰείην* Il. 19. 209 may, like Plato's *δεδιείην*, be an adformate of *εἰδείην*, cp. *ἰέναι δεδιέναι : εἰδέναι*.

δείξαι-μι -αι-ς etc. is a new formation following the optative *-οι-μι -οι-ς* etc., which sprang up when *α* in the *σ*-aorist had spread beyond its proper sphere; cp. § 820 p. 357.

It is likely that the forms Hom. Att. *δείξειας -ειε -ειαν* Arcad. *διακωλύσει* and *τύψειμεν* (only preserved by Choeroboscus Dict. 565. 2, and by him called Aeolic) contain the endings *-σεσ-ι̯-η-* or *-σεσ-ιη-* and *-σεσ-ῑ-*, see § 836 p. 374. The 3rd pl. *-ιαν* stands to the ordinary *-ιεν* (*εἶεν θεῖεν*) as indic. Boeot. *παρ-εῖαν* to Dor. *ἦν* for **ἠ(σ)-εν*; 1st pl. *-σειμεν* for **-σεσ-ῑ-μεν*. On the one hand, *-σειμεν* occasioned a 3rd sing. *-σει* on the analogy of *-σαι : σαιμεν* and *-οι : οιμεν*; on the other, *-σειαν* produced complementary 2nd and 3rd sing. *-σειας -σειε* following indic. *-(σ)ας -(σ)ε -(σ)αν*, just as Avest. *buya-ta* follows *buyama* and Skr. *duhīyá-t* follows *duhīyán* (§ 941 p. 486).

Remark. For the latter developement (*-σειας -σειε*) there would be a second motive if there ever was a 1st pl. in **-σειαμεν*, answering to the Avest. *jam-y-ama* (§ 941 p. 486); *-σειαμεν : -σειμεν* as *jamyama : srvīmā*. And *-σειαμεν* would make it easier to understand the 3rd pl. *-ιαν* beside the usual form *-ιεν*.

Perfect. *ἑσταίην ἑσταῖμεν* beside *ἕσταμεν* 'we stand' like *ἱσταίην ἱσταῖμεν* beside *ἵσταμεν*. Mid. *μεμνῄμην* (beside *μέμνη-μαι* Dor. *μέμνᾱ-μαι* 'I remember') *κεκτῄμην* (beside *κέκτη-μαι* 'I have gained') instead of regular **μεμναιμην* **κεκτειμην*, like indic. 3rd pl. *μέμνηνται κέκτηνται* instead of **μεμνανται* **κεκτενται*, see p. 488.

With perfect stems having a final consonant the thematic optative is always found; as *πεπόνθοι*.

§ 945. In the Active of the Optative *-ιη-* constantly passed into the Plural and Dual, as *εἴημεν* beside *εἶμεν*, *σταίημεν* beside *σταῖμεν*, *εἰδείημεν* beside *εἰδεῖμεν*, *ἑσταίημεν* beside *ἑσταῖμεν*;

Homer has only one example of this sort, σταίησαν Il. 17. 733. Compare Skr. *syā́ma* instead of **s-ī-ma* following *s-yā́-t* § 940 p. 483.

§ 946. Italic. O.Lat. *s-ie-m siēs siet s-ī-mus sītis s-i-ent* beside indic. *es-t*; in classical Latin the weak stem only is found, and we have *sim sīs* etc. The same levelling is seen in the sister dialects: Umbr. *sir si sei* 'sis' si 'sit' *sins* sis 'sint', Marruc. *pacr-si* 'propitius sis' or 'sit'. Lat. *vel-i-m vel-ī-mus* beside *vul-t*, with irregular strong root (cp. Skr. mid. *vur-ī-ta*), see § 505 p. 69. Similarly *ed-i-m ed-ī-mus* beside *ēs-t* from √*ed-* 'eat', see § 505 p. 70, § 939 p. 481. The reason why *siem* is the only optative with strong opt. suffix which survives in historical Latin is probably that its *i* carried the word-accent.

On the reason for the loss of the optative of *i-t* see § 925 p. 472.

Osc. da-did 'dedat' beside Avest. *d-yā-þ*, cp. Marruc. *-si* 'sit'.

Lat. *dem* may be derived from **da-(i̯)ē-m*, and *stem* from **sta-(i̯)ē-m*; *dēmus stēmus* for **da-(i̯)ē-mos* **sta-(i̯)ē-mos* should be compared with Gr. δοίημεν σταίημεν (§ 945). Lat. *nem plantem* may come from **(s)nā-(i̯)ē-m* **plantā-(i̯)ē-m*, Osc. *deivaid* from **dei̯u̯ā-(i̯)ē-t*, cp. § 939 p. 482. But all these forms, as we saw in § 926 p. 472, may be Conjunctive.

s-Aorist. Lat. *dīxim axim*, see § 824 p. 362. *vīderim līquerim totonderim dīxerim*, see § 841 p. 378. *amāssim prohibēssim ambīssim*, see § 842 p. 381. On the intrusion of such optative forms into the Future Perfect system, i. e. their Conjunctive, see § 915 p. 465.

§ 947. Germanic. The suffix forms *-ī-* had got into the singular in proethnic Germanic, cp. e. g. 3rd sing. Goth. *vaúrþ-i* O.H.G. *wurt-i* Norse Run. *urþ-i* 'would be' for *-ī-þ* as contrasted with Skr. *va-vr̥t-yā-t*, 2nd sing. O.H.G. *s-ī-s* O.Icel. *sēr* (= pr. Germ. **sīz*) 'mayst thou be' as against Skr. *s-yā́-s*; so in the 3rd pl., Goth. *vaúrþ-ei-na* O.H.G. *wurt-ī-n*

'they would become' Norse Run. *vaʀin* 'they would be'. The history of the 1st sing. (Goth. *-jau* O.H.G. *-i* O.Icel. *-a*) is still obscure (cp. § 953 on Goth. *nimau*); in explaining Goth. *-jau* let it be remembered that *j* in *viljau* and *j* in *vitjau* seem to be different (see below).

Present. A.S. *cyme* pl. *cymen* (from *cuman* 'to come') would be Goth. **kumjau *kumeima*: Skr. *gam-yā́-t*, see § 939 p. 480. Goth. *viljau vilei-s* etc., cp. Lat. *vel-i-m* § 505 p. 69; the 1st sing. *viljau* may with O.H.G. *wille* have been originally 1st sing. conj. to indic. O.H.G. *willu* 'I will' = O.C.Sl. *veljǫ*, whose tense stem is also represented by Goth. *viljan* and *viljands* (§ 505 p. 69, § 716 p. 249, § 727 p. 259), cp. § 928 p. 474. O.H.G. *sī* 'I should be' pl. 1st *sī-mēs sī-m* 2nd *sī-t* 3rd *sī-n* beside *is-t* 'is': Skr. *s-yā́-m* etc., see § 939 p. 481; Goth. *sijau sijáis* etc. (like *baírau baírais*) is perhaps a transformation of the dissyllabic Idg. **s-i̯ḗ-m* etc. It is possible, that O.H.G. 1st pl. *stēn gēn* (sing. 1st and 3rd *gē stē* 2nd *gēs stēs*) are optative like Gr. *σταῖμεν*.

The following may be counted amongst those parts of the Preterite-Present system which are not really perfect. 1st pl. Goth. *vit-ei-ma* O.H.G. *wiʒʒ-ī-mēs* (Skr. *vid-yā́-t*), Goth. *mun-ei-ma*, *ga-daúrseima* O.H.G. *gi-turrīmēs* see § 508 p. 74. Goth. *kunneima* O.H.G. *kunnīmēs* (beside Goth. O.H.G. *kun-nu-m* 'we learn, know' Class XVII) for **ĝn̥-nu̯-ī-* like Skr. *r̥-ṇv-ī-tá*, see § 939 p. 482; similarly O.H.G. *unnī-mēs* beside indic. *an* 'I grant', N.-Ger. *dürne* beside indic. *darn* 'I dare', see § 646 p. 184.

Perfect. Goth. *skaí-skáid-ei-ma* O.H.G. *sciad-ī-mēs* 1st sing. *skaí-skáid-jau sciadi* beside indic. *skaí-skáiþ sciad* 'I divided', similarly Goth. *nēm-ei-ma* O.H.G. *nām-ī-mēs* beside *nam* 'I took' etc. Similarly in the weak preterite (§ 907 pp. 453 ff.), as Goth. *nasidēd-ei-ma* O.H.G. *nerit-ī-mēs*. On O.Sax. *dedīn* 'they would do' sing. *dedi* (instead of regular **did-*) see § 939 p. 482.

The intermingling of 2nd sing. opt. and 2nd sing. indic. preterite of strong verbs has been discussed in § 893 p. 441 f.

§ 948. Balto-Slavonic.

In Baltic this optative cannot be traced. Pruss. *dais* 'give, let' imper. 2nd pl. *daīti* (read *daiti*) doubtless do not go with Gr. δοῖτε — *dais* would have to be an adformate of the plural — but are thematic like *jeis jeiti idaiti*, §§ 510 f. pp. 75 f., § 954.

§ 949. Slavonic offers but a few specimens, all with hortative force. O.C.Sl. 1st and 2nd pl. *jad-i-mŭ i-te* 1st and 2nd dual *-i-vě -i-ta* beside indic. *jad-ętŭ* 'they eat' (§ 510 p. 76): Skr. *ad-yā́-t* Lat. *ed-ī-mus*, see § 939 p. 481. *dad-i-mŭ* etc. beside *dad-ętŭ* 'they give' (§ 546 p. 103 f.): Skr. mid. *da-dh-ī-tá* etc., see § 939 p. 482. *věd-i-mŭ* beside *věstŭ* 'he knows' 3rd pl. *věd-ętŭ* with the perfect stem *u̯oi̯d-*, originally confined to the singular indicative, see § 894 p. 442 f. Side by side with this, from the same root, imperative *vidi-mŭ* 'videamus' etc.; the 2nd sing. *viždĭ* = Lith. *veizdi*, which must be explained with *vidimŭ*, proves it to be old and to belong to the Idg. present **u̯ei̯d-mi* (§ 493 p. 52, § 510 p. 75); here *ei̯* = Slav. *ĭ* became the only suffix, as *oi̯* = Slav. *ě* did in *věstŭ*.

The 2nd and 3rd sing. to these imperatives are *jaždĭ daždĭ věždĭ* and the already mentioned *viždĭ*. The ending *-ĭ* makes it probable that these should be derived from genuine imperative forms in **-dhi*. Their original shape was **ězdĭ* (cp. Skr. *addhí*), **dāzdĭ* (cp. Skr. *dēhí daddhí* Avest. *dazdi*) or **dādĭ* (= O.Lith. *dů́di*), **veždĭ* and **vīzdĭ* (= O.Lith. *veizdi*, cp. Skr. *viddhí* Gr. ἴσθι). Side by side with these stood the 2nd and 3rd sing. opt. **ědi̯ā *dādi̯ā* etc. (= orig. **ēd-i̯ēs *ēd-i̯ē-t*, **dōd-i̯ē-s* etc.). By levelling arose **ěd-i̯ĭ *dādi̯ĭ* etc., which became the forms actually found, *jaždĭ* etc.[1]) Compare I § 547 p. 401,[2]) II § 962. The use of *jaždĭ* etc. for the 3rd singular has a parallel in 3rd sing. *pri-jętŭ* for the 2nd singular; see § 830 p. 367.

1) That e. g. *ěždĭ jaždĭ* are not simply contaminations of **ězdĭ* and **ěždā* is shewn by the other Slavonic languages, which imply an older ending *-di̯ĭ*. E. g. Pol. *wiedz*: O.C.Sl. *věždĭ* = Pol. *miedza*: O.C.Sl. *mežda*.

2) Here "**u̯ēzdĭ* = O.Lith. *veiz(d)i*" is a misprint for "**u̯īzdĭ* = ...".

II. OPTATIVE WITH *-oi̯-*.

§ 950. The ending in the 1st sing. act. is *-oi̯-m̥* (§ 976. 3), in the 3rd pl. *-oi̯-n̥t* (1017. 1. *b*).

In all languages which have this optative at all it is a living and creative type.

For pr. Idg. a few examples will suffice. **bheroi̯-* beside **bhér-e-ti* 'bears', 2nd sing. **bheroi̯-s* 2nd pl. **bheroi̯-te* : Skr. *bhárē-ṣ -ta* Gr. *φέροι-ς -τε* Goth. *baírái-s -þ* O.C.Sl. *beri berě-te*; Lith. 3rd sing. *te-sukē̃* beside *sukù* 'I turn'. **u̯r̥ĝi̯oi̯-* beside **u̯r̥ĝ-i̯é-ti* 'works': Avest. *verezyaę-ta* Gr. *ῥέζοι-τε* Goth. *vaúrk-jái-þ*; Skr. 3rd sing. mid. *sphāyē-ta* beside indic. *sphā-ya-tē* 'increases, grows', O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. *spěji* 2nd pl. *spěji-te* beside *spě-ją* 'I succeed'. Skr. 3rd sing. *pr̥tanāyḗ-t* beside *pr̥tanā-yá-ti* 'he fights', Gr. 2nd sing. *τῑμάοι-ς τῑμῷς* beside *τῑμάω* 'I honour', A.S. 3rd sing. *sealfie* beside *sealfie* 'I salve, anoint', O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. *ląkaji* beside *ląka-ją* 'I trick, deceive'.

§ 951. Aryan. For examples see § 950. No examples of this optative occur in Old Persian, certainly a mere accident.

In Skr. 1st sing. act. *bhárēyam* 3rd pl. act. *bhárēyur* 1st sing. mid. *bhárēya* 2nd and 3rd dual mid. *bhárēyāthām bhárēyātām*, *ē* has taken the place of *a* (**bharay-am* etc.), coming from the other optative forms (*bhárē-ṣ* etc.); in Avest. we still see 3rd pl. act. *baray-en* mid. 1st sing. Gath. *vāuray-ā* 3rd pl. *baray-anta*.[1]) Compare Skr. *vavr̥t-īy-a* instead of **vavr̥t-y-a* § 940 p. 484, and possibly *duhīyán* instead of **duh-y-an* § 941 p. 486; also *ábhūv-am* instead of *á-bhuv-am* following *á-bhū-ṣ* § 497 p. 57.

In the Brahmana and Sutra period verbs in *-aya-ti* sometimes show an opt. middle of the Ist type, as *vēday-ī-ta* beside *vēdáya-tē* 'gives to know', *kāmay-ī-ta* beside *kāmaya-tē* 'wishes'. These must be connected with participles like *vēdayāna-s* beside

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1) If *ā* in open syllables represents Idg. *o* (I § 78 p. 68), we must assume pr. Ar. **bharāi̯-am *bharāi̯-an*. In Avestic, *ā* will have been exchanged for *a* following the lead of these persons in which *ai̯* was tautosyllabic. Compare § 939 Rem. p. 482.

vēdaya-māna-s and such indic. forms as *dhvanay-ī-t* (cp. *á-brav-ī-t*, § 574 p. 116). Compare § 789 Rem. p. 321; Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 71, 127.

§ 952. Greek. Examples given in § 950.

On the endings of the 1st sing. *-οι-μι -οι-ν* see § 979. 3; of the 3rd pl. *-οιεν* El. *-οιαν* Delph. *-οιν*, § 1020. 1. *b*.

Because of the formal agreement between *σχοῖμεν* (indic. *ἔ-σχ-ο-μεν*) *φιλοῖμεν* (indic. *φιλοῦμεν* for *φιλέομεν*) *μισθοῖμεν* (indic. *μισθοῦμεν* for *μισθόομεν*) on the one hand, and on the other *δοῖμεν διδοῖμεν* (indic. *ἔ-δο-μεν δί-δο-μεν*), there arose in Ionic-Attic, and in Doric here and there, a new formation for the singular following Type I, *σχοίην φιλοίην μισθοίην* by analogy of *δοίην διδοίην*; but the old singular forms were not discarded (*παρά-σχοιμι φιλοῖμι μισθοῖμι*); similarly *τῑμῴην* beside *τῑμῷμεν* (indic. *τῑμῶμεν* for *τῑμάομεν*). A further consequence of this was the plural series *φιλοίημεν* etc., cp. *σταίημεν* complementary to *σταίην*, § 945 p. 489.

§ 953. Germanic. Goth. *nimái-s nimái* etc. O.H.G. *nemēs neme* etc., Goth. mid.-pass. 2nd sing. *nimái-zau* 3rd sing. *nimái-dau* with the indic. *nima nimu* 'I take': Gr. *νέμοι-ς* etc. The A.S. *sealfie* pl. *sealfien* may be compared directly with Skr. *pr̥tanāyḗ-t* O.C.Sl. *ląkaji* (cp. § 781. 1 p. 304), but O.H.G. *salbōe -ōēs(t) -ōēm* etc. beside *salbo -ōs(t) -ōm* etc. is a new formation (cp. Lith. *pa-darai* § 954), and so is *habēe -ēēs(t) -ēēm* beside *habe -ēs(t) -ēm* etc., see § 930 p. 476.

§ 954. Balto-Slavonic.

Lithuanian retains the 3rd sing. act. (used also for 3rd pl. and dual) and calls it a Permissive; e. g. *te-sukē̃* 'he may turn' beside indic. *sukù*, *te-ateinē̃* 'he may come' beside indic. *ei-nù* 'I go', *te-vertē̃* 'he may turn' for **vertįē* (like 2nd sing. indic. pres. reflex. *vertē̃-s* for **vertįē-s*, I § 147 p. 131) beside indic. *verczù*. *te-dů́dē̃* 'he may give' beside indic. *dů́(d)-mi* and *dů́'du* (§ 546 p. 104) like *tesē̃* 'he may be' beside indic. *es-mì* and *es-ù* (§ 510 p. 76, § 939 p. 483). The Permissive to the Indic. in *-au* has the ending *-ai* in the old books, as *te-darai* beside *daraũ*

'I make'. *te-darai* : *te-sukē̃* = 2nd sing. indic. *daraĩ-s(i)* : *sukē̃-s(i)* (§ 991), i. e. the optative suffix *ē* (*ai*) is added to indic. stems in *-ō* (*-ā*) just in the same way as O.H.G. *salbōe* is formed on the analogy of *bere* (§ 953). We also find 1st pl. *pa-praszaim* (*pa-praszaũ* 'I beg for, win over') and 2nd pl. *žinait* (*žinaũ* 'I know'); Bezzenberger, Zur Gesch. der lit. Spr., 223. Furthermore, the *oi̯-* optative is a living type in Prussian, where it is used for the Imperative; e. g. *imais immeis* 'take thou' 2nd pl. *imaiti*, *en-gaunai -gaunei* 'let him receive'; to compare with Lith. *tesē̃* we have 2nd pl. *seiti* 'be ye', and again *jeis* 'go thou' pl. *jeiti* like Gr. ἴοις (§ 511 p. 77), *idaiti ideiti* 'esset' beside Lith. *ė́du* (§ 510 p. 76), *dais* 'give thou' 2nd pl. *daĩti* like Avest. *dōi-š* (§ 948 p. 492). Similarly in Lettic 2nd pl. *meti-t* 'throw ye' *wè'lzî-t* 'pull ye' *ma/gáji-t* 'wash ye' *lûkûjî-t* 'look ye'.

§ 955. The same optative type, like the other (§ 949 p. 492), is used for the Hortative (Imperative) in Old Church Slavonic. Sing. 2nd and 3rd *beri* (I § 84 p. 82) pl. 1st *berě-mŭ* 2nd *-ě-te* dual 1st *-ě-vě* 2nd *-ě-ta* from *berą* 'I carry, bear', *ději -ji-mŭ -ji-te* etc. (I § 84 p. 82) from *děją* 'I lay'. On the root syllable in *rĭci tĭci pĭci žĭzi* see § 534 p. 95 f.

Along with forms having *-ji-* = *-i̯oi̯-* we get in the Old Bulgarian literature forms with *-ja-* for *-jě-* (cp. *sto-jati* for **stojěti* I § 76 p. 66); as *pijate* beside *pijite* from *piją* 'I drink', *glagoljate* beside *glagoljite* from *glagolją* 'I speak' (see Leskien Handb.² p. 138, Wiedemann Beitr. zur abulg. Conj. 27 ff.) So long as no such forms as **tĭčate* instead of *tĭcěte* are found, it is likely that *ě* comes from forms like *berěte*,[1]) and the group *jě* thus made, along with *jě* = Idg. *i̯ē*, became *ja*; more likely than Oblak's view (Arch. slav. Phil. x 143 ff.), that we have here orig. *i̯ē*, i. e. a conjunctive like Lat. *capiē-s* (§ 926. 1 p. 472), *pijate* standing to *piją* in the same relation as Lat. *capiē-tis* to *capia-m* (cp. § 929 p. 475).

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1) Similarly in O.H.G., after *i̯a* in final syllables had become *i̯e* and then *e*, *-an* was replaced in the infinitive of the First Weak Conj. on the analogy of verbs without *-j*, e. g. *nerian* instead of older *nerien* following *neman* and similar infinitives.

Remark. Present Stems of Class XXVI, as *veljq velišī* inf. *velěti* 'to command' (§ 727 pp. 257 ff.); of Class XXXI, as *gošlq gostiši* inf. *gostiti* 'to entertain as a guest' (§ 782 pp. 308 f.); and of Class XXXII, as *vraštq vratiši* inf. *vratiti* 'to turn' (§ 807 pp. 343 f.) all have throughout their imperative *-i-*: *veli velimŭ gosti gostimŭ vrati vratimŭ*; from the Idg. optative forms which it is necessary to assume we should expect **velji* **veljimŭ* **gostiji* **gostijimŭ* **vratiji* **vratijimŭ*. The forms are then doubtless not optative at all, but Injunctive; and *velimŭ velite* are related to indic. *velimŭ velite* as *bądą* 'sunto' (§ 909 p. 458) to indic. *bądątĭ* (*bądątŭ*). Some might wish to take 2nd sing. *veli* for orig. **velī*, i. e. 2nd sing. imperative (cp. Lat. *farcī* § 958). Against this may be urged that *chošti* 'wish thou' is sometimes used in sentences which are not imperative (Leskien, Handb.[2] p. 143).

IMPERATIVE.[1])

§ 956. The forms classed as Imperative in the various Indo-Germanic languages have all kinds of different origins. (1) Some of them are Injunctive, as 2nd pl. dual Skr. *bhára-ta bhára-tam* Gr. φέρε-τε φέρε-τον, which were already well establisht in the imperative system of the parent language; Skr. 3rd sing. *bhárat-u* 3rd pl. *bhárant-u* (with the particle *-u*), Gr. 2nd sing. mid. φέρεο φέρου, O.Ir. 2nd sing. mid. *cluinte* 'exaudi' (§ 909 p. 458). (2) Conjunctive forms: Skr. 1st sing. pl. and dual, as 1st pl. act. *bhárāma* mid. *bhárāmahāi*; the 2nd and 3rd persons of the conj. are dropt in classical Sanskrit, and the 1st persons, which are kept, go with the Imperative system. (3) Optative forms: O.C.Sl. *beri berěte* (§ 955 p. 495). (4) Indicative forms: Skr. 2nd sing. *vḗ-ṣi* 'come

1) Thurneysen, Der idg. Imperativ, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 172 ff. Pott, Über die erste Person des Imperativs, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. I 50 ff.

Aufrecht, Über eine seltne Verbalform [Skr. *addhaki* 'eat away now' from *addhi* and the like], Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch., XXXIV pp. 175 f.

I. N. Madvig, De formis imperativi passivi, Kopenh. 1837 = Opusc. II 239 ff. J. N. Schmidt, Über den lat. Imperativ, Zeitschr. für d. Gymnasialw. 1855 pp. 422 ff. Ch. Thurot, De l'imperatif futur latin, Revue de phil., IV 113 ff.

Kern, Eine Imperativform im Got., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVI 451 ff.

here', Gr. λέξαι 'lay thyself' (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.). (5) Forms of the Verb Infinite: as Lat. 2nd pl. *sequi-minī* (II § 71 p. 165). Lastly (6) some are forms which, so far as we can trace them, were never used for anything but the Imperative.

It is the last group, which I call the Genuine Imperative, that will concern us in the following pages. But along with them we shall include some others from the different languages whose origin has not been clearly made out, amongst which may be a few which properly belong to one of the other five groups.

I. THE PROETHNIC IMPERATIVE.

A. Bare Tense Stem as 2nd sing. act.

§ 957. The forms which come in this section are such as Gr. ἵστη 'place thou' φέρε 'bear thou', which like the voc. ὄψι ἵππε do without any personal suffix whatever. I regard the Idg. forms in *-dhi* (§ 959) and *-tōd* (§ 963) and the Skr. forms in *-sva* (§ 968) as being nothing but extensions of these.

(1) Unthematic.

Pr.Idg. Class I. **ei̯* beside **ei̯-ti* 'goes': Gr. ἔξ-ει, Lat. *ei ī ex-ī*, Lith. *eĩ-k*. **dō* beside **é-dō-t* 'he gave': Lat. *ce-do* (2nd pl. *cette* for **ce-d(i)-te* § 505 p. 71),[1]) Lith. *dů'-k*, cp. Gr. δί-δω (Class III). — Class X. Lat. *hiā* Lith. *žió-k* 'open thy mouth' beside indic. Lat. *hiā-mus*; on the same principle Lat. *plantā* O.Ir. *car* Goth. *salbō* Lith. *dovanó-k* (see below). Lat. *vidē* Lith. *pa-vydė-k* 'invide' beside indic. Lat. *vidē-mus*. Compare Gr. ἐγ-κίκρᾱ πίμ-πρη (Class XI). — Class XVII. Skr. *str̥-ṇu* Gr. στόρ-νῡ beside indic. *str̥-ṇō-ti* (*str̥-ṇu-más*) στόρ-νῡ-σι 'sternit'.

Aryan. This formation is clear only in the XVIIth Class in Sanskrit, where however *-dhi* or *-hi* is usually affixt, *śr̥-ṇú*

1) Others, not so well, take *ce-do* as a combination of two particles, 'here-wards, hither'. *cette* then is explained as derived from *cedo* as Slav. *na-te* from *na*. See Per Persson Studia Etymol., p. 71.

and *ṡ̥r-ṇu-dhí* 'hear thou' (§ 960); in the later language it was the rule to use *-hi* only where the root ended in a consonant.

In § 600 p. 143 I conjectured that *gr̥hāṇá* is **gr̥hā* + the particle *na*, and that **gr̥h-ā* comes from **-n̥̄*: cp. Att. *κρίμνη*.

Compare further what is said in § 641 p. 180 about *kuru*.

Greek. Class I. Att. *ἔξ-ει*, see above. Epir. Aeol. *πῶ* 'drink thou' beside *πῶ-θι*. — Class III. *δί-δω* (gramm.) 'give thou'. *ἵ-στη* Dor. *ἵ-στᾱ* Lesb. *ἴ-στᾱ* 'place thou'. — Classes X and XI. Dor. *ἐγ-κίκρᾱ*, from *κίγ-κρᾱ-μι* 'I mix'; Att. *πίμ-πρη*, from *πίμ-πρη-μι* 'I kindle' (cp. § 594 p. 135); Lesb. *κίνη* from *κίνη-μι* 'I move', Lesb. *φίλη* from *φίλη-μι* 'I treat as a friend', *μύρω* from *μύρω-μι* 'I anoint': cp. Lith. *kėtė-k balnū́-k*. — Class XII. Att. *κρίμνη* from *κρίμ-νη-μι* 'I hang, let hang' Lesb. *δάμ-νᾱ* from *δάμ-νᾱ-μι* 'I tame, subdue'. — Class XVII. *ὄρ-νῡ* from *ὄρ-νῡ-μι* 'I arouse': Skr. *r̥-ṇu*.

Latin. *ī ce-do*, see above.[1]) The forms *fer ēs es* can hardly belong to this group; it is more likely they are injunctive like *vel* = **u̯el-s* (§ 505 p. 69). — Class X. Besides *hiā plantā* we have *flā nā domā portā* etc., and by analogy *stā dā*, unless we must take *stā* to be another form of Class I like *ce-do* (cp. Lith. *stó-k*). Others like *vidē* (above) are *implē nē tacē* (on *albē*, see § 958).

Irish. *car* 'love thou' for *carā*, see above.

Germanic. Goth. *salbō* O.H.G. *salbo* 'anoint thou' doubtless from pr. Germ. **salbō*, like Latin *plantā* (above). But the forms actually used are not regular; *-ō* has been restored from the other imperative forms which had it, as 2nd pl. Goth. *salbō-þ* O.H.G. *salbō-t* (cp. 1st sing. indic. pres. Goth. *salbō*, § 982. 1). Similarly, O.H.G. *habe* 'have thou' (indic. *habē-m*), with its final vowel assimilated to *ē* in pl. *habē-t*.

Baltic. In Lithuanian, a particle *-ki -k* (*-kė*) is always affixt to these imperatives. Whether the *i*-vowel represents the original ending of the particle is very questionable. It is usual to compare Lat. *ce* (*ce-do si-c*), which is plausible.

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1) *fu* in the Arval Song will be another if it means 'be thou', which is doubtful. Compare Pauli, Altital. Stud. IV 29 ff.

Class I. *eĩ-k* indic. *eĩ-ti* 'he goes': Gr. ἔξ-ει Lat. *ī*. *dů'-k* 'give thou' beside Skr. *á-dā-t* (§ 493 p. 53): Lat. *ce-do*. *dě-k* 'lay thou' beside Skr. *á-dhā-t* (see *loc. cit.*). *bú-k* 'be thou' beside Skr. *á-bhū-ma* (§ 497 p. 56). — Class X. *ne-bijóki-s* 'fear thou not' beside *bìjo-s* 'he fears'. *žió-k* beside *žió-ju* 'I open my mouth': Lat. *hiā* beside *hiā-mus*. *jó-k* beside *jó-ju* 'I ride'. *kló-k* beside *kló-ju* 'I spread out', *minė́-k* beside *mìnė* 'he remembered'. *lukė́-k* beside *lukė́-ju* 'I wait a bit'. *dovanó-k* beside *dovanó-ju* 'I present', *pāsako-k* beside *pāsako-ju* 'I relate': cp. Lat. *plantā*. *kė̃tė-k* beside *kė̃tė-ju* 'I grow hard': cp. Lesb. φίλη. *balnů'-k* beside *balnů'-ju* 'I saddle': cp. Lesb. μύρω.

It is the rule that this whole Imperative formation takes its stem from the Infinitive. The reason is that some of the forms belonged to the aorist, whose stem differed from the present stem and agreed with the *s*-future etc., that is, the infinitive stem; the others then conformed to the same type. Hence we have *vartý-k* beside *vartaũ* 'I turn', *jů'sty-k* beside *jů'stau* 'I gird'. And similar imperatives are made for all thematic present stems: thus the relation between *dů'-k* and *dů'-ti* suggested an imper. *vèsk* from *vèsti* 'to lead' (pres. *vedù*), *sùk(k)* from *sùk-ti* 'to turn' (pres. *sukù*), and so forth.

As the original meaning of these singular forms with *-k(i)* was forgotten, a plural and dual was made from them thus: *dů'kime dů'kite dů'kiva dů'kita* from *dů'ki dů'k*, on which see § 463 Rem. p. 9. *dů'ki-te* : *dů'k(i)* as Lett. *weddi-t* : *wedd(i)* 'lead thou' (cp. § 958).

§ 958. (2) Thematic.

Pr.Idg. **bhére*, from indic. **bhére-ti* 'bears': Skr. *bhára* Armen. *ber* Gr. φέρε O.Ir. *beir* Goth. *baír*; Lat. *age*. Skr. *ti-ṣṭh-a* Lat. *si-st-e*, indic. *ti-ṣṭh-a-ti si-st-i-t* from √ *stā-* 'stand'. Skr. *gácha* Gr. βάσκε beside *gá-cha-ti* from √ *gem-* 'go'. Skr. *namas-yá* indic. *namas-yá-ti* 'honours', Gr. τέλεε τέλει from indic. τελείω -έω -ῶ, 'finish thou', for -εσ-ιω; Skr. *gā-tu-yá* indic. *gātu-yá-ti* 'goes an errand', Lat. *metue* from *metuō*. Skr. *sādáya* Goth. *satei* from indic. *sādáya-ti satji-þ* causal

of √ *sed-* 'sit'; Gr. *φόβεε -ει*, indic. *φοβέω -ῶ*, 'scare thou off'. *s*-Aorist: Skr. *nē-ṣ-a* beside conj. *nḗ-ṣ-a-t(i)* from *nī-* 'to lead', Gr. *οἶσ-ε* beside conj. (fut.) *οἴσω* 'I will bear or bring' (§ 833 p. 370).

Wherever *i̯o*-presents of Class XXVI show *-i-* and *-ī-* in the indic. pres. beside *-i̯o-*, these weaker grades are naturally found in the imperative too: Lat. *cape* for **capi* cp. indic. *capi-s*, *farcī* cp. indic. *farcī-s*, O.H.G. *biti* cp. indic. *bitis* 'thou prayest'; perhaps we may venture to add O.Lith. *girdi*, cp. ind. *gir̃di-te* 'ye hear'.

Aryan. Skr. *jīva* O.Pers. *jīvā* beside indic. Skr. *jīva-ti* 'lives'; Avest. *ja-sa* (Skr. *gá-cha*) beside indic. *ja-sa-iti* 'goes' (§ 671 p. 203).

Armenian. *ber* 'bring thou' beside *bere-m* aor. *ber-i*, *ac* 'lead thou' beside *ace-m* aor. *ac-i*, *ker* 'eat thou' beside aor. *ker-i*, *tes* 'see thou' beside aor. *tes-i*, *arb* 'drink thou' beside aor. *arb-i*.

Greek. *ἄγ-ε* 'age' from *ἄγω* 'ago'. *κατά-σχε* beside *ἔ-σχ-ο-ν* pres. *ἔχ-ω* 'I have'. *τίμαε τίμα* from *τιμάω -ω* 'I honour', *δούλοε -ου* from *δουλόω -ῶ* 'I enslave' (cp. Lesb. *μύρω* § 957 p. 498). There are a great many bye-forms of this class used as variants to others of the first class (§ 957), when the tense stem ends in *-ā -ē* or *-ō*; as Att. *καθ-ίστᾱ* Dor. *ἵστη* for **ἵσταε*, Att. *τίθει δίδου*, Att. *πίμ-πλᾱ* Dor. *πίμ-πλη*, Att. *ἔσ-βᾱ* Dor. *ἔμ-βη* for **βάε*; similarly *ὄμνυ-ε*. Perf. *γέγωνε* from *γέ-γων-α γεγώνω* 'I announce, say'.

The five words *ἰδέ λαβέ εἰπέ ἐλθέ εὑρέ* have kept the accent which they had in pr. Idg. at the beginning of a sentence; *λίπε* and the others with the same accent were originally enclitic (I § 669 p. 532, § 676 Rem. 1 p. 541). The corresponding middle imperatives *ἰδοῦ λιποῦ* for *-έ-(σ)ο* (§ 909 p. 458) have always the accent which they bore as first in a sentence, even when compounded, *προσ-λαβοῦ* (but active *πρόσλαβε*). *ἴ-θι* (contrast Skr. *i-hí*, § 959) is accented on the same principle as *λίπε*, and so too *ἴσθι πῖ-θι* and others; but *φα-θί* is like *ἰδέ*, and also has a variant *φάθι*.

Italic. Lat. *age*. Whether *albē monē* are for **albe(i̯)e* **mone(i̯)e* is as doubtful as the derivation of *albēs monēs* from **-ei̯e-s* (§ 788 p. 319).

Lat. *cape* for **capi*,[1]) *farcī*, see above.

Keltic. O.Ir. *ib* Mod.Cymr. *yf* 'bibe' for **(p)i-be*. *lēic* for **lēci* or *-ī*, see § 702. p. 229, § 719 p. 251.

Germanic. Goth. *bair*; in O.H.G. forms like *hilf* 'help thou' for **hilfi* are regular, but e. g. *bir* stands for **biri* (I § 662. 2 p. 520). O.H.G. *neri* 'make thou whole' for pr. Germ. **nazii̯i*, see loc. cit.; Goth. *nasei* seems to prove that **nazii̯i* had not yet become **nazī* in pr. Germ. (cp. nom. *frijōndi* I § 660. 2 p. 515).

With Idg. *-i* O.H.G. *hevi* from *heff(i)u* 'I lift', *biti* from *bitt(i)u* 'I beseech', like Lat. *cape* for **capi*, see p. 500. But Goth. *hafei* instead of **hafi* **haf* follows *nasei* etc.

Balto-Slavonic. In O.Lith. and Lett. *-i* is found with presents like Lith. *vedù* 'I lead', as O.Lith. *vedi ved* Lett. *weddi wedd*, *gawilēji* 'I exult, shout for joy'. By the sound laws it is impossible to explain this as the 2nd sing. opt. (cp. Pruss. *weddeis*), or to assume that *-i* is *-e* weakened; and therefore

1) The forms *fac* and *dīc dūc* may have elided *-e* as *haec* for *haece* has. But the injunctive *fer* at the same time must have helped to make the short forms current (§ 505 p. 68). [It is true Skutsch has lately derived *fer* from **fere*, denying most distinctly that it comes from **fer-s* (Forschungen zu lat. Gramm. 55 ff.). But his reasons will not hold water. That *ferre* was originally a thematic present, and that forms like *fert* come by syncope of the thematic vowel, is bare assumption and nothing more. And since the scansion of *ter* as long by Plautus (Bacch. 1127) is taken as evidence of the older pronunciation **terr* (for **ters*, cp. Bücheler, Rhein. Mus. XLVI 236 ff.), and since the same poet has *fer* twice short and once long (Mil. 1343ᵃ *fér aequo ánimo)*, any candid enquirer will see in this a confirmation of my view rather than his. Why the MS. should be corrupt in *fér aequo ánimo*, and genuine in the two examples of *fĕr* short, as Skutsch says, there is nothing to show. If in Plautus' day people spoke *-rr* = *-rs* before a vowel, it is in the first degree probable that this was not done always, but that the form with *r*, which was right before consonants and at the end of a sentence, was sometimes used too. In any case Skutsch ought to prove the contrary before unconditionally supporting the transposition *fér animo aéquo*. To transpose is simple; it does not follow that it is necessary.]

I conjecture that *-i* is due to the analogy of forms like ***girdi***, which answer to the Lat. *cape* (for **capi*) *farcī* etc., and are identical with the 2nd sing. indic. (*vedi* beside indic. *ved-ì* follows *girdi* beside indic. *girdì*); and that *veizdi* 'see thou', i. e. **u̯ei̯d+dhi*, helped to make the type current, — perhaps we should add *dů-di* (§ 962). 1)

In O.C.Sl. the 2nd sing. *veli* (indic. *veljq veli-ši* inf. *veli-ti* 'to command') may possibly be a form like Lat. *farcī*. But it is no doubt better to regard it as injunctive, for *-*ī-s*; see § 955 Rem. p. 496.

B. 2nd Person Singular in *-dhi*.

§ 959. Forms with this suffix occur in Aryan, Greek and Balto-Slavonic; they occur in Unthematic tense stems. Thurneysen (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 180) compares Skr. *ádhi* 'up!' (like Ger. *auf*! *geh*! 'up! go!'), with its variant *dhi*, like *abhí* with variant *bhi*; others again compare the infinitive endings *-dhyāi* Gr. *-θαι*, which is less credible. In both cases we may assume that the imperative type described in § 957 lies at the foundation of this.

-dhi is added to the Weak Stem.

Pr.Idg. Class I. **i-dhi* from **ei̯-ti* 'goes': Skr. *i-hí* Gr. *ἴ-θι*. Skr. *śru-dhí* Gr. *κλῦ-θι* 'hear thou' from √*k̑leu̯-*. **u̯id*z*-dhí* (I § 494 p. 363) beside Skr. *vḗd-mi* and *vḗd-a* from √*u̯ei̯d-* 'see, know' (§ 493 p. 52): Skr. *viddhí* Gr. *ἴσθι*, O.Lith. *veizdhi* O.C.Sl. *viždĭ* instead of **vizdĭ* (§ 962). **z-dhí* from **es-ti* 'is': Avest. Gath. *zdī* Gr. *ἴσ-θι*. — Class X. Skr. *yā-hi* 'go thou', Gr. *γνῶ-θι* 'learn, know'. — Class XVII. Skr. *śr̥-ṇu-dhi śr̥-ṇu-hí* from *śr̥-ṇṓ-ti* 'hears', Gr. *ὄμ-νυ-θι* from

1) With the change of **vede* to *vedi* following *girdi* etc. should be compared the change of O.C.Sl. 1st pl. pres. **nesomŭ* to *nesemŭ* following *znajemŭ* § 1008 sub. fin.; with the effect of *veizdi* which possibly helped, compare the change of O.C.Sl. imper. *chošti* 'wish thou' to *choštĭ* following *viždĭ*.

ὄμ-νῡ-σι 'swears'. — Perfect. Skr. *mumugdhí* beside *mu-mṓc-a* from *muc-* 'to let go', Gr. Hom. δείδιθι i. e. *δέ-δϝι-θι beside *δέ-δϝι-μεν 'we feared'.

§ 960. Aryan. Sanskrit has both *-dhi* and *-hi*. Of these *-hi* is used only after sonants, *-dhi* in Vedic after both sonants and consonants, in the later language after consonants only. See I § 480 p. 354, and von Bradke, Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell. xl 658 ff., where the variants *-dhi* and *-hi* (*śr̥ṇudhi* and *śr̥ṇuhí* for instance) are convincingly explained as dialectic bye-forms.

Class I. Skr. *i-hí* Avest. *i-đi* O.Pers. *i-dīy* beside indic. Skr. *ḗ-ti* 'goes'. Skr. *stu-hí* Avest. *stūiđi* beside indic. Skr. *stāú-ti* 'praises'. Skr. *kr̥-dhí* beside ind. *kár-ṣi* from *kar-* 'to make'. Skr. *ga-dhi ga-hi* Avest. *gaidī* beside indic. Skr. *á-gan* from √ *gem-* 'go, come'. Skr. *ja-hí* Avest. *jaiđi* O.Pers. *ja-dīy* beside indic. Skr. *hán-ti* from √ *ghen-* 'strike'; the common ground-form **jha-dhi* stood instead of regular pr. Ar. **gha-dhi*, I § 454 Rem. p. 335, and § 480 p. 354; in Sanskrit we also have *han-dhí* by re-formation. Beside Avest. Gath. *zdī*, to which a Skr. form **dhi* would correspond, Sanskrit has a variant *ēdhí*, for **az-dhi*, I § 591 p. 447. Similarly, with intrusive strong stem, we have Skr. *addhí* 'eat' (indic. *átti*) from √ *ed-*: cp. O.C.Sl. *jaždĭ* § 962. — Classes III and V. Skr. *dhēhí* and *daddhí* 'place thou' *dēhí* and *daddhí* 'give thou' Avest. *dazdi* beside indic. Skr. *dá-dhā-ti dá-dā-ti*, see § 540 p. 101. Skr. *ci-kī-hi* beside *ci-kḗ-ti* 'observes, notices'. *śi-śī-hi* and with strong stem *śi-śā-dhi* and *śi-śā-ti* 'whets, sharpens' (§ 538 p. 98). — Class VII. Skr. *car-kr̥-dhi* beside *car-kar-ti* 'remembers', *nē-nig-dhi* beside *nḗ-nēk-ti* 'washes'. — Class IX. Skr. *stani-hi* from *stan-* 'to thunder'. *brū-hi* and with strong stem *bravī-hi* beside *brávī-ti* 'speaks'.

Class X. Skr. *vā-hi* beside *vā́-ti* 'blows'. Skr. *pā-hí* O.Pers. *pā-dīy* from Ar. *pā-* 'to protect' (§ 588 p. 129).

Class XII. Skr. *śr̥-ṇī-hí* from *śr̥-ṇā́-ti* 'breaks to bits, crushes' (§ 597 p. 141); sometimes the strong stem appears, as *str̥-ṇā-hi*. — Class XV. *bhindhí* from *bhinád-mi* 'I split',

pṛṇḍhi from *pṛṇák-ti* 'mixes, mingles'. — Class XVII. Skr. *kṛ-ṇu-hí* Avest. *ker*ᵉ*-nū-iđi* beside indic. Skr. *kṛ-ṇṓ-ti* 'makes', Skr. *dhṛṣ-ṇu-hí* beside *dhṛṣ-ṇṓ-ti* 'dares'; cp. § 957 p. 497 f.

s-Aorist. *aviḍḍhí* instead of regular **avīḍhi* (cp. I § 591 Rem. 1 p. 448), with indic. *ávi̇ṣ-am* from *av-* 'to favour, help'.

Perfect. Skr. *pi-prī-hí*, beside indic. *pi-priy-ḗ* pret. *á-pi-prē-t* from *prī-* 'to enjoy'; *śu-śug-dhí* beside indic. *śu-śṓc-a* from *śuc-* 'to shine'.

§ **961.** Greek. Class I. *ἴσθι* 'be thou' : Avest. *zdī*, see I § 593 p. 450, § 626 p. 470; also *ἔσθι* like pl. *ἐστέ*, see § 502 p. 66. *φα-θί* and *φά-θι* (on this double accentuation see § 958 p. 500) from *φη-μί* 'I say': cp. Skr. *bhā-hi* § 495 p. 55. *κλῦ-θι*: Skr. *śru-dhí*, cp. *Περι-κλύμενο-ς* § 498 p. 59. *πῖ-θι* 'drink thou' beside conj. (fut.) *πίομαι* § 914 p. 464. — Class III. *ἵλα-θι* 'be thou gracious' for **σι-σλα-θι*, also *ἵληθι* on the type of Class XI; like the latter we find another, Hom. *δίδω-θι*.

Class X. *γνῶ-θι* 'learn thou, know'. *τλῆ-θι* 'endure thou'. *βῆ-θι* 'go thou' Lac. *κά-βᾱσι* (I § 495 p. 364). *φάνη-θι* 'appear thou', *πορεύθη-τι* 'start off' (I § 496 p. 364). Of this class we have further *στῆ-θι* Lac. *ἄ-ττᾱσι* (I § 566 p. 423), see § 495 p. 55. — Class XI. *ἵλη-θι*, see above, *ἐμ-πίπληθι* 'imple'.

Class XVII. *ὄρνυ-θι* from *ὄρ-νῡ-σι* 'arouses'.

Perfect. *ἕ-στα-θι* 'stand thou' beside indic. *ἕ-στα-μεν*. *τέ-τλα-θι* 'endure thou' beside *τέ-τλα-μεν*. *πέπισθι* 'trust thou' (Aesch. Eum. 599, MSS. *πέπεισθι*) beside *πέ-ποιθ-α ἐ-πέ-πιθ-μεν*. Of the same kind are *ἔλλαθι κέκλυθι*, which I placed in Class V (§ 557 p. 109).

§ **962.** Balto-Slavonic. O.Lith. *veizdi veizd* 'see thou' (by this analogy *véizdmi* instead of **veid-mi*) O.C.Sl. *viždĭ* instead of **vizdĭ*: cp. Skr. *viddhí* Gr. *ἴσθι*. O.Lith. *dů́di dů́d* 'give thou' may be Idg. **dō-dhi*, in which case it stands to *dů́-k* as Gr. *πῶ-θι* to *πῶ*; O.C.Sl. *daždĭ* instead of **da-dĭ* = *dů-di* Class I, or instead of **dazdĭ* like Avest. *dazdi*, Class V. O.C.Sl. *jaždĭ* 'eat thou' instead of **ĕzdĭ*: cp. Skr. *addhí*. O.C.Sl. *věždĭ* instead of **vězdĭ* beside indic. *vědě* 'knows'. See I § 547 p. 400, IV § 949 p. 492.

C. The Forms with *-tōd.*

§ 963. These forms, for instance **u̯itˢ-tṓd* from √ *u̯ei̯d-* 'see, know', **bhére-tōd* from √ *bher-* 'ferre', served originally for the 2nd and 3rd persons of all numbers, as their use in Sanskrit indicates. Thus *-tōd* was properly not a personal suffix at all; probably it was an affixt particle, the abl. sing. of the pronoun stem **to-* 'this, that' (Skr. *tád*), used in the sense of 'from there, then' (III § 424 p. 348). This theory suits the use of the forms in Sanskrit and Latin, where they are chiefly employed when the command is not to be straightway carried out, but only after a particular point of time, or under certain circumstances. Take, for example, *vánaspátir ádhi tvā sthāsyati tásya vittāt* (Tāittirīya-Saṃhitā) 'the tree will fall on thee; beware of it'; *tu velim saepe ad nos scribas*; *si rem nullam habebis, quod in buccam venerit scribito* (Cic.). Greek also has often this manner of using it; but its use was much restricted by preference for the infinitival imperative.

The basis of this *tōd*-series is the imperative type described under (*A*), §§ 957 f., of which it may safely be assumed that it was not originally restricted to the 2nd singular, which it is most commonly used for: cp. Skr. *kṛ-ṇu-tād* Gr. *στορ-νύ-τω* with *kṛ-ṇu* *στόρ-νῡ*, Lat. *im-plē-tō* with *implē*, Gr. *λιπή-τω* Lat. *licē-tō* with *vidē*, Skr. *bhára-tād* Gr. *φερέ-τω* Lat. *vehi-tō* with *bhára* *φέρε vehe.*

Remark. The arguments urged against this view by Windisch do not convince me (Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1889 pp. 21 ff.).

§ 964. Pr.Idg.

(1) Unthematic Forms. Stems with gradation have the Weak grade. Class I. Skr. *vittád* Gr. *ἴστω* beside Skr. *véd-mi* and *véd-a* from √ *u̯ei̯d-* 'see, know' (§ 493 p. 52). Gr. *ἔσ-τω* Lat. *es-tō* beside *ἐσ-τί es-t*; strong grade in the root as in *ἐσ-τέ* *es-te* etc. Gr. *δό-τω* Lat. *da-tō* beside *ἔ-δο-μεν da-mus* from √ *dō-*. — Classes III and V. Skr. *dha-t-tād* Gr. *τι-θέ-τω*

from √ *dhē-* 'place', Skr. *da-t-tād* Gr. *δι-δό-τω* from √ *dō-* 'give'. — Class X. Gr. *δρᾱ́-τω* beside *ἔ-δρᾱ-ν* 'I ran', *σβή-τω* beside *ἔ-σβη-ν* 'I quenched', *γνώ-τω* beside *ἔ-γνω-ν* 'I learnt'. Lat. *flā-tō* beside *flā-s*, *im-plētō* beside *im-plēs*. — Class XII. Skr. *pu-nī-tād* beside *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies'. Gr. *κιρ-νά-τω* beside *κίρ-νη-μι* 'I mix'. — Class XVII. *kr̥-ṇu-tād* beside *kr̥-ṇṓ-ti* 'makes'. Gr. *ὀμ-νύ-τω* beside *ὄμ-νῡ-σι* 'swears'. — Perfect. Gr. *με-μά-τω*, Lat. *me-men-tō* beside Gr. *μέ-μον-α μέ-μα-μεν* Lat. *me-min-ī* from √ *men-* 'think, devise'.

(2) Thematic Forms. Skr. *vaha-tād* Lat. *vehi-tō* beside Skr. *váha-ti* 'vehit'. Skr. *vōca-tād* Gr. *εἰπέ-τω* beside *á-vōca-t* Gr. *ἔ-ειπ-ε* (§ 561 p. 110). Skr. *rákṣa-tād* beside *rákṣa-ti* 'protects'. Skr. *pātaya-tād* beside *pātáya-ti* 'makes fly', cp. Gr. mid. *ποτεέσθω* § 966; Gr. *φορεέ-τω φορείτω* from *φορέω* 'I carry about with me, wear'.

§ **965**. Aryan. No examples occur in Iranian. Sanskrit examples are given in § 964.

The forms in Sanskrit are most commonly used for the 2nd person singular, but are also found as 3rd sing. and as 2nd plural.

Since *vaha-tād* as 2nd pl. was associated with *váha-ta* 'vehite', a middle form *vaha-dhvād* was coined to complement *váha-dhvam* (*vārayadhvād* in the Brahm. is the only form actually found). Compare Gr. *φερέ-σθω* § 966, Lat. *fruiminō* § 967.

§ **966**. Greek. Further examples (see § 964) *φά-τω* from *φη-μί* 'I say'; *ἴ-τω* from *εἶ-μι* 'I will go'. *ἱέτω* from *ἵ-η-μι* 'I send forth'. *βλή-τω* from *ἔ-βλη-ν* 'I received a missile, was struck', Lesb. *τῑμᾱ́-τω* from *τί̄μᾱ-μι* 'I honour'. *ὠθή-τω* from *ὤθη-μι* 'I press, oppress'. *δαμ-νά-τω* from *δάμ-νη-μι* 'I tame'. *δεικ-νύ-τω* from *δείκ-νῡ-μι* 'I show'. *δειξ-ά-τω* from *ἔ-δειξ-α* 'I showed'. *ἑ-στά-τω* from *ἕ-στα-μεν* 'we stand'. *ἀγέ-τω* from *ἄγω* 'ago', *τῑμαέτω τῑμάτω* from *τῑμάω -ῶ* 'I honour'.

On the analogy of act. *φέρετε*: mid. *φέρεσθε* a middle *φερέσθω* was coined to complement *φερέτω*; this happened in

proethnic Greek. Compare Skr. *vārayadhvād* § 965, Lat. *fruiminō* § 967.

In Greek, the forms with -τω and -σθω are regularly used for the 3rd singular. The active form is used as 2nd sing., with the additional suffix -*s* to make the person clear, in the word ἐλθετῶς· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλθέ. Σαλαμίνιοι, a gloss given by Hesychius; cp. § 987. 1. The Corcyrean φερέσθω, 3rd plural, may be taken as evidence that once φερέτω could be used for the plural. But another explanation is possible; that the coincidence of διδόσθω 3rd sing. and διδόσθω = *διδονσθω 3rd pl. caused the 3rd sing. φερέσθω to be used for the plural too.

For the 3rd plural, different dialects made new forms on the basis of -τω and -σθω: φερέτω-ν φερέτω-σαν φερόντω (cp. Lat. *feruntō*) φερόντω-ν φερόντω-σαν and φερέσθω-ν φερέσθω-σαν φερόσθω φερόσθω-ν (for *-ονσθω *-ονσθω-ν, cp. I § 204 p. 171); see the collections of G. Meyer Gr. Gr.² pp. 498 ff. Two remarks must be made here. (1) The origin of φερέτω-ν φερόντω-ν φερέτω-σαν φερόντω-σαν is later than the change of *-τωδ to -τω (I § 652. 5 p. 498).[1] (2) The forms with -ντ- (-οντω -οντω-ν -οντωσαν), it may be conjectured, were not based directly upon the indicative **bheronti* **ebheront* (Att. φέρουσι ἔφερον), but on the imperative-injunctive form **bheront* (cp. σχέ-ς φέρε-τε φέρε-τον φέρε-ο and 3rd pl. Skr. *bháran bhárant-u* O.C.Sl. *bądą* § 909 pp. 457 f.).

The active and middle endings of the 3rd plural did not always correspond; thus Arcadian has act. -ντω mid. -(ν)σθων (ζᾱμιόντω ἐπαλασάσθων). In this and similar cases the explanation is that it was attempted to distinguish the 3rd plural from the 3rd singular middle.

No certain explanation has been given for Lesb. 3rd pl. φέροντον φέρεσθον; see the Author, Gr. Gr.² 173, Windisch Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss. 1889 p. 20, O. Hoffmann Das Präsens der idg. Grundspr. 21. The medio-passive forms ἱστάνθω and

1) So the identification of Goth. *bairandau* with Gr. φερόντων (Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 206) is wrong.

ἱστάνθων, found in a late Boeotian and a late Phocian inscription, are re-formates instead of *ἱστάσθω* and *ἱστάσθων* by analogy of the active forms, made in order to clearly mark the 3rd plural.

§ 967. Italic. The forms in *-tōd* (Lat. *-tōd -tō* Umbr. *-tu* Osc. *-tud*) were used for the 2nd or 3rd singular.

Class I. Lat. *fertō* instead of **for-tō* like 2nd pl. *fer-te* instead of **for-te*; on Umbr. fertu *fertu* 'ferto' see § 505 p. 69. Lat. *ei-tō ītō* Umbr. etu *etu eetu* instead of **i-tōd*: Gr. *ἴ-τω*; cp. Lat. *ei-te ī-te* Pelign. *ei-te* instead of **i-te* = *ἴ-τε*. Umbr. futu *futu* 'esto': Gr. *φύ-τω*. Lat. *es-tōd estō* Osc. estud *estud* Volsc. *estu*: Gr. *ἔσ-τω*, see § 964. 1 p. 505. — Class X. Lat. *nē-tō*, *in-trātō*. Lat. *habē-tō* Umbr. habetu *habitu*, Lat. *licē-tōd licē-tō* Osc. líkitud *licitud*. Lat. *portā-tō* Umbr. *portatu*, Osc. *deivatud* 'iurato'. — Perfect. Lat. *me-men-tō*: Gr. *με-μά-τω*. — Thematic. Lat. *agi-tōd* Umbr. aitu *aitu* Osc. *actud* (I § 502 p. 368). Lat. *sūmi-tō* Umbr. sumtu. With Idg. *i*, Lat. *faci-tō* Osc. *factud*.

These forms with *-tōd* were made the basis of new formations like the Greek. Here, as in Greek, we find forms with a plural characteristic, and medio-passive forms parallel to the active.

(1) A 2nd plural was made in Latin by adding *-te* (*fer-te*), as *fertō-te agitō-te*, which should be compared with Gr. 3rd pl. *φερέτω-ν φερέτω-σαν*: first arose **fertōtte* (cp. *cette* for **ce-dite*), and the double consonant was then thinned because of the preceding long vowel. Again, a 3rd pl. with *-nt-* makes its appearance, e. g. *feruntō*, *suntōd suntō*; probably this form has a similar history to Gr. *φερόντω*; the Umbrian formation does not correspond, which makes it very unsafe to suppose that the type originated at a time when Greek and Italic were still united.

In Umbrian the 2nd and 3rd plural are made by affixing -tu *-tō* -ta (for *-tā* I § 105 p. 98) to *-tu* = **-tōd* : *futu-to* 'estote' etu-tu *etu-to* etu-ta 'eunto' fertu-ta 'ferunto'

habetu-tu *habitu-to* 'habento'. This *-tā* may be either Lat. *-te* + some interjection (cp. ἔασον ὦ Ar. Lysistr. 350, κατολολύξατ' ὦ Aesch. Ag. 1118, *dringâ drinc* Parsifal 220. 28), or an ending of the 2nd dual (cp. Lith. and O.C.Sl. *-ta*) which, like the dual ending *-tis* in Latin (§ 1013), got into the plural. First *futu* 'esto' had the 2nd pl. *futu-to* made for it, like Lat. *agitō-te* from *agitō*, and then since *futu* could be used for 3rd singular too, *futu-to* came to be used for the 3rd person (cp. O.C.Sl. 2nd sing. *jaždĭ* used also for 3rd sing. § 949 p. 492). Still, *-tā*, if it was a dual ending, may have been originally the ending of the 3rd person too (cp. O.C.Sl. *-ta* as 3rd dual, § 1040); in that case *futu-to* was originally a 3rd person form as well a 2nd.

Remark. The ending *-tā* seems to all appearance to be used in its proper and original way in VI *b* 63 (= I *b* 21. 22) *etato Iiovinur* 'itate Iguvini', and this *-tā* medialised into *-mā* (cp. *-mu(d)* following *-tu(d)*, below) might be seen in *arsmahamo caterahamo Iovinur* 'ordinamini centuriamini Iguvini' VI *b* 56 = I *b* 19. But I fear that it is only appearance. For in the first place this medialising would be very remarkable in itself; and secondly, it is natural to suppose that *etato arsmahamo* are shortened by dissimilation from **ētātū-tō* ('itatote') **arsmāmū-mō*, and that the latter has caused by analogy the shortening of **caterāmū-mō* which follows it.

(2) Complementary to *datōd datō dantō* there were formed in Latin *dator dantor*, like *damur* beside *damus*. There also arose a 3rd sing. in *-minō* for the 2nd pl. in *-minī* (II § 71 p. 165), as *fruiminō fāminō profitēminō* beside *fruiminī* etc.

Corresponding to the latter formation Umbr. has persnimu *persnihimu* 'precamino, supplicato', and the relation of pl. *habituto* 'habento' and *habitu* 'habeto' suggested a plural *persnihimumo* 'pecantor, supplicanto'. On the 2nd pl. *arsmahamo caterahamo*, see the last Remark. Osc. *censamur* 'censemino, censetor' shows the mid.-pass. *-r* added to the mid.-pass. *m*-suffix. As regards the relation of the Umbr.-Osc. suffix *-mo-* to Lat. *-mino-*, see II § 72 p. 166.

Jellinek, Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion, pp. 98 ff.; see further p. 507 footnote, and compare the medio-passive optative forms *bairái-zau -dau -ndau* in § 1052.

SIGNS OF THE PERSONS, AND OF MIDDLE AND PASSIVE VOICE.[1])

§ 971. The Personal endings served in the original language a double purpose: to distinguish Persons, and to distinguish the Active from the Middle or Passive Voice.

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1) Fr. Müller, Sprachwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Suffixlehre des idg. Verbums, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 351 ff. *Idem*, Zur Suffixlehre des idg. Verbums I, Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. XXXIV 8 ff., II, *ibid.* LXVI 193 ff. G. Curtius, Zur Erklärung der Personalendungen, in his Stud. IV 211 ff. Begemann, Zur Erklärung der Personalendungen, in: Zur Bedeutung des schwach. Präteritums der german. Sprachen 1874 pp. 184 ff. The Author, Zur Geschichte der Personalendungen, Morph. Unt. I 133 ff. Sayce, The Person-Endings of the Indo-European Verb, Techmer's Zeitschr. f. allgem. Sprachw. I 222 ff. P. Merlo, Sulla genesi delle desinenze personali, Rivisti di filol. XII 425 ff., XIII 385 ff., XIV 369 ff. M. Haberlandt, Zur Geschichte einiger Personalausgänge bei den thematischen Verben im Idg., Wien 1882. Windisch, Personalendungen im Griech. und Sanskr., Ber. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1889 pp. 1 ff. Bezzenberger, Die idg. Personalendungen *-mā*, *-tā*, *-vā*, in his Beitr. II 268 f. E. Sibree, First and Second Persons of the Indo-European Verb, The Academy XXVII (1885) pp. 190 f. Stier, Die 3. plur. praes. indicativi des verbi substantivi, Kuhn's Zeitschr. VII 1 ff. Benfey, Über einige Pluralbildungen des idg. Verbum, Abhandl. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. XIII 39 ff. V. Henry, La 3e personne du pluriel du parfait indo-européen, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 373 ff. Windisch, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *r* im Ar., Ital. und Kelt., Leipz. 1887 (= Abhandl. der sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Cl., X 447 ff.). Misteli, Über Medialendungen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XV 285 ff. 321 ff. A. Kuhn, Über das Verhältniss einiger secundären Medialendungen zu den primären, *ibid.* XV 401 ff. L. Parmentier, L'origine des secondes personnes *φέρε(σ)αι*, *λύε(σ)αι*, *bhárasē*, *sequere*, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 391 ff. H. C. von der Gabelentz, Über das Passivum, Abhandl. der sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. VIII 449 ff. Steinthal, Über das Passivum, Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. II 244 ff. Herm. Müller, De generibus verbi, Greifsw. 1864.

What the meaning of each particular personal suffix may have been we are not in a position to decide. Some of them may originally have been a personal pronoun affixt to the

Aryan. Bartholomae, Arica: Zur Bildung der 1. sing. praes. act., der 1. plur., der 3. sing. perf. act., Zur Flexion des Conjunctivs, Zur Bildung der 3. plur. praet. act., der 2. und 3. du. med., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 271 ff. *Idem*, Die 1. sing. opt. med. der thematischen Conjugation [of Aryan], Ar. Forsch. II 65 f. Th. Benfey, Über die Entstehung und Verwendung der im Sanskrit mit *r* anlautenden Personalendungen, Abhandl. der Gött. Ges. d. Wiss. XV 87 ff. J. Darmesteter, Des désinences verbales en *us* et des désinences verbales qui contiennent un *r* en sanskrit, Mém. Soc. Ling. III 95 ff. A. Bergaigne, Des troisièmes personnes du pluriel en *-ram*, *ibid.* III 104 f. Bartholomae, Indisch *āi* in den Medialausgängen des Conjunctivs, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 210 ff. A. J. Eaton, The Ātmanepada in Rigveda, Leipz. 1884. Spiegel, Die 3. Person plur. des perf. red. med. im Altbaktr., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XX 155 f. Bartholomae, Suffix *at°* und *āt°* in den 3. pl., das Personalsuffix *-tam* im Opt. [in Avestic], Ar. Forsch. II 61 ff.

Greek. K. Burkhard, Die Personalendungen des griech. Verbums und ihre Entstehung, Teschen 1853. Bollensen, Über die 2. und 3. du. in den historischen Zeiten des Griech., Kuhn's Zeitschr XIII 202 ff. J. Schmidt, Die Personalendungen *-θα* und *-σαν* im Griech., *ibid.* XXVII 315 ff. F. Misteli, Über die erste Pers. Sing. Opt. Act. des Griech., Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsych. XII 25 ff. V. Henry, La finale primaire de 2e personne du singulier de voix moyenne en dialecte attique, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 200 ff. Poppo, De Graecorum verbis mediis, passivis, deponentibus recte discernendis ac de deponentium usu, Frankf. a. d. O. 1827. Heurlin, De signifiactione verbis Graecorum mediis propria iisdemque a deponentibus discernendis, Lund 1852. L. Janson, De Graecorum verbis deponentibus vetustissimorum poetarum epicorum usu confirmatis, Festprogr. des Thorner Gymn., Thorn 1868. Kowaleck, Über Passiv und Medium vornehmlich im Sprachgebrauch des Homer, Danzig 1887.

Italic and Keltic. J. Rhys, The Passive Verbs of the Latin and the Keltic Languages, Transact. of the Philol. Soc. 1865 pp. 293 ff. H. Zimmer, Über das italo-keltische Passivum und Deponens, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 224 ff.

Italic. Corssen, Osservazioni sulle desinenze personali del verbo italico, Rivista di filol. IV 478 ff. *Idem*, Zur Gestaltung der Personalendungen italischer Verba, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. pp. 564 ff. Speijer, *tis* 2e personne du pluriel, Mém. Soc. Ling. V 189. *Idem*, Désinences moyennes conservées dans le verbe latin (Parfait en *-ī* (*-ei*), Singulier de l'impératif en *-re*), Mém. Soc. Ling. V 185 ff. Corssen, Zur ital. Passivbildung, in: Beitr. zur ital. Sprachk. pp. 562 ff. Conway, The Origin of the Latin Passive, illustrated by a recently discovered

verb. Thus a connexion with ancient personal pronouns is in fact possible for the followings endings: in the 1st sing. *-m -mi*, cp. Skr. *mā* Gr. *μέ* (III § 434. 2 p. 365); in the 1st dual Skr. *-vas -va*, cp. Skr. *vām* Goth. *vi-t* Lith. *vè-du* (III § 436. 1 p. 367, § 457 p. 396); in the 3rd sing. *-t -ti*, cp. Skr. *tá-m* Gr. *τό-ν* (III § 409 p. 327).

It is not necessary that given forms shall originally have had the meaning which they actually convey in any language. Just as the Lat. *-minī* in *sequiminī* even in proethnic Italic was anything but a personal ending (see II § 71 p. 165), so many others which now do duty for personal endings may have had very different meanings originally. There is the highest probability in favour of what has been said in § 956 p. 496 f. regarding certain imperative suffixes. And again, it is hardly

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inscription, Cambridge Philol. Society's Proceedings 1890, Dec. 4, pp. 16 ff. L. Ramshorn, De verbis Latinorum deponentibus, Leipz. 1830. J. G. Ek, De verbis deponentibus Latinorum iisdemque cum mediis Graecorum quodammodo comparandis, Lund 1835. Nölting, Das lat. Deponens, Wismar 1859. A. W. Jahnsson, De verbis Latinorum deponentibus, Helsingf. 1872. H. Ebel, Zur umbr. Conjugation, Kuhn's Zeitschr. v 401 ff. M. Bréal, La première personne du singulier en ombrien, Mém. Soc. Ling. II 287 ff.

Keltic. Wh. Stokes, Die Endung der 1. pers. sg. praes. indic. act. im Neuirischen, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. II 131 ff. Thurneysen, Der ir. Imperativ auf *-the*, Idg. Forsch. I 460 ff. Wh. Stokes, Zum kelt. Passivum, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 467. Loth, La 2e personne du singulier du présent de l'indicatif actif (gallois *ydd*, cornique *yth*, armoricain *ez* ou *es*), Revue Celt. x 348 f.

Germanic. R. Kögel, Zum deutschen Verbum: Die Endung der ersten Person Pluralis und die Endung der zweiten Person Pluralis, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VIII 126 ff. A. Ludwig, Über die 2. sing. perf. ind. im German., Sitzungsber. der böhm. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1884 pp. 52 ff. J. von Fierlinger, Die II. ps. sg. perf. starker Flexion im Westgerm., Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 430 ff. *Idem*, Ahd. *-mēs*, *ibid.* XXVII 189 f. J. Thorkelsson, Personalsuffixet *-m* i første Person Ental hos norske og islandske Oldtidsdigtere, Ark. för nord. fil. VIII 34 ff. H. Ebel, Das got. Passivum, *ibid.* v 300 ff. W. Uppström, Über das got. Medium, Germania XIII 173 ff.

Slavonic. The Author, Altbulg. *beretŭ* und *berątŭ*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVII 418 ff. Miklosich, Die Personalsuffixe des Dualis [in Old Slovenian], Sitzungsber. d. Wien. Akad. LXXXI 125 ff.

possible to deny a connexion between the endings *-nt -nti -nto* etc. of the 3rd plural and the participial suffix *-nt-* (II § 125 pp. 394 ff., and IV p. 50 footnote 1).

§ **972.** The etymological connexion of Middle and Active ending is quite obscure. What, for instance, is the connexion between 3rd sing. mid. Gr. *-ται* and 3rd sing. act. *-τι*?

Remark. It is probable *a priori* that the Active endings as a class are the oldest. For these characterise an action simply, without the secondary meanings which the Middle Forms convey over and above those of the Active. On this principle we may regard the **-medhai̯* or **-medhəi̯* of the 1st plural as an extension of the act. **-me*. **-so *-to *-nto* are doubtless extensions of the active **-s *-t *-nt*, and if a particle *i* were added to these, the former would become **-sai̯ *-tai̯ *-ntai̯* or **-səi̯ *-təi̯ *-ntəi̯*, the latter **-si *-ti *-nti*. But in the 2nd pl. the middle Skr. *-dhvē -dhvam* are obviously to be kept quite apart from the active *-tha -ta*. And who is to prove that **-sai̯ *-tai̯* did not become **-si *-ti* by loss of accent, and **-so *-to* become **-s *-t* in the same way? This explanation is actually suggested by Begemann, Zur Bedeutung des schwachen Präteritums der german. Sprachen, p. 188, and Osthoff, Morph. Unt. IV 282.

For the Passive Voice there were originally no special and characteristic endings in the Indo-Germanic languages. All so-called passive forms in the verb finite are either middle or active.

§ **973.** Each person, both Active and Middle, had in the parent language at least two endings.

Sometimes there is no possibility of tracing any connexion between these different endings, as between *-ti* and *-e* in the 3rd sing. active (Skr. pres. *ás-ti* and perf. *ás-a*). In particular there were a number of special endings in the Perfect Indicative, whose origin, it would appear, was quite distinct from that of the endings in the other tenses and moods.

But the rest are obviously variant forms of the same thing. This is true of *-mi* and *-m* in the 1st sing. active, of *-tai̯* or *-təi̯* and *-to* in the 3rd sing. middle. The *-i* which distinguishes the active endings 1st sing. *-mi* 2nd sing. *-si* 3rd sing. *-ti* 3rd pl. *-nti* from *-m -s -t -nt* in the same persons, may, I suggest, be an affixt particle (perhaps implying present time). The same *-i*, forming a diphthong with a preceding *-a*-vowel, is seen in the middle endings 1st sing. *-ai̯* or *-əi̯* (Skr. perf. *tutud-ḗ*) and

-ōį (Skr. conj. *kr̥-ṇáv-āi*), 2nd sing. *-saį* or *-səį*, 3rd sing. *-taį* or *-təį*, 1st pl. *-medhaį* or *-medhəį*, 3rd pl. *-ntaį* or *-ntəį* beside 1st sing. *-ə* (Skr. pret. *á-dviṣ-i*) and *-o* (Skr. opt. *dviṣīy-á*), 2nd sing. *-so*, 3rd sing. *-to*, 1st pl. *-medhə* (Skr. *-mahi* Gr. *-μεθα*), 3rd pl. *-nto*. Other differences distinguish the endings of the 1st pl. act. Skr. *-mas* (*-masi*) and *-ma*, the endings of the 2nd and 3rd dual act. Skr. *-thas -tas* and *-tam -tām*, and so forth.

§ 974. Leaving aside the endings peculiar to the Indic. Perf. Act., the other personal endings are divided into Primary and Secondary; the 3rd sing. for instance has primary endings *-ti* active and *-taį* (*-təį*) middle, and secondary *-t* active and *-to* middle.

The Primary endings belong to the Indic. Pres. Active and Middle (Skr. *dádā-ti dat-té*), and include the *sįo*-future (Skr. *dāsyá-ti -tē*), and the Indic. Perf. Middle (Skr. *dad-é*). But forms with a secondary ending (Injunctive) could also serve as indic. present, see § 909 p. 457.

The Secondary endings belong to the augmented Indic. Active and Middle (Skr. *á-dā-t á-di-ta*, *á-dadā-t á-dat-ta* etc.), to the series which has such wide and varied use, the Injunctive Active and Middle (Skr. *dā́-t di-tá* etc.), and to the Optative Active and Middle (Skr. *dadyā́-t dadī-tá* etc.)

The Conjunctive varies, and takes both kinds.

Remark. Some light may be had from Irish syntax to explain why the Augment required secondary endings. The augment was an independent adverb (§ 477 pp. 24 f.); and we find in Irish double forms, one for Conjunct and one for Absolute use, e. g. 3rd sing. *do-beir* for **-bere-t* (secondary ending) and *berid* for **bere-ti* (primary). Probably the Irish usage in some degree reflects that of proethnic times, and we should suppose that in the parent language, while *bhére-ti* would be used alone, such a form as **prò bhere-t* would be used when the verb was coupled with a prefix. On this supposition, Skr. *prá bharati* is due to the analogy of independent *bhárati*, and vice versa Lat. *vĕhis* to that of the compounds, as *ād-vehis*. But this kind of variation cannot be assumed for all tenses and moods in the parent language (of course the perfect indicative active is always excepted). It certainly was not found in the optative, which in the existing languages always shows secondary personal endings. And notwithstanding Skr. 2nd sing. imper. *vé-ṣi* and Gr. *λέξαι* (§ 910 Rem. p. 459 f.), we must not venture to allow it for imperative expressions.

§ 975. Amongst the suffixes of persons, *r* has a place to itself. It is found sometimes alone as a personal ending (as Skr. 3rd pl. *cakr-úr*), sometimes in conjunction with others (as Skr. 3rd pl. pres. *duh-r-atē* Lat. 3rd pl. *sequo-ntu-r*). As Italic and Keltic have it in almost all persons, and as the forms which contain it must be treated together, a special chapter will be given to it after the other endings have been discussed (§§ 1076 ff.).

ACTIVE ENDINGS.

1ST PERSON SINGULAR.

§ 976. Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) *-mi*, Primary Ending for Unthematic Stems. **és-mi* 'I am': Skr. *ásmi* Arm. *em* Gr. *εἰμί* Alban. *jam* (for **em *esmi*, § 493 p. 52) Goth. *im* Lith. *esmì* O.C.Sl. *jesmĭ*. Skr. *dádā-mi* Gr. *δίδω-μι* 'I give'. Skr. *śr̥-ṇā́-mi* 'I break to pieces' Armen. *bar̄-na-m* 'I lift' Gr. *δάμ-νη-μι* 'I tame' O.Ir. *glenim* 'I remain hanging' (for **gli-na-mi*) O.H.G. *gi-nō-m* 'I gape'. Most languages came indepently to use this ending with Thematic stems: Skr. *bhárāmi* Armen. *berem* O.Ir. *berim* 'fero' O.H.G. *wirdon* 'I become' Serv. *nesem* 'I bear'.

(2) *-ō*, the Primary Ending for Thematic Stems. **bherō* 'fero': Avest. Gath. *ufyā* 'I weave, extol' Gr. *φέρω* Lat. *ferō* O.Ir. *as-biur* 'effero, dico' Goth. *baíra* Lith. *vežù* 'veho'. Future Avest. Gath. *vax-šyā* 'I will speak' Lith. *dű'-siu* 'dabo'. Conjunctive **es-ō* from indic. **es-mi*: Avest. Gath. *aƞhā* Skr. *bráv-ā* 'dicam' Gr. *ἔω ὦ* Lat. (fut.) *erō*. *-ō* also in the Greek long-vowel Conjunctive, as *φέρω* (pl. *φέρω-μεν φέρη-τε*), and the Aryan *-ā* seems to be identical in the forms Skr. *árcā* (3rd sing. *árc-ā-t*) Avest. Gath. *perᵉsā* (3rd sing. *perᵉs-ā-iti*), see § 918 Rem. p. 466.

(3) *-m* (after sonants) and *-m̥* (after consonants) Secondary Ending for any Stem. **bhéro-m*: Skr. *á-bhara-m* Gr. *ἔ-φερο-ν* Lat. *su-m* O.C.Sl. *nesŭ* 'bore'. Conj. Lat. *fera-m* O.Ir. *do-ber*

O.C.Sl. *berą* (§ 929 p. 474). Skr. *á-yā-m* 'I went' Gr. *ἔ-δρā-ν* 'I ran' Lat. *era-m* O.Ir. *ba* 'fui' Goth. *i-ddja* 'I went'. Opt. **s-(i)i̯ē-m* 'sim': Skr. *syā́-m* Gr. *εἴη-ν* Lat. *sie-m si-m.* **ēs-m̥* 'eram' (before sonants also **ēs-m̥m*): Skr. *ás-am* Gr. *ἦ-α.* s-Aorist Skr. *á-cāiṣ-am* Gr. *ἔ-τεισ-α* from √ *qei̯-* 'pay a penalty, etc.'. Opt. **bheroi̯-m̥*: Skr. *bhárēy-am.*

(4) *-a* in the indic. perf. **u̯oi̯d-a* 'I know': Skr. *vḗd-a* Gr. *οἶδ-α* O.Ir. *ro cechan* 'cecini' Goth. *váit.*

§ 977. Aryan. (1) *-mi.* Skr. *ás-mi* Avest. *ah-mi* O.Pers. *amīy.* Skr. *dádhā-mi* 'I place' Avest. *dađą-mi.* Skr. *kr̥-ṇṓ-mi* 'I make' Avest. *kerᵉ-nao-mi.*

(2) The ending *-ā* = Idg. *-ō* is regular in the Gatha dialect of Avestic for the indic. present, as *spasyā* 'conspicio, I watch' (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 271 ff.). Independently both Sanskrit and later Avestic adopted the re-formation with *-mi* (§ 976. 1); as Skr. *bhárāmi dāsyā́mi* late Avest. *barāmi* O.Pers. *dārayāmīy* (Skr. *dhārā́yāmi*). The reason for this innovation was that there were often parallel forms, one thematic and the other unthematic, as Skr. *dá-dhā-ti* and *dá-dh-a-ti*, Avest. *da-đā-iti* and *da-þ-a-iti*, and it was a recommendation for *-mi* with the thematic stem that by this the number of syllables became the same in all persons of the singular. Another thing which may have had some influence is that in the 1st sing. mid. indic. pres. of both classes the same ending (*-ai̯*) was used from the proethnic Aryan period.

(3) The short-vowel (or thematic) conjugation and the long-vowel both show the endings *-ā* and *-āni* side by side; the former was proethnic Idg. (§ 976. 2 p. 517): Skr. Ved. *bravā* Ved. and class. *brávāṇi* (3rd sing. *bráv-a-t*) Avest. *mrava mravāni* (3rd sing. Gath. *mrav-a-itī*) beside indic. Skr. *bráv-ī-ti* 'speaks' 1st pl. *brū-más*; Skr. Ved. *vōcā* (Gr. *(Ϝ)είπω*) Ved. and class. *vōcāni* (3rd sing. *vōc-ā-ti*) beside indic. *á-vōc-a-t* (Gr. *ἔ-(Ϝ)ειπε*) from *vac-* 'to speak', Avest. *perᵉsā* (3rd sing. *perᵉs-ā-iti*) beside indic. *perᵉs-a-iti* 'asks', *azāni* beside indic. *az-a-iti* 'agit'.

The origin of *-ni* is obscure. Perhaps we should connect

it with the Ar. *-na* of Avest. 2nd sing. *bara-nā* and the ending of the 2nd pl. *-than-a* *-ta-na* (§ 600 p. 143, § 1010).[1])

(4) *-m*. Skr. *á-bhara-m* Avest. *barem* O.Pers. *abaram*. Skr. *á-dadhā-m* Avest. *dađą-m*. Optative Skr. *dadh-yā́-m* Avest. *daiđyą-m*.

(5) *-m̥* appears in Aryan regularly as *-am*, which we may consider the ante-sonant form (*-m̥m*). See I § 231 Rem. p. 196. *-am* seems to have been helped in beating **-a* = Gr. *-α* out of the field by various causes: in Skr. *á-han-am* and other such by the existence of thematic and unthematic variants together (cp. *á-han-a-t* § 498 p. 58); in *ā́s-am ā́d-am* by a wish to distinguish these from the perfect (*ā́s-a ā́d-a*); in the optative *bhárēy-am*, by a wish to distinguish active and middle (*bharēy-a*). Skr. *á-brav-am* Avest. *mraom* i. e. *mrav-em* 'I spoke'; Skr. *ā́s-am* O.Pers. *ah-am* 'eram'. Avest. *diđaęm* i. e. *diđay-em* beside *di-đaę-iti* 'sees'. Skr. *á-kṣār-ṣ-am* (Gr. *ἔ-φθειρ-α*) from *kṣar-* 'to flow, pass away'. Optative Skr. *bhárēy-am* (not found in Iranian).

(6) *-a* in the Perfect. Skr. *véd-a* Avest. Gath. *vaęd-ā* 'I know': Gr. *οἶδα*. On Skr. *dadhāú* see § 852 p. 402 f.

§ 978. Armenian. Perfect *-a* not found.

(1) *-m* = Idg. *-mi*. *em* 'I am' for **es-mi* § 501 p. 63. *mna-m* 'I remain, wait for' *jana-m* 'I take pains' § 581 p. 122. *ba-na-m* 'I open' § 601 p. 144. *jer-nu-m* 'I warm myself' § 642 p. 180.

This *-m* spread to the Thematic stems (§ 976. 1), as *berem* 'fero'; *e* before the *-m* comes from the 2nd and 3rd singular (as in Serv. *nesem*, § 983), partly from the analogy of *em*. The same innovation is seen in the 3rd pl. *beren*, § 1019.

(2) The history of Idg. *-m* and *-m̥* is not clear. The ending *-m* is believed to occur in e. g. *etu* 'I gave' *edi* 'I placed' *beri* 'I bore'. Compare Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 36 f.; Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXXII 75.

1) What Mahlow suggests and Wiedemann approves (Lang. Voc. 162, Lit. Prät. 160) does not convince me in the least.

§ 979. Greek.

(1) *-μι*. *εἶμι* 'I go': Skr. *é-mi*. *ἄη-μι* 'I blow': Skr. *vā́-mi*. Lesb. *τί̄μᾱ-μι* 'I honour': cp. Armen. *jana-m* O.H.G. *salbō-m*.

(2) *-ω*. *ἄγω*: Lat. *agō*. Conjunctive *εἰδέω -ῶ* 'sciam': Lat. *vīderō*. Conj. *φέρω* 'feram': cp. Skr. Ved. *árcā*. In Homer the Conjunctive is extended by *-μι*, a re-formation: *κτείνω-μι* with indic. *ἔκτεινα*, *ἐθέλω-μι* indic. *ἐθέλω*, cp. *ἐθέλῃσθα* § 987 and *ἐθέλῃ-σι* § 995.

(3) *-ν* for *-m*. *ἦγο-ν*: Skr. *ā́ja-m*. *ἐ-τίθη-ν*: Skr. *á-dadhā-m*. Optative *θείη-ν τιθείη-ν*: Skr. *dadh-yā́-m*.

-α for *-m̥*. Aorist *ἔ-χε(ϝ)-α* 'I poured', *ἔ-δειξ-α* 'I showed'. The opt. form **φερο(ι̯)-α* which Skr. *bhárēya-m* leads as to expect, is lacking. In its stead we find *φέροι-μι*, which is undoubtedly a re-formation (*-οιμι* : *-οις* like *τίθημι* : *τίθης*), and one or two cases in Attic of *φέροιν*, which stands to Skr. *bhárāya-m* as *ἔ-φῡ-ν* to *á-bhūv-am*.

(4) *-α* = Idg. *-a* in the Perfect. *δέδορκ-α* 'I have seen': Skr. *dadárś-a*.

§ 980. Italic. *-mi* and *-a* (Perfect) are not found.

(1) *-ō*. Lat. *agō*: Gr. *ἄγω*; Umbr. sestu 'sisto'. Lat. *plantō* for *-ā-(i̯)ō*, Umbr. *subocauu sobocau* 'adoro' (*-uu* and *-u* = *-ō*) [1]. Conj. (fut.) Lat. *er-ō*: Avest. Gath. *aŋh-ā*; cp. § 918 Rem. p. 466.

(2) *-m*. Lat. Osc. *s-u-m* § 528 p. 91; add Osc. manafum, if it means 'mandavi', see § 874 p. 423. Lat. *amā-bam*: O.Ir. *ba*. Conj. Lat. *ag-a-m*. Opt. Lat. *s-ie-m sim*. *-m̥* seems to be lost.

§ 981. Keltic.

(1) *-m* aus *-mi*. O.Ir. *cre-nim* 'I buy' Mod.Cymr. *pry-na-f* for **-na-mi* § 604 p. 145. *scaraim* 'I separate, separate myself' for **scarā-mi*, *caraim* 'I love' for **carā-mi* § 584 p. 125.

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1) As the Umbr. inf. *stiplo(m)* 'stipulari' etc. shows the group *āo* contracted in unaccented syllables (§ 1094. 7), it apparently follows that *subocau* is a new form instead of **subocō* by analogy of *stahu* 'sto' and the like.

Forms like *lēcim* (beside *-lēciu*) and *berim* (beside *-biur*) are re-formed on the model of the verbs in *-mi* above mentioned. Compare § 976. 1.

Why is *-m* constantly doubled in Irish, thus shewing that the nasal was not spirant (*mh*) as in Cymric? This is no effect of the analogy of the Irish representative of Idg. **es-mi* 'I am' (with *mm* for *sm*); because *am* (never written *amm*) has no claim to be considered such (see § 506 p. 72). "Can it be true after all that Irish *-ām-* when following the accent became *-amm-*?" (Thurneysen.)

(2) Idg. *-ō*. *biu* 'I am': Lat. *fīō*. *no guidiu* 'I beg'. *-biur* 'I bear': Lat. *ferō*. *no charub* 'I will love': cp. Lat. *amā-bō*. See I § 90 p. 85.

(3) Idg. *-m*. *ba* 'fui' for **bhu̯-ā-m*: Lat. *amā-bam* (§ 584 p. 125). Conj. *-ber* 'feram' for **bherā-m*; the absolute form *bera* is analogical, and no ground-form can be inferred for it.

Idg. *-m̥* seems to be quite lost.

(4) Idg. *-a* in the Perfect. *ro seślach* 'I struck down' for **se-slag-a*: cp. Goth. *slōh*.

§ 982. Germanic.

(1) Idg. *-mi* is common in West Germanic. Goth. *im* O.H.G. *b-im b-in* 'I am' for **es-mi* (§ 507 p. 73). O.H.G. *sestō-m* 'sisto, I arrange' (§ 545 p. 103), *salbō-m* 'I anoint' (§ 585 p. 126), *habē-m* 'I have' (§ 592 p. 133), *stā-m* 'I stand' (§ 708 p. 240), *ginō-m gei-nō-m* 'I gape' (§ 605 p. 146).

Goth. *salbō* doubtless has not the secondary Idg. *-m*, but gets its ending from *salbō-m -nd* by analogy of *baíra* : *baíra-m -nd*. On Goth. *haba* see § 708 p. 238 f.

(2) Idg. *-ō*. Goth. *baíra* O.H.G. *biru* 'fero' O.Icel. *heito-mk* 'I call myself', Goth. *nasja* O.H.G. *neriu nerru* 'I save'; on forms like O.H.G. *hilfu* see I § 661. 2 p. 517. In High German dialects, especially Rhine Frankish, the *-n* of verbs in *-mi* has been spreading to the thematic class since the 11th century; e. g. *wirdon gihun* instead of *wirdo gihu*, and so too O.Low Fr. *wirthon* (cp. § 976. 1).

(3) Idg. *-m*. Goth. *i-ddja* 'I went': Skr. *á-yām*; Goth. *nasida* O.H.G. *nerita* 'I rescued' Norse Run. *tawido* 'I made'. No trace is left of **-un* = *-m̥*; it must have been once used in the opt. Goth. *baírau*; the origin of this form (O.Icel. *bera*) is very uncertain, see § 928 p. 474.

(4) Idg. *-a* in the Perfect. Goth. *váit* O.H.G. *weiʒ* 'I know': Skr. *vḗd-a* Gr. *οἶδ-α*.

§ **983**. Balto-Slavonic. *-a* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) *-mi*. Lith. *es-mì* O.C.Sl. *jes-mĭ* 'I am': on Lith. *es-mù* see § 510 p. 75. O.C.Sl. *ima-mĭ* 'I have' (§ 586 p. 127); reformation with *-mĭ*, *bi-mĭ* etc., see § 727 p. 257.

It is true the Lith. reflexive ending *-mē-si* (*dûmē-si*, *velmē-s* § 511 p. 76) contains the middle ending *-mē* = Gr. *-μαι* (cp. Pruss. *asmai*),[1] and by I § 664. 3 p. 523 it follows that *-mē̃* becomes *-mì*. Still it does not follow that *-mi* must always come from *-mē*; active and middle endings must have existed side by side, and only in the *si*-reflexive was *-mē* made regular on the strength of 1st sing. *-ů́-s* : *-ù*, 1st pl. *-mė́-s* : *-me*. Compare § 991 on *dûsi* : *dûsē-s*.

In Servian *-m(ĭ)* runs through all conjugations: first, beginning with the 13th century, *-a-m*, as *čuva-m* 'I protect' (cp. O.C.Sl. *ima-mĭ*); then *-i-m*, as *hvali-m* 'I praise' (cp. O.C.Sl. *bi-mĭ*); lastly *-e-m*, as *nese-m* 'I bear', which should be compared with Armen. *bere-m* (§ 978 p. 519), only *mogu* 'I can' and *hoću* 'I wish' kept fast to the old ending. The same is true of Slovenian.

(2) Idg. *-ō* only in Baltic; Lith. *sukù* 'I turn' *sukù-s(i)* 'I turn myself' (I § 664. 3 p. 523), *dů́siu* 'dabo'. On the spread of *-u* to stems in orig. *-ā* and *ē*, as *lìndau*, see § 586 p. 127, § 593 p. 133 f., § 991. 1.

(3) Idg. *-m* only in Slavonic. O.C.Sl. *vezŭ* 'I transported' for *-o-m*: Skr. *váha-m*, *da-ch-ŭ* 'I gave' (§ 833 p. 370). Con-

1) No help can be got from O.C.Sl. *-mi* instead of *-mĭ*, which some might be inclined to regard as another instance of middle ending. Miklosich cites it as a very rare variant (Vergl. Gr. III² 63).

junctive *vezą* = Lat. *veha-m* as indic. pres., see § 929 p. 474. Idg. *-m̥* is quite gone.

2ND PERSON SINGULAR.

§ **984.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic. On the imperative *-dhi*, and imperatives without any personal ending like Skr. *bhára*, which we here disregard, see §§ 957 ff. pp. 497 ff.

(1) *-si*, Primary ending. **ei̯-si* 'is': Skr. *ḗ-ṣi* Gr. *εἶ* for **εἶ-(σ)ι*. Skr. *bhára-si* O.Ir. *beri* for **bere-(s)i* Goth. *baíri-s* 'fers'. Conj. Skr. *bhár-ā-si*. O.Ir. *cari* 'amas' for **carā-(s)i*, Goth. *salbō-s* 'thou anointest'.

From √ *es-* 'esse' two forms. 1. **esi*: Skr. *ási* Gr. *εἶ* for **ἐ(σ)ι* Alban. *jē* for **e(si)* (G. Meyer, M. Hertz zum 70. Geburtstag, 1888, pp. 86 f.). 2. **es-si*: Armen. *es* Gr. Hom. *ἐσ-σί*: On the relation of the two Idg. forms, see III § 356 Rem. p. 258. On Goth. *is* see § 990. 1; on Lith. *esì* O.C.Sl. *jesi*, § 991.

(2) *-s*, Secondary ending. **e-stā-s* from √ *stā-* 'stare': Skr. *á-sthā-s* Gr. *ἔ-στη-ς*; Skr. *á-yā-s* Goth. *i-ddjē-s* 'wentest'. **bhére-s*: Skr. *á-bhara-s* Gr. *φέρε-ς ἔ-φερε-ς* Lat. *ag-i-s* O.Ir. *do-bir* O.C.Sl. *veze*; Goth. *ōg-s* 'fear thou'. Opt. **bheroi̯-s*: Skr. *bhárē-ṣ* Gr. *φέροι-ς* Goth. *baírái-s* Pruss. *imai-s* 'take thou' O.C.Sl. *beri*; **s-(i)i̯ē-s*: Skr. *syā́-s* Gr. *εἴη-ς* Lat. *siē-s sī-s* Goth. *vitei-s* 'scias'.

(3) *-tha* in the ind. perf.: Skr. *vḗt-tha* Gr. *οἶσθα* 'knowest', O.H.G. *gi-tars-t* 'darest'.

§ **985.** Aryan.

(1) *-si*. Skr. *vák-ṣi* Avest. *vaši* beside 3rd sing. Skr. *váṣ-ṭi* Avest. *vaš-ti* 'desires'. Skr. *dádhā-si* 'placest', Avest. *dađā-hi*. Skr. *bhára-si* Avest. *bara-hi*. Conj. Skr. *bhárā-si*, Avest. *barā-hi* (also *barāi* with *h* dropt) O.Pers. *vainā-hy* 'videas'. Imperative Skr. *sát-si* 'place thyself, sit' see § 910 Rem. p. 459 f.

Skr. *ási* Avest. *ahi* Goth. *ahy* 'thou art', see § 984. 1.

(2) *-s*. Skr. *dhā́-s á-dhā-s* Avest. *dā̊* from √ *dhē-* 'to place', Skr. *ákar* for **a-kar-ṣ* 'madest', Avest. *varᵉš* 'didst work' ground-form **u̯erk̑-s*, *sąs* 'didst say' ground-form **k̑ens-s* (§ 493

p. 52). Skr. *á-dadhā-s* Avest. *dadå*. *s*-Aorist Skr. *ájāiṣ* for **á-jāiṣ-ṣ*, *áchān* for **a-chānt-s-s* see § 816 p. 354. Skr. *bhára-s á-bhara-s* Avest. *barō* O.Pers. *gaudaya* 'didst hide' (I § 558. 4 p. 415). Conj. Skr. *ás-a-s* Avest. *aŋh-ō*, Skr. *bhár-ā-s* Avest. *bar-å*. Opt. Skr. *bhárē-ṣ* Avest. *barōi-š*, Skr. *dadhyá-s* Avest. *daiþyå*.

(3) *-tha* in the Perfect. Skr. *vĕttha* Avest. Gath. *vōistā* (I § 475 p. 351), Skr. *dadhá-tha* Avest. Gath. *dadā-þā*.

§ **986.** Armenian. *es* 'art': Gr. ἐσ-σί. Hence *beres* 'fers', like *berem* following *em* (§ 978 p. 519).

Remark. The ending *-r* found in many tenses and moods Bugge thinks he can explain as *-s* + particle **ra* = Gr. ῥά, e. g. aor. *ar-ar-er* (pres. *ar̃-ne-m* 'I make') = Gr. ἤρ-αρ-έ-ς ῥα (Beitr. zur etym. Erläut. der arm. Spr., Christiania 1889 pp. 44 ff.). This particle he sees in the ending of the 3rd sing. imperf., as *berēr aλair t̔oloir*. However, it is not found elsewhere in Armenian.

§ **987.** Greek.

(1) *-si*. Only left in Hom. and Syrac. ἐσ-σί 'thou art', with a variant εἶ for *ἐ(σ)ι, and in εἶ 'wilt go' for *εἰ(σ)ι. When the secondary ending -ς was added to these forms on the analogy of φή-ς 'sayest' and the like, arose the Hom. and Herod. εἶ-ς or εἴ-ς 'thou art' and Hesiod's εἶ-ς 'thou wilt go'; in the same way was produced 2nd sing. ἐλθετῶ-ς, § 966 p. 507.

φέρεις 'fers' either for *φερε(σ)ι = Skr. *bhára-si* with secondary -ς added (see the Author's Gr. Gr.² p. 145, and Fay in the Amer. Journ. Phil. XI 219 f.); or for Idg. **bherēi-s* (by I § 611 p. 461), a form like Skr. *áj-āi-ṣ* (see footnote to page 61). The latter view, on which φέρεις is really injunctive, is to my mind likelier, because it explains at the same time the 3rd sing. φέρει in the simplest way (§ 995). The conjunctive φέρῃς sprang up by the side of φέρεις because of the existence of φέρητε beside φέρετε.

(2) *-s*. ἔ-βλη-ς: Skr. *á-glā-s* (§ 587 p. 127). ἐ-τίθη-ς: Skr. *á-dadhā-s*. ἦγε-ς: Skr. *ája-s*. Opt. φέροι-ς εἴη-ς. Observe the injunctive forms with indicative present use, Dor. Cypr. φέρε-ς Att. φή-ς τίθη-ς Lesb. φίλη-ς etc., § 909 p. 457.

(3) *-tha* in the Perfect. Only two original forms are left: — *οἶσθα*: Skr. *vēttha* 'knowest' and *ἦσ-θα* from *ἐσ-* 'to be'. The latter, which was afterwards used as imperfect (§ 858 p. 407), was the origin of many analogical forms, for instance *ἔφησθα ᾔεισθα τίθησθα* conj. *ἐθέλῃσθα* opt. *βάλοισθα εἴησθα*. *οἶσθα-ς ἦσθα-ς* are of very doubtful authority before the Alexandrian age; *οἶσθα-ς* occurs in Herodas II 55. In the indic. perf. *-α-ς* was usual instead of *-θα*, e. g. *τέτροφ-α-ς*, also *οἶδας* beside *οἶσθα*; this ending came from the aorist, and was recommended by the ease with which it could be added to consonant stems (§ 844 p. 386).

§ 988. Italic.

(1) *-si* cannot be traced. But since in the 3rd sing. **-ti* seems very early to have become *-t* (§ 996), nothing prevents our deriving Lat. *es* 'art' and *ēs* 'eatest' from **essi* and **ētsi*.

(2) *-s*. Lat. *vī-s* (§ 505 p. 69), *vel* for **vel-s* (loc. cit.); but in *fer-s* the *-s* is due to analogy. *nā-s nē-s plantā-s vidē-s, amā-bās. agi-s farcī-s*, Umbr. heris heri *heri* 'vis, vel' (p. 68 footnote, and § 715 p. 248). Conjunctive Lat. *er-i-s vīder-i-s, ag-ā-s ag-ē-s*. Optative Lat. *siē-s sī-s*, Umbr. *sir* *si sei* 'sis'.

(3) Idg. *-tha* in the Perfect. Lat. *vīdis-ti* (inscr. also *-tei*) got its *-ī* either from the 1st sing. with the middle suffix *-ī*; or else the middle ending existed in Italic in the 2nd person too (**-sī* for pr. Lat. **-sai̯*) and *-tī* got its *-ī* from this, in the same way as *-ši* in O.C.Sl. *bereši* is a mixture of active Idg. **-si* and middle Idg. **-sai̯* or **-sǝi̯* (§ 991).

§ 989. Keltic. *-tha* (Perfect) is lost. The ending of *cechan* 'cecinisti' is obscure.

(1) *-si*. O.Ir. *beri* 'fers' for **bere-si* (I § 576 p. 431).

(2) *-s*. Injunct. *comēir* 'get up' for **cóm-ecs-rec-s-s* (§ 826 p. 363) *-bir* 'fers' for **bere-s* (I § 576 p. 431, § 657. 5 p. 508).

In the *ā*-conjunctive, *berae bere* and *do-berae -e* for a supposed **berāsi*; remember that even in the indicative the primary *-i* kept on intruding more and more into the conjunct flexion: only a few verbs, as *-bir*, kept clear of it.

§ 990. Germanic.

(1) *-si*. O.Icel. *ber-r* = pr. Germ. **biri-zi*, O.H.G. *biris* = pr. Germ. **biri-si*; similarly O.Icel. *tem-r* 'tamest' *kalla-r* 'callest' pr. Germ. *-*zi*, O.H.G. *zemi-s salbō-s* pr. Germ. *-*si*. Whether Goth. *baíri-s gatamji-s salbō-s* have *-*zi* or *-*si* cannot be made out, as both pr. Goth. *-z(i)* and *-s(i)* must needs become *-s* (I § 660. 5 p. 516). The breathed *-s* in West Germanic is thus explained: — in O.H.G. *tuo-s gā-s*, in O.H.G. and A.S. *bis* (ground-form **bhu̯-i-si*, with *i* dropt on the analogy of forms like *tuos biris*, cp. I § 661 pp. 516 ff.), and in the present of Class II *B* (§ 532 p. 93), the vowel before *s* had the word-accent. Still the breathed *s* would probably not have become general even so, but that the pronoun **þŭ* 'thou' so often adhered to the verb form, as in O.H.G. *biristu*, see I § 661 Rem. p. 519. Compare pr. Germ. *-þi* and *-đi* in the 3rd singular, § 998.

Whether Goth. *is* 'thou art' be Idg. **esi* or **essi* is not clear (§ 984. 1).

(2) *-s*: Goth. pr. Norse *-z*, pr.W.Germ. *-z* and *-s*. Goth. *gatamidēs* O.Icel. *tamđer* O.H.G. *zemitōs* A.S. *temedes*. O.H.G. *zigi* pret. 'thou didst accuse': Skr. *á-diš-a-s* § 893 p. 441, *ni curi* 'noli' § 909 p. 458. Goth. conj. *ōg-s* ('fear thou') § 917 p. 465. Opt. Goth. *baíráі-s* O.H.G. *berē-s* A.S. *bere*; O.H.G. *sī-s* 'mightst be', Goth. *bitei-s* O.H.G. *bizzī-s* A.-S. *bite* 'mightst bite', see § 893 p. 441. The constant use of affix **þŭ* 'thou' partly caused the secondary ending to be kept in West Germanic.

The O.H.G. compounds *biris-tu tuos-tu* (see under 1.) *zemitōs-tu sīs-tu bizzīs-tu* were misunderstood, and in the 9th century people began to regard them as *birist* + *du* (*thu*) and so forth. This was due to *kanst* beside *kanstu*. Some part of this mistake is due to *bist*, which got its *t* earlier from the preterite-presents. In the same way we explain A.S. *birest* beside *bires*, and the like.

(3) Idg. *-tha* in the Perfect. Goth. *las-t* 'thou didst pick' (pres. *lisa*) *slōh-t* 'didst strike' (pres. *slaha*) O.H.G. *gi-tarst*

'darest' (1st sing. *gi-tar*). By their analogy Goth. *váist* O.H.G. *weist* 'knowest' (1st sing. *váit weiȝ*), Goth. *qast* 'didst say' (pres. *qiþa*) with *st* instead of regular *ss*. Further, Goth. *bar-t* 'didst bear' *skal-t* A.S. *scealt* 'shalt' instead of **bar-þ* etc. See I § 553 p. 406. The sole example of pr. Germ. *-þa* = *-tha* is A.S. pres. *ear-đ ar-đ* 'art', which must therefore be a transformate of pres. mid. **ar-þēs* = Skr. *ī̆r-thās* (§ 509 p. 75).

In West-Germanic and Norse *-t* spread from the preterite present to the Present: O.H.G. *bis-t* O.Icel. *es-t* 'thou art', *wil-t* 'wilt, wishest'.

In West-Germanic, the Perfect as an historic tense exchanged the form with *-tha* for that of the thematic aorist, as O.H.G. *zigi* = Skr. *á-diś-a-s*, whence followed intermixture with the optative perfect; see § 893 pp. 441 f.

§ 991. Balto-Slavonic. *-tha* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) Idg. *-si*. Lith. *ei-sì* 'goest', *dű́si* 'givest' for **dű-t-si*. Whether Lith. *esì* is to be compared with Skr. *ási* or Gr. *ἐσ-σὶ* (§ 984 p. 523) is still uncertain.

Starting from *esì*, *-ì* spread to the other verbs. *dű'di* instead of *dű́si* beside *dű'(d)-mi dű'd-u*, *degì* beside *degmì degù*, *sukì* beside *sukù*, *vertì* for **vertįì* beside *verczìù*, fut. *dű'si* for **dűsįi* beside *dű'-siu*. Further, **lìndō-i*, which became *lìndai*, beside 3rd sing. *lìndo* which drew after it the 1st sing. *lìndau* = **lindō-u*; this adoption of *ì* and *ù* by *ā*-stems took place first in the present, whence it passed to the preterite *ā*-stems because both had the same ending in the 3rd sing. and in the plural and dual (e. g. *bùvo* 'he was' like *lìndo*); from the *ā*-preterite, *-ì* and *-ù* then proceeded to the preterite with *ē*. See § 586 p. 127, § 593 p. 133, § 983. 2 p. 522. Another thing may have aided the change of *dű́si* to *dű'di*; — *dű́si* was also the 2nd sing. future,[1]) and thus also the present **lìndō-si* (cp. O.C.Sl. *ima-šĭ*) may have been exchanged for **lìndō-i*, because the former agreed with the 2nd sing. future.

1) *eìsi* 'is' and *eĩsi* 'ibis' are distinguisht by accent.

The Reflexive in Lithuanian has always the middle endings *-sė -ė*, as *desė-s* (1st sing. *dė(d)-mi* § 546 pp. 103 f.), *sukė-s vertė-s* (for **vertįė-s*, cp. *te-vertė* § 954 p. 494); similarly the old books have *essie-gu* i. e. *esė-gu* (*-gu* is a particle). In the same way we have Pruss. *assai assei essei* 'thou art' *seggē-sai* 'thou doest'. Still, although *-ė* had to become *-i* anyhow by rule, we must not assume that all instances of *-i* in the 2nd singular come from *-ė*. The truth is no doubt that both active and middle endings were in use together, and it was only in the *si*-reflexive, as we saw was the case with the 1st sing. *-mi*, that the middle ending became the rule; cp. § 983. 1 p. 522.

Proethnic Slavonic had *-šĭ* = Idg. *-si*, e. g. in **bere-šĭ* 'fers': Little Russian, Mod.Sloven., Serv., and Czech *bereš*. Along with this it had the middle *-sĭ* = Idg. *-sai̯ -səi̯* in verbs with *-mi*: O.C.Sl. *jesi* 'art' *jasi* 'eatest' *dasi* 'givest', Little-Russ. *jesy jisy dasy* Mod.Slov. *si* 'art', Serv. *jesi* 'art', Czech *jsi* 'art'. By contamination of *-šĭ* and *-sĭ*, O.C.Sl. *bere-ši ima-ši* etc.

(2) Idg. *-s* can no longer be traced in Lithuanian, but in Old Prussian it can, — opt. *imai-s* 'take thou'. O.C.Sl. aor. *veze*: Skr. *váha-s*, opt. *vezi*: Skr. *váhē-ṣ*. As regards *da* 'gavest' for **dō-s-s* see p. 830 p. 367, where also the origin of the 2nd sing. *dastŭ* instead of *da* is treated.

3RD PERSON SINGULAR.

§ **992.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) *-ti* Primary ending. **es-ti* 'est': Skr. *ás-ti* Gr. ἔσ-τι Lat. *es-t* O.Ir. *is* Goth. *is-t* Lith. *ẽs-ti ẽs-t* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jes-tĭ*. Skr. *dádā-ti* Gr. Dor. δίδω-τι Lith. *dū́s-t(i)* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *das-tĭ* 'dat'. Skr. *vā́-ti* Gr. ἄη-σι 'blows' Lat. *ne-t planta-t* O.Ir. *carid* 'loves' Goth. *salbō-þ* 'anoints' O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *ima-tĭ* 'hat'. Skr. *śr̥-ṇā́-ti* 'breaks to pieces', Armen. *baṙ-na-y* 'lifts', Gr. δάμ-νη-σι 'tames', O.Ir. *lenid* 'catches hold' (for **li-na-ti*) O.H.G. *gi-no-t* 'gapes'. **bhere-ti* 'fert': Skr. *bhára-ti* Armen. *berē* Lat. *agi-t* O.Ir. *beri-d* Goth. *bairi-þ* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *bere-tĭ*. Conj. Skr. *ás-a-ti* 'sit' Lat. (fut.) *er-i-t*.

(2) *-t* Secondary ending. **ēs-t* 'erat': Skr. *ás* Gr. Dor. ἦς; **e-gem-t* 'he went': Skr. *á-gan* Arm. *e-kn*; **e-dhē-t* 'he placed': Skr. *á-dhā-t* Armen. *e-d*. Skr. *á-dadhā-t* Gr. ἐ-τίϑη 'he placed'. Skr. *á-yā-t* Goth. *i-ddja* 'he went'. *s*-Aor. Skr. *á-jāi-ṣ* 'he conquered' for **-ṣ-ṭ*, O.Ir. *for-tē* 'he must help' for **steigh+s+t*, O.C.Sl. *da* 'gave for **dō-s-t*. **bhére-t*: Skr. *bhára-t á-bhara-t*, Gr. φέρε ἔ-φερε, Osc. kúmbened 'convēnit', O.Ir. pres. *-beir* O.C.Sl. *veze* 'vexit'. Conj. of *s*-Aor. Skr. *jé-ṣ-a-t* O.Ir. *tēs tēis*; long-vowel Conj. Skr. *bhár-ā-t*, Arcad.-Cypr. φέρ-η, Osc. *deiva-i-d* 'iuret' heriia-d 'velit', O.Ir. *do-bera*. Opt. Skr. *s-yá-t* Gr. εἴη O.Lat. *sied* O.H.G. *sī wizzi*; Skr. *bhárē-t* Gr. φέροι Goth. *baírái* Lith. *te-sukē* 'turn' O.C.Sl. *beri*.

A combination of *-t* with the particle *u* produced the personal ending *-tu*. Skr. *ás-tu* 'esto' O.C.Sl. (Bulg.) *jestŭ* 'est', Skr. *bhára-tu* 'ferto' O.C.Sl. (Bulg.) *beretŭ* 'fert' (§ 909 p. 458). Cp. *-ntu* in the 3rd pl., § 1017.

(3) *-e* in the Perfect. Skr. *véd-a* Gr. οἶδ-ε Goth. *váit* 'he knows'. Skr. *ja-ghán-a* 'he struck, killed' O.C.Sl. *ro ge-guin* 'vulneravit, trucidavit'.

§ **993.** Aryan.

(1) *-ti*. Skr. *ás-ti* Avest. *asti* O.Pers. *astiy*. Skr. *dádhā-ti* Avest. *dadā-iti*. Skr. *bhára-ti* Avest. *bara-iti*, O.Pers. *tarsa-tiy* 'he fears'.

(2) *-t*. Skr. *á-dhā-t* Avest. *dā-þ* O.Pers. *a-dā*. Skr. *ás* Avest. *ās* 'erat' pr. Ar. **ās-t*. Skr. *á-kar* Avest. *corᵉ-þ* 'made', Avest. *cōiš-t* 'announced' from *ciš-*. Skr. *á-tr̥ṇat* = **a-tr̥ṇat-t* beside pres. *tr̥ṇat-ti* from *tard-* 'to pierce', Avest. *cinas* beside pres. *cinas-ti* 'teaches' (§ 626 p. 162). *s*-Aor. Skr. *á-jāiṣ* 'he conquered' = **a-jāiṣ-ṭ*, *ábhār* 'he brought' = **a-bhār-ṣ-ṭ*. Skr. *á-bhara-t* Avest. *bara-þ* O.Pers. *abara*. Opt. Skr. *han-yá-t* Avest. *janyāþ* O.Pers. *janiyā*, Skr. *bhárē-t* Avest. *barōi-þ*.

For the laws which apply where a word ends in two or more consonants, see I §§ 647 ff. pp. 491 ff. When combined with *-u* (§§ 992. 2) the *-t* is always kept, cp. Skr. *ás-t-u*

Avest. *as-t-u* with Skr. *ás* Avest. *ās*, Skr. *gán-tu* Avest. Gath. *jan-tū* with Skr. *á-gan*, Skr. *pṛṇák-tu* with *á-pṛṇak*, *iṣ*-Aor. *aviṣ-ṭu* (§ 839 p. 376).

(3) *-a* = Idg. *-e* in the Perfect. Skr. *ás-a* Avest. *åŋh-a* from √‿*es-* 'to be'. On Skr. *pa-prā́* *pa-prāú* Avest. *da-đa* see § 852 p. 402 f.

§ **994.** Armenian. *-e* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) The *t* of *-ti* becomes *i̯* after vowels (Hübschmann, Arm. St. I 74, above I § 360 p. 276).[1]) *berē* 'fert' for **bere-i̯* **bere-ti*, *bar̄na-y* 'lifts' for **bar̄na-ti*, *aλay* 'grinds' for **aλa-ti*, *xausi* 'loquitur' for **xausi-i̯ -ti*.

(2) *e-d* 'he placed': Skr. *á-dhā-t*. *e-kn* 'he came': Skr. *á-gan*, Idg. **e-gem-t*.

The *-r* of the 3rd sing. imperf., as *berēr*, is obscure; see § 986 Rem. p. 524.

§ **995.** Greek.

(1) *-ti*. ἔσ-τι, ἄη-σι, Dor. δίδω-τι Att. δίδω-σι.

(2) *-t* dropt off (I § 652. 5 p. 498). Dor. Arcad.-Cypr. ἦς 'erat'. ἐ-τίθη. Injunctive τίθη serves as indic. present in Lesbian, cp. 2nd sing. Att. τίθη-ς. ἔ-φερε. Optative εἴη, φέροι. Conjunctive Arcad.-Cypr. and other dialects φέρη, like Skr. *bhárā-t*.

The explanation of φέρει, which cannot be derived from *φερε-τι, depends on that of the 2nd sing. φέρεις. If φέρεις = *φερε(σ)ι + ς, φέρει has been coined as complementary on the model of φέροι : φέροις, ἔφερε : ἔφερες. But if φέρεις is a form like Skr. *ájāi-ṣ*, which I have preferred as more probable, φέρει must go parallel to Skr. *á-śarāi-t* 'he broke to bits'; then **bherēi̯-t* was the ground-form. In any case it follows that φέρει had the secondary ending. Conj. φέρῃ is an ad-formate of φέρει, as φέρῃς of φέρεις. Compare § 987. 1 p. 524. In Epic dialect -σι spreads from the unthematic indicative to the

1) Not so Bartholomae (Stud. Idg. Spr. II 27 f.), who holds that *t* just simply disappears between vowels.

last named conjunctive form, e. g. ἐθέλῃσι instead of ἐθέλῃ, cp. ἐθέλω-μι § 979. 2 p. 520, ἐθέλῃσθα § 987. 3 p. 525.

(3) *-e* in the Perfect. οἶδ-ε, γέ-γον-ε.

§ **996.** Italic. *e* (Perfect) is wanting.

The endings *-ti* and *-t* are nowhere left unchanged. It is assumed that in all Italic dialects they became *-t* and *-d*: these remain in Oscan; in Umbrian *-t* remains (but the spelling varies, and we sometimes find *-t* and sometimes nothing, just as happens with other final consonants), while *-d* is dropt; in Latin, *-t* became the only ending, although instances of *-d* are found in old inscriptions. But an explanation has yet to be found why the *-i* of *-ti* (as of *-nti* in the 3rd plural) has disappeared without leaving a single trace. Compare I § 655. 7 p. 504.

(1) *-t* representing Idg. *-ti*. Lat. *es-t* Umbr. *est* Osc. est íst. Lat. *agi-t ama-t*. Umbr. tišit 'decet' *trebei-t* 'versatur' habe *habe* 'habet'; Osc. faama-t 'habitat' staí-t 'stat', Marruc. *fere-t* 'fert', Vestin. *dide-t* 'dat'.

(2) *-d* representing Idg. *-t*. Thematic Preterite (§ 867 p. 414 f.): Lat. inscr. *vhevhake-d* 'fecit' *fece-d*; Umbr. řěře Osc. dede-d 'dedit' Osc. kúm-bene-d 'convēnit' aamanaffe-d 'mandavit' (§ 874 p. 422). Optat.: Lat. inscr. *sie-d*; Umbr. si *si -sei* 'sit', Osc. da-di-d 'dedat' Marruc. *-si* 'sit'. Long-vowel Conj. (cp. Skr. *bhárā-t*, O.Ir. *-air-ema* § 997. 2): Umbr. fašia 'faciat' kuraia 'curet' Osc. heriia-d 'velit', Umbr. heriiei 'velit' Osc. *deivai-d* 'iuret' Osc. fusí-d 'foret'; Osc. *tadait* like Skr. *bhárā-ti*, and Lat. *mitat* in the Duenos inscr., beside *sied feced* (unless we should read with Conway, Amer. Journ. Phil. x 452, *mita(n)t*).

In Latin *-t* early becomes the sole ending, *fui-t amā-bat sie-t si-t*, like *-nt* in the 3rd pl. Something may be ascribed to sentence-position, which would sometimes cause a change of *-d* to *-t* (e. g. *fuit tum* for *fuid tum*).

§ **997.** Keltic.

(1) Idg. *-ti*, whose vowel disappeared by I § 657. 1

p. 506 f. O.Ir. *is* 'is' for **es-ti* (I § 516 p. 377). *berid* 'fert' for **bere-ti*. *carᵃid* 'amat' O.Bret. *crihot* 'vibrat' for *-ā-ti*.

(2) Idg. *-t* dropt (I § 657. 9 p. 509). *co-tī* 'donec veniat' for **-t(o)-incs-t* (§ 826 p. 364). *no beir* 'fert' for **bere-t*, *no chara* 'loves' for **carā-t*, *hin-glen* for **-gli-na-t* (cp. absol. *glenaid* 'remains hanging' for **gli-na-ti*). Conj. *tēs tēis* 'eat' for **steiks-e-t*, *-air-ema* 'suscipiat' for **-emā-t*, *ro-chara* 'amet' for **carā-t*.

(3) Idg. *-e*: *ro cechuin* 'cecinit' for **ce-can-e* (I § 657. 1 p. 505 f.

§ 998. Germanic.

(1) *-ti*. Goth. O.H.G. *is-t*. After sonants, liquids and nasals pr. Germ. *-þi* or *-đi* according to the position of the word accent (I § 530 p. 386). Gothic has only *-þ*, which may represent both *-þ(i)* and *-đ(i)* (I § 660. 5 p. 516), e. g. *trudi-þ* 'steps' Class II *B* like Skr. *tudá-ti*, *baíri-þ* 'fert' = Skr. *bhárati*. West Germanic has both forms, O.H.G. using *-t* = pr. Germ. *-đi* always, whilst A.S. has usually *-đ* = pr. Germ. *-þi*; O.H.G. *biri-t hevi-t* and the like (§ 720 p. 251) are regular and *tuo-t* analogical, A.S. *dǣđ điȝe-đ* (loc. cit.) regular and *bire-đ* analogical.

(2) *-t* dropt in all Germanic dialects (I § 659. 6 p. 513). Goth. *i-ddja* 'he went': Skr. *á-yā-t*. Goth. *nasida* O.H.G. *nerita* 'he preserved'. Optative Goth. *baírái* O.H.G. *bere* pr. Germ. **bérai̯-đ*; Goth. *vaúrþi* O.H.G. *wurti* 'he would become' pr. Germ. **u̯urđī-þ*.

(3) *-e*, pr. Germ. *-i* in the Perfect. Goth. *skaí-skáiþ* O.H.G. *sciad* 'he separated': Skr. *ci-chēda*. In Gothic *-i* disappeared by universal rule. O.H.G. *was nam* and the like follow the lead of *bant* etc. (I § 661. 2 p. 517). That the lost vowel had *i*-quality is still indicated, according to W. van Helten (P.-B. Beitr. XIV 282 f.), in the *ē* of words like O.Fris. *wēt* 'he knows' = Goth. *váit*, which is due to mutation.

§ 999. Balto-Slavonic. *-e* (Perfect) is wanting.

(1) *-ti* in Baltic occurs only with a few unthematic stems;

in Old Russian both with these and with the thematic. Lith. *ẽs-ti ẽst* Pruss. *ast* (*astits* = *asti tas* 'est hic') O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jes-tĭ* 'is'. Lith. *eĩ-ti eĩt* Lett. *i-t* 'goes' Pruss. *ēit*. Lith. *dů́sti* reflex. *dů́sti-s* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dastĭ* 'dat'. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *bere-tĭ*: Skr. *bhára-ti*.

(2) *-t* dropt in both branches (I § 663. 3 p. 521). O.C.Sl. aor. *veze*: Skr. *váha-t*, *s*-aorist *-ě* 'ate' for **ēts-t* (1st sing. *-ěsŭ*). Lith. injunctive used for indic. pres. and preterite: *sãko* 'says' *bùvo* 'was', *tùri* has'. Optative Lith. *te-vežẽ* O.C.Sl. *vezi*: Skr. *váhē-t*. Another example is Lith. *vẽža* 'vehit' for **veža-t*. The *a* of this form, and of the 2nd pl. *vẽža-te* and the 2nd dual *vẽža-ta*, came in from the 1st pl. *vẽža-me* and displaced *e*; this levelling was helped by present stems which had *i* all through, and those which had *o* in the plural, dual, and 3rd singular (*tùri-me* etc., *sãko-me* etc.); cp. O.H.G. Alemann. 2nd pl. *bera-t*, § 1015.

In Baltic the 3rd singular of all verbs served also for 3rd plural and 3rd dual. According to J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxv 595), the form *yrà* 'est' (from the √ of Skr. *ī́r-tē*, § 497 p. 57) was originally a substantive used predicatively ('existentia'), which did for all numbers; when this idiom became familiar, the 3rd singular of real verbs got to be used for all numbers alike. To my mind it seems likelier that the idiom is derived from that idiom of proethnic speech which allowed a neuter plural or dual subject to have a verb in the singular (cp. Homer's δοῦρα σέσηπε and ὄσσε δεδήει): this rule held in proethnic Baltic, and led by and by to using of the masculine or feminine plural in the same way.

In Lithuanian and Prussian, another ending besides these is found, namely *-ai*. Present Lith. *pa-vystai* 'withers' = *pa-výst(a)* and conjunctive (see § 909. 3 *a* p. 457) *te-lystai* 'let him grow haggard' = *te-lýst(a)*, Pruss. *swintinai* 'he sanctifies' = *swintina* (also *-ei -e* instead of *-ai*) *turrei* 'has' = *turri*. *s*-Future Lith. *su-gausai* 'he will or must get' = *su-gaũs*, *turésai* 'he will or must have', in Prussian always used as conjunctive, as *boūsai* 'be he' *dāsai* 'let him give' (also *-ei* or

-e instead of *-ai*). All these forms with *-ai* can be used for the plural. I regard *-ai* as something originally independent which has attacht itself to the verb, the same which appears in the nom. sing. *tasaĩ* as compared with *tàs* (III § 414 p. 336). Perhaps, however, it was not *-ai* but *-sai* (see *loc. cit.*).[1]) In this case we must assume that it was first added to the future, which seems to have ended with *-s* = *-s-t* in proethnic Baltic (injunctive of the *s*-aorist), cp. § 828 p. 365 f.; and after the double *s* was thinned (**būs-sai* becoming **būsai*), *-ai* was mentally abstracted and then added to the present.

In Old Bulgarian we find instead of *-tĭ* the ending *-tŭ* i. e. *-t* + particle *u* (§ 909 p. 457), e. g. O.Bulg. *jestŭ beretŭ*, cp. 3rd pl. *sątŭ berątŭ*. Perhaps proethnic Slavonic had *jestĭ* and *beret(ŭ)* corresponding to Lith. *ẽsti* and *vẽža*, and levelling took different directions in the dialects.

In Old Bulgarian *-tŭ* spread from the present to the aorist, and thus we have *pri-ję̨tŭ* instead of *-ję*; these aorist forms then came to be used for the 2nd singular. See § 830 p. 367.

1ST PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1000. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. The different languages show a vast number of endings, the original distribution of which can only be partly made out. Judging from Sanskrit, with its primary *-masi -mas*, and secondary and perfect *-ma*; from Old Irish, with *-mi -me* in absolute flexion, *-m* in conjunct; and from Old High German, whose *-mēs* properly belonged to the indic. present (with *-m* in indic. preterite and the optative), we should regard the forms with a characteristic *s* as being the primary of proethnic speech. Whether the vocalic suffixes and those ending in a nasal

1) This *-sai* may be identified with the Goth. *sái* O.H.G. *sē*, which Osthoff connects with Skr. *séd* = *sá id* 'that same' (P.-B. Beitr. VIII 311).

(such as Lith. *-me* and Gr. *-μεν*) represent Idg. secondary and perfect suffixes respectively, is not clear.

(1) Primary Forms.

(*a*) *-mēs -mos.* Perhaps originally *-més* e. g. **i-més* 'imus', but *⏑́ -mos* e. g. **bhéro-mos* 'ferimus', cp. III § 228 p. 111 f. on the endings of the gen.-abl. sing. *-es* and *-os.* Skr. *i-más bhárā-mas*, Gr. Dor. *ἴ-μες φέρο-μες*, Lat. *ī-mus feri-mus*, O.H.G. *tuo-mēs bera-mēs.* Perhaps we should add O.Ir. *do-bera-m* (for **-mos*), Czech *js-me nese-me* (for **-mes*) Serv. *jes-mo plete-mo* (for **-mos*).

(*b*) *-mesi -mosi*, possibly for *-mes -mos* extended on the analogy of the other primary endings in *-i.* Skr. Ved. *s-mási bhárā-masi.* O.Ir. *ammi* 'sumus' for **esmesi* or **s-es-mesi*, *berme* for **beromi *beromesi*; but phonetic law would permit us to assume for this language **-mēsi* (cp. above O.H.G. *-mēs*).

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms.

(*a*) *-mē̆ -mō̆.* Skr. *á-bharā-ma bhárē-ma* perf. *vid-má*; Ved. also *-mā.* Osc. manafu-m comes in too, if it is 1st pl. ('mandavimus'), see § 874 p. 422. Goth. *vitum* O.H.G. *wiʒʒum*, opt. Goth. *bairái-ma vitei-ma* (for **-mē* or **-mō*). Lith. reflex. *sùko-mė-s*, with variant *sùko-me.* Perhaps also O.Ir. *do-bera-m* (for **-mo*), Czech *js-me nese-me* Serv. *jes-mo plete-mo.*

(*b*) *-mem -mom* or *-men -mon.*[1]) Gr. *ἐ-φέρο-μεν φέρο-μεν ἴδ-μεν*, O.C.Sl. aor. *neso-mŭ.* Perhaps also O.Ir. *do-bera-m* (for **-mom *-mon*); but there is no trace of a final nasal. O.C.Sl. *neso-my* may be derived from *-mōm -mōn.*

§ **1001.** It is a difficult question how far the *-m-* of our ending, and likewise that of the middle ending Skr. *-mahē* Gr. *-μεθα*, had a sonant pronunciation (*-m̥m-*) in the parent language.

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1) *-mem -mom* appear to deserve the preference to judge from Skr. *-tam* beside Lith. *-ta* O.C.Sl. *-ta* in the 2nd dual (§ 1031), and Skr. *-tām* beside O.C.Sl. *-te -ta* in the 3rd dual (§§ 1038 and 1040).

The following are cited from Avestic by Bartholomae (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 273 ff.): 1st pl. aor. *jim-ama* from √*gem-* 'go', 1st pl. pres. *hišc-amaidē* beside 3rd sing. act. *hi-šax-ti* (§ 540 p. 101), opt. *jam-y-ama* (§ 941 p. 486). For the Perf. examples are Avest. *-ama* in *daidy-ama*, Gr. *-αμεν* Goth. *-um* Lat. *-imus* O.Ir. *-ammar*, see § 844 p. 386. Lastly, for the Sigmatic aorist, Gr. *-σαμεν -σαμεθα* Lat. *-simus*, see § 820 p. 356, § 823 p. 361.

§ **1002.** Aryan.

(1) Primary *-mas* and *-masi.* Both are kept in Sanskrit, but in Iranian only the latter is found. Skr. *s-más s-mási* Avest. *mahi* O.Pers. *a-mahy* 'sumus'. Skr. *bhárā-mas -masi* Avest. *barā-mahi* O.Pers. *þahyā-mahy* ('dicimur').

(2) Secondary and Perfect *-ma*, whose Vedic variant *-mā* may be compared with Goth. *-ma* Lith. *-mė(-s).* Skr. *á-dhā-ma* Avest. Gath. *dā-mā* from √*dhē-* 'to place', Skr. *á-kar-ma* O.Pers. *a-kū-mā* from √*qer-* 'make'; Avest. *jim-ama* (§ 1001). Opt. Skr. *syā́-ma* Avest. *x'yā-ma jam-y-ama* (§ 1001), Skr. *bhárē-ma* Avest. *baraę-ma.* Further, the Aryan conjunctive always has *-ma*, by which the ind. and conj. pres. of thematic stems were distinguisht): Skr. *bhárā-ma* Avest. *barā-ma.* Perfect *śu-śru-má su-sru-ma* from √*k̑leu̯-* 'hear'; Avest. *daidy-ama* (§ 1001).

As in other languages, so in Sanskrit, the difference of primary and secondary endings was not strictly kept in the later language; thus we have in the Mahā-Bhārata imperf. *a-paśyāmas* 'we saw' and pres. *paśyāma* 'we see', and similarly 1st dual *syāvas* instead of *syāva* 'we both would be'.

§ **1003.** Armenian. The ending of the indic. present suffix *-mk̑* is not clear; examples are *ta-mk̑* 'damus' *bere-mk̑* 'ferimus'; Bugge (Beitr. zur etym. Erl. der arm. Spr., Christiania 1889, p. 44) derives *-mk̑* from *-mes+v* (the particle *u*), cp. III § 313 p. 212 on the case-suffix *-k̑* in *dsterk̑ mek̑* etc. Still more obscure is the *-k̑* of other tenses, as of aor. *tuak̑* 'they gave'.

Remark. In explaining the endings of the 1st and 2nd plural (§ 1011) we must not forget the possibility of a personal pronoun being affixt, cp. Mod.Cymr. 1st pl. *carwn* Alban. 1st pl. *jena* § 1006. 2, O.Ir. 2nd pl. *adib* (§ 506 p. 72 f.). In considering the *-ịk̑* of the 2nd plural, where *ị* seems to come from *t* for *-te*, we must also remember that the 2nd pl. may have imitated the ending of the 1st plural, cp. O.Ir. *berthi* Lith. *sùkatė-s* §§ 1014, 1016. Compare Hübschmann, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIII 12.

§ **1004.** Greek. In Doric, *-μες* (primary) becomes universal. E. g. *φέρο-μες ἴω-μες ἐ-στάσαμες ἀπ-εστάλκαμες*. Elsewhere *-μεν* (secondary), as *φέρο-μεν* etc.

§ **1005.** Italic. Latin has always *-mus* for **-mos* (primary), as *ī-mus agi-mus sī-mus momordimus*. Examples of this person in the other Italic dialects are wanting, unless indeed Osc. manafum is 1st plural (see § 1000. 2 *a* p. 535).

§ **1006.** Keltic.

(1) Primary. O.Ir. *-mi* for **-mesi* (or *-mēsi*): *ammi* 'sumus' for **esmesi* or **s-esmesi* (§ 506 p. 72 f.), *guidmi* 'we beg' (1st sing. *-guidiu*). *-mi* became *-me* when the preceding syllable had no palatal vowel (1st and 2nd conjugations); thus *berme* for **bero-mi *bero-mesi*, *carme* for **carā-mi *carā-mesi*. Then comes confusion of various kinds; *guidme* beside *guidmi*, and *tiagmi* beside *tiagme*.

(2) Secondary. O.Ir. *-m* for **-mo* or **-mos*, hardly for **-mom *-mon* (§ 1000. 1. *a*, 2. *a* and *b*., p. 535). Indic. pres. *do-beram*, *no charam*, *do-lēcem*, and so in the *ā*-conjunctive, *-beram -caram*.

The primary ending *-mi*, as the frequent spelling *-mmi -mme* shows, had a hard, not a spirant *m*. This was irregular in forms with orig. vowel before the personal ending, and is due to the analogy of *ammi*, where *mm* = *sm*.[1]) But Cymric shows *-wn* in the pres. indicative, as *carwn* ('we will love'),

1) On the same principle, we find in Pali *dadamha* following *amha* for *asma* 'sumus', Prakrit *ciṭṭhamha -mho* following *amha -mho*; and in Prakrit there is a 1st sing. *gacchamhi* instead of *gacchāmi*. As regards the 1st plural something may be put down to the influence of the *s*-aorist ending (Skr. *-s-ma*), cp. Pali *apacamhā* beside *apacimhā* (E. Kuhn, Beitr. zur Pāli-Gramm., 109; Torp, Die Flexion des Pāli, 47).

i. e. *-wf* + the personal pronoun *n-*,[1]) and therefore had the regular spirant *m*; however, *ym* 'sumus' has hard *m*, for *sm*.

Of the secondary ending *-m* the reverse is true. *-m* in O.Ir. *do-beram* and the like is never written *-mm*, and therefore was spirant. Cymric however has *-m*, not *-f*, except in the indic. present; as conj. *carom*. As regards this Cymric *-m* Thurneysen writes: "It is possible that other forms with *-sm-* (*s*-aorist and injunctive) may have had something to do with the matter. There are many traces of *s*-forms in British dialects, which have not yet been properly explained".

§ **1007.** Germanic.

(1) O.H.G. *-mēs* = Idg. **-mēs* must, as the breathed *-s* shews, have originally belonged to the pr. Germ. unthematic present stems (cp. *gā-mēs*). It very soon spread to the hortative Injunctive, as *bera-mēs* (with variant *bera-m* like Goth. *baíra-m*, see § 909 p. 458), and then to the Indic. preterite, *bārumēs*, and then to the Optative, *bārīmēs*. Compare Braune, Ahd. Gramm.[2] pp. 223 f., and the works there cited.

(2) Goth. *-m* = Idg. *-me* or *-mo* in *vitum bērum baíra-m*. Goth. *-ma* = Idg. *-mē* or *-mō* in the optative: *baírái-ma bērei-ma*. The West-Germ. *-m*, O.H.G. *wiȥȥum bārum bera-m berē-m bārī-m*, may be equivalent either to *-m* or to *-ma* in Gothic (I § 661. 2 pp. 517 ff.).

§ **1008.** Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *-mė* = Idg. *-mē* (§ 1002. 2. *a*) before the reflexive *-si* and *-s* : *sùko-mė-s sùka-mė-s*. The *-me* of *sùko-me sùka-me ei-mè* 'eamus' *eĩ-me* 'imus' may come from *-mė* by I § 664. 3. p. 523. Perhaps however Idg. **-me* and **-mē* have run together into *-me*. The suffixes *-ma -mo-s* found in a few instances as variants of *-me* and *-mė-s* (Bezzenberger, in his Beiträge, II 268), and Lett. *ei-ma* 'we go' and 'let us go', are a re-formation in agreement with the dual *-va -vo-s* (§ 1030);

1) The personal pronoun is added in this way in the Albanian dialect of Škodra; e. g. *jena* 'sumus' instead of *jemi*. See G. Meyer, M. Hertz zum 70. Geburtstag, 1888, p. 89.

so too in the 2nd plural there is contamination with dual forms (§ 1016). Lett. *-mi(-s)* is to be connected with Pruss. *-mai* (*as-mai* 'we are' *turri-mai* 'we owe, should'), as also 2nd pl. *-ti(-s)* with Pruss. *-tai -tei -ti* (*as-tai es-tei as-ti* 'ye are' *druwē-tai* 'ye believe' *turri-ti* 'ye should'): the diphthong comes from the 1st and 2nd singular (§ 983 p. 522, § 991 p. 528).

The following endings may be regarded as proethnic Slavonic.

(1) *-me* = Idg. *-mes* or *-me*. Mod.Bulg. *sme* 'sumus' aor. *nesoh-me*. Little-Russ. dial. (in the Carpathians) *vydy-me*. Czech *js-me* 'sumus' *jíme* 'edimus' *nese-me* opt. *nesme*.

(2) *-mo* = Idg. *-mos* or *-mo*. Little-Russ. with the ind. present in *-mi*, *jeś-mo jimo*. Serv. and Mod.Sloven. also in other stems: Serv. *jes-mo ijemo* Mod.Slov. *s-mo jēmo*, Serv. and Mod.Slov. *plete-mo* opt. *pleti-mo*.

(3) *-mŭ* = Idg. *-mom* or *-mon*. In O.C.Sl. this is the usual ending: *jes-mŭ damŭ nese-mŭ* aor. *neso-mŭ* opt. *nesě-mŭ dadi-mŭ*. So in Great-Russ.: *nese-m dadi-m* 'damus'; Little-Russ. *nese-m* opt. *neśi-m*; Pol. *niesie-m* (see below); Czech aor. *nesecho-m* imperf. *nesjécho-m*.

(4) *-my* either from *-mōm* or *-mōn* (I § 92 p. 86 f.), or else modelled after *my* 'we' (cp. 1st dual *-vě*, as *jes-vě*, with *vě* 'we both', § 1030). O.Bulg. e. g. *věmy* beside *věmŭ*, *vidi-my* beside *vidi-mŭ*. Pol. *wiemy*, *niesiemy* beside *niesie-m*. East-Sorb. and Mod.Sorb. *věmy*.

It is uncertain how these endings were distributed in proethnic Slavonic. As regards *-mo* it should be observed that the accents justify an inference that it at first belonged, as it still does in Little-Russian, only to the indic. Present of verbs in *-mi*, and that it is only their analogy which produced Serv. *plete-mo* etc. The forms we find in modern dialects have been often affected by the fact that *-mŭ* ran into one with the *-mĭ* of the 1st singular; hence in Polish while *niesiem* exists beside *niesiemy* (1st sing. *niosę*), we have only *wiemy* (1st sing. *wiem*) and *działamy* (1st sing. *działam*).

Thematic. O.C.Sl. pres. *nese-mŭ nese-vě* as against aor. *neso-mŭ neso-vě*. The former follow the analogy of *i̯o*-stems such as *znaje-mŭ -vě*, where *e* is regular for *o* (I § 84 p. 80). In the aorist *o* remains, because there were no *i̯o*-stems in the aorist.

2ND PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1009. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. Only in Aryan do we see a pair of endings, one primary and the other secondary, Skr. *-tha* and *-ta* (cp. 2nd dual *-thas* and *-tam*). All the forms of European languages can be derived from the single one Idg. *-te*. Still it must be admitted that much darkness still hangs over the tenues aspiratae in European languages (cp. I § 553 pp. 405 ff., II § 81 Rem. 2 p. 243, Bartholomae Stud. Idg. Spr. I 44).

Again Aryan, and Aryan alone, shows a special perfect ending, *-a*, which may be related to the Gr. *-τε* as Skr. *-ē* to Gr. *-ται* in the 3rd sing. perf. middle, and may possibly be identical with the *a* of the Sanskrit endings 2nd dual *-á-thur* 3rd dual *-á-tur* (§ 1038).

(1) Primary Skr. *-tha* Gr. *-τε* etc. Skr. *s-thá* Gr. *ἐσ-τέ* Lith. *ẽs-te* O.C.Sl. *jes-te*. Skr. *bhára-tha* Gr. *φέρε-τε* O.Ir. *do--beri-d* Goth. *baíri-þ* Lith. *vẽža-te* O.C.Sl. *bere-te*.

(2) Secondary Skr. *-ta* Gr. *-τε* etc. Pret. Skr. *á-vida-ta* Gr. *ϝίδε-τε* O.C.Sl. (aor.) *nese-te*. Hortative Injunct. Skr. *bhára-ta* Gr. *φέρε-τε* Lat. *agi-te* O.Ir. *beri-d* Goth. *baíri-þ*. *s*-Aor. Skr. *á-dhā-s-ta* Gr. *ἐ-δείξα-τε* Lith. (injunct. as fut.) *dě-s-te* O.C.Sl. *dě-s-te*. Opt. Skr. *bhárē-ta* Gr. *φέροι-τε* Goth. *baírái-þ* O.C.Sl. *berě-te*.

(3) Perfect Skr. *-a* Gr. *-τε* etc. Skr. *vid-á* Gr. *ἴσ-τε* O.Ir. *gegnaid* Goth. *vitu-þ*.

§ 1010. Aryan.

(1) Primary ending pr. Ar. *-tha*. Skr. *bhára-tha* Avest. *bara-þa*. Skr. *s-thá* Avest. Gath. *s-tā* (cp. *vōistā* = Skr. *véttha* I § 475 p. 351).

(2) Secondary ending pr. Ar. *-ta*. Skr. *á-bhara-ta* Avest. *bara-ta*. Opt. Skr. *bhárē-ta* Avest. *baraę-ta*.

In Vedic we also meet with *-thana* and *-tana*, the latter very common with hortative forms: e. g. *s-thána váda-thana i-tana punī-tána*. *-na* is a particle, which, if my conjecture be right, is contained in other forms, namely 2nd sing. imper. Avest. *baranā* and Skr. *gṛhāṇá* (§ 600 p. 143), and which may be akin to the *-ni* of the Aryan 1st sing. conj. in *-āni* (§ 977. 3 p. 518).

(3) Pr. Ar. *-a* in the Perfect. Skr. *ca-kr-á* (3rd sing. *ca-kár-a* 'he made'), Avest. *haƨhān-a* from *han-* 'to present, earn' (§ 852 p. 402).

§ **1011.** Armenian. All tenses and moods have *-k̄* final; e. g. *berēk̄* 'fertis' for **bere-i̯k̄*, *aλaik̄* 'molitis', aor. *edik̄* 'ye placed'. The *i̯* of *-i̯k̄* appears to be the same as *t* in *-te*; for further discussion refer to the Remark to § 1003, on page 536.

§ **1012.** Greek. Always *-τε*: *ἔσ-τὲ φέρε-τε φέροι-τε ἴστε τετρόφα-τε*.

Remark. The *-θε* of the Perfect forms Hom. ind. *πέποσθε* (Aristarchus *πέπασθε*) imper. *ἐγρήγορθε ἄνωχθε* is not the Skr. *-tha*, but a middle ending.

§ **1013.** Italic. In Latin *-te* only in the hortative Injunctive (Imper.): *fer-te agi-te.*

Elsewhere *-tis*: *es-tis agi-tis agā-tis sī-tis vīdis-tis.* That the relation of *agite* to *age* produced *agitis* beside *agis* (Osthoff, Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn., 1880, p. 70), is less probable than that *-tis* (earlier **-tes*) is really a dual ending (Skr. *-thas* Goth. *-ts*). Outside the imperative the forms with *-te*, which often elided their vowel, became too much like those of the 3rd singular; and so by the time that dual and plural had got confused and the feeling for the special dual sense of the endings in question was dulled, *-tis* was preferred to *-te* because it was clearer. Of course the relation of *agite* to *age* may have made it easier to use *agitis* as a plural of *agis*. In Lettic also, where as in Latin the dual number was discarded, the 2nd dual *ei-ta* remained in use as a plural form: 'ye go' and imper. 'go ye'. Compare further under § 967 p. 509, § 1034 on Umbr. *futu-to* 'estote', and § 1015 on O.H.G. *beret* 'fertis'.

On Pelign. *lexe*, which is apparently 2nd plural, see Thurneysen Rhein. Mus. XLIII 352.

§ **1014.** Keltic. Ir. *-d* for *-te* in conjunct inflexion: *do-berid* 'datis', conj. of *s*-aorist *for-tēsid* 'succurratis, succurretis'. So in the imperative: *berid* 'ferte'.

The absolute forms have *-thi* for their ending (*-the* for *-thi* in the 2nd conjugation, as in 1st pl. *-me* for *-mi*, see § 1006 p. 537); e. g. *ber-thi* for **berethi*, *lēcthi* for **lēcī-thi*, *carthe* for **carā-thi*; by levelling, *berthe* (with a glance at *berme* too) *lēcthe*. This ending *-thi* is an imitation of *-mi*, as in Lithuanian *sùka-tė-s* imitates *sùka-mė-s* (§ 1016).[1] On *adib* 'estis', see § 506 p. 72 f.

§ **1015.** As far as the Germanic sound-laws go, either *-the* or *-te* may be taken as the form to start from. The consonant fared precisely like that of the 3rd sing. ending *-ti*, see § 998. 1 p. 532. Goth. indic. pres. *baíri-þ* perf. *bēru-þ* opt. *baírái-þ bērei-þ* like the 3rd sing. pres. *baíri-þ*. O.H.G. *ga-sihi-t* 'ye behold' (Monsee or Mondsee "Fragments", see Braune Ahd. Gr.[2] p. 1) perf. *bāru-t* opt. *berē-t bārī-t* like 3rd sing. pres. *biri-t*.

In the indic. present O.H.G. originally had *-i-* for its thematic vowel; and this remains in *ga-sihit* and a few other forms from the authority just cited. Alemannic *bera-t* with *-a-* following the 1st and 3rd plural (cp. Lith. *vēža-te* § 999. 2 p. 533), which served to distinguish 2nd plural from 3rd singular.

The commonest in O.H.G. is the form *beret*. With Kögel (P.-B. Beitr. VIII 138) we may regard this as a dual form, either **bhere-thos* (Skr. *bhára-thas* Goth. *baíra-ts*), or **bhere-tom* (Gr. *φέρε-τον*), or **bhere-tā* (O.C.Sl. *bere-ta*); cp. §§ 1031 ff.

§ **1016.** Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *-te* and *-t*, as *ẽs-te vẽža-te* (on *-a-* instead of *-e-*, see § 999. 2 p. 533) pret. *vẽžė-te*. The ending *-tė-s* in the reflexive

1) Just in the same way **faiz *diz* became *faites dites* in Old French by analogy of *faimes* and *dimes* (Neumann, Zeitschr. für rom. Phil., XIV 581, 584).

follows *-mė-s* beside *-me* in the 1st pl. (cp. § 1014). The endings *-to-s*, sometimes found in place of *-tė-s*, and *-ta* in Lett. *ei-ta* 'ye go' or 'go ye', are dual; just as *-ma* and *-mo-s* in the 1st plural of Lith., which sometimes take the place of *-me* and *-mė-s*, and in Lett. *ei-ma*, have the dual vowel (§ 1008 p. 538 f.). On Lett. *-tī-s* and Pruss. *-tai -tei -ti*, see the same place.

Slavonic: *-te*: *jes-te nese-te* aor. *nese-te dě-s-te* opt. *nesě-te*.

3RD PERSON PLURAL.

§ 1017. Proethnic Indo-Germanic. We here deal with the *nt*-suffix only. On Skr. perf. *vid-úr* and like forms see §§ 1076 f. and 1079.

(1) After Consonants *-énti -ént* and *-n̥ti -n̥t*, which appear to be related in the same way as *-és* and *-s* of the genitive singular. Compare footnote to page 50.

(*a*) *-énti* and *-ént*.

Primary *-énti*. **s-énti* 'are': Skr. *s-ánti* (Armen. *en*, cp. § 1019), Gr. Dor. ἐντὶ Att. εἰσί, Umbr. *s-ent* Osc. s-et *s-et*, O.Ir. *it* O.Cymr. *int*, Goth. *s-ind*. **d-énti* 'they eat' √ *ed-*: Skr. *ad-anti* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jad-ętĭ*. **mr̥-n-énti* beside 3rd sing. **mr̥-nā́-ti* 'crushes, grinds to dust' (§ 598 p. 141): Skr. *mr̥-ṇ-ánti*. **r̥-nu̯-énti* beside 3rd sing. **r̥-néu̯-ti* 'excites' (§§ 638 f. pp. 176 f.): Skr. *r̥-ṇv-ánti*.

Secondary *-ént*. **s-ént*: Skr. *s-án ā́s-an* (cp. *gm-án á-gm-an*), with the particle *u*, *s-ánt-u*, Gr. Dor. ἦν for **ἠ(σ)-εν*, O.Bulg. *jad-ę-tŭ* with the particle *u* (but cp. § 1026). Skr. *á-śr̥-ṇ-an*, *á-su-nv-an*. Opt. **s-(i)i̯-ént* 'may they be': Gr. εἶ-εν O.Lat. *si-ent*; of the same kind, apparently, is Skr. *duh-īy-án*, see § 941 p. 486, § 951 p. 493.

(*b*) *-n̥ti* and *-n̥t*.

Primary *-n̥ti*. **dé-d-n̥ti* from √ *dō-* 'give': Skr. *dád-ati* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dad-ętĭ*. In Greek *-ᾰσι* for the Perfect, as λε-λόγχ-ᾰσι.

Secondary *-n̥t*. The type **dé-d-n̥t* is preserved in Aryan only as embodied along with the particle *u* in the Skr. *dá-d-at-u*.

In other cases **-at* in Sanskrit is replaced by *-ur* (*á-da-d-ur*), in Avestic by *-an* (*da-d-en*). Another form which comes in place here is the O.Bulg. *dad-ęt-ŭ* 'dant' (but cp. § 1026), and another is O.Sax. *ded-un* 'they did' from √ *dhē-*, if it be a reduplicated imperfect (§ 545 p. 103, § 886 p. 433, § 1025). Then again some forms of the thematic aorist appear to have had *-n̥t* originally, as we are led to believe by Skr. part. nom. sing. *dhákṣat*;[1]) and so perhaps O.C.Sl. *-s-ę*, as *dašę*, belongs to the same group, and O.H.G. *wissun* if it is rightly compared with Gr. *ἴσαν* (§ 827 p. 365, § 907 p. 455). Lastly, our suffix should be claimed for the *oi̯*-optative : **bhéroi̯-n̥t*, instead of which we have in Skr. *bhárēy-ur* Avest. *baray-en* Gr. *φέροι-εν* Goth. *baírái-na*.

(2) After Sonants, *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. **u̯ē-nti* 'they blow': Skr. *vā́nti* Gr. *ἄεισι*; Armen. *aλa-n* 'they grind', Lat. *ple-nt ama-nt*, O.Ir. *carit* they love', Goth. *salbō-nd*, O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *imątĭ* 'they have'. Long-vowel Conjunctive: Avest. *patā̊-nti* Gr. Dor. *φέρω-ντι* Att. *φέρωσι*. **bhero-nti* 'ferunt': Skr. *bhára-nti* Armen. *bere-n* Gr. Dor. *φέρο-ντι* Lat. *feru-nt* O.Ir. *berit* Goth. *baíra-nd* O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *berątĭ*.

Secondary *-nt*. Gr. *ἔ-μιγε-ν ἔγνο-ν*, O.Bulg. *imąt-ŭ* 'they have' (with the particle *u*). Long-vowel Conj.: Skr. *bhárā-n*, Osc. *deica-ns* 'dicant'. **bhéro-nt*: Skr. *bhára-n á-bhara-n*, Gr. *φέρο-ν ἔφερο-ν*, O.C.Sl. *bą* for **bhu̯o-nt* (§ 525 p. 88) aor. *nesą*.

§ **1018.** Aryan.

(1) After Consonants Idg. *-énti -ént* and *-n̥ti -n̥t*.

(*a*) *-énti* and *-ént*.

Primary *-énti* = pr. Ar. *-ánti*. Skr. *s-ánti* Avest. *h-enti* O.Pers. *h-atiy*. Skr. *y-ánti* Avest. *y-ęinti*. Skr. *gr̥bh-n-ánti* Avest. *gerᵉw-n-enti*. Skr. *yuñj-ánti* Avest. *merᵉnc-inti* (I § 94 p. 89). Skr. *kr̥-ṇv-ánti* Avest. *kerᵉ-nv-anti*.

Secondary *-ént* = pr. Ar. *-ánt*. Skr. *s-án ás-an* Avest. *h-en* O.Pers. *ah-a*, Skr. *áy-an* O.Pers. *ay-a*. Aor. Skr. *gm-án*

1) For the 3rd plural of the *s*-Aorist with vowel gradation (§ 811 p. 348 f.), it is necessary to assume the ending **-s-ént*.

á-gm-an Avest. *gᵉm-en*; with *ā*-stems of our Classes I and X Sanskrit adopted the ending *-ur*, as *á-sth-ur á-g-ur* from *sthā-* and *gā-*; but in Vedic there remain a few examples of *-an*, as *vy-āsthan* (Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachg. I 32 ff., II 64 ff.). Skr. *á-śr̥-ṇ-an á-yuñj-an á-kr̥-ṇv-an*. An Optative form of this kind is apparently Skr. *duhīy-án*; otherwise we have Skr. *s-y-úr* and Avest. *h-yąn* = **s-yā-nt*, no. (2).

(*b*) *-n̥ti* and *-n̥t*.

Primary *-n̥ti* = pr. Ar. *-ati*. Skr. *dá-dh-ati* Avest. Gath. *da-d-aitī*, Skr. *sa-śc-ati bí-bhr-ati dávi-dyut-ati*. Cp. part. nom. pl. *dá-dh-at-as* II § 126 p. 400. In the Avesta, *-ati* is usually exchanged for *-anti*, which showed the plural mark more clearly, as *da-þ-enti* (similarly in the part. *da-d-ant-* instead of **da-d-at-*); cp. mid. *-antę* instead of *-aitę* § 1067. 1.

Secondary *-n̥t* = pr. Ar. *-at*, which remains in *-at-u* as Skr. *dá-d-atu* 'danto', and also seems to be represented in its unextended shape by four Avestic examples from the Gathas, viz. *da-d-aþ za-z-aþ jī-gerᵉz-aþ daidy-aþ* (Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 280 ff., 291 f.), but elsewhere it is lost. It should be remembered that whilst *-ati* corresponds to *-anti* and *-nti*, *-at* stood in sharp contrast to *-an* and *-n*; and therefore *-at* did not suit the general types of 3rd pl. in the Aryan verb. In Sanskrit this is replaced by *-ur*, as *á-da-dh-ur á-bi-bhar-ur*,[1]) *s*-aorist *á-mats-ur á-tāriṣ-ur á-yāsiṣ-ur* (cp. § 1017. 1. *b*), opt. *bhárēy-ur*. But in Avestic we have *-an*, in the same way as we have *-anti* instead of *-ati*: *da-þ-en* (cp. *da-þ-enti*) opt. *baray-en*.

(2) After Sonants, Idg. *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. Skr. *vá-nti* Avest. *vå-nti*. Skr. *bhára-nti* Avest. *bara-inti* O.Pers. *baratiy*, Skr. *bhāráya-nti* Avest. *bārayę-inti*. The long-vowel Conjunctive in Avestic has *-nti* and *-n*, as *patå-nti* and *patąn*, but only *-n* in Sanskrit — *pátā-n*.

Secondary *-nt*. This form retains its *-t* before the particle

1) Ved. *abibhran* I regard as *a-bi-bhr-a-n*, i. e. as a thematic form (§ 539 p. 99).

u: Skr. *bhára-ntu* Avest. *bara-ntu* 'ferunto' (§ 909 p. 458). Elsewhere *-n*. Skr. *á-bhara-n* Avest. *bare-n* O.Pers. *a-bara*. The short-vowel conjunctive always has this ending: Skr. *ás-a-n* Avest. *aŋhen*. In place of **a-gā-n* (= Gr. ἔ-βᾱ-ν, beside 3rd sing. *á-gā-t* ἔ-βη) Sanskrit has *á-g-ur*, and similarly *á-y-ur* instead of **a-yā-n* (3rd sing. *á-yā-t*), answering to the form *á-dh-ur* = Avest. Gath. *d-arǝ̄*. But Avest. *dąn* beside *d-arǝ̄* makes us infer such forms as **gąn* = βά-ν (Idg. **gā-nt*) — *dąn* : *dā-ma* following **gąn* : *gā-ma* — as in the optative, beside 1st pl. Gath. *x́-yā-mā* was coined 3rd pl. *x́-yē-n* = late Avestic *h-yąn* (compare with this *h-yā-rǝ*, also with strong form of optative suffix).

As regards the 3rd pl. with *-r* (Skr. *-ur* Avest. *-arǝ* *-arǝš*), see §§ 1076 f.

§ **1019.** Armenian. The 3rd plural has *-n* always; this seems to represent a coincidence of *-nti* and *-nt*.

aλa-n 'they grind' for **aλa-nti*: cp. Lat. *juva-nt*. *en* 'sunt' for **s-enti*, but this must have been influenced by other forms of the paradigm (*em es* etc.), for by I § 63 p. 50 **in* was to be expected (cp. Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxII 71). *beren* 'ferunt' follows *en* like 1st sing. *berem* : *em* § 978. 1 p. 519.

etūn 'they gave', *edin* 'they placed', cp. Avest. *dą* § 1018. 2 above. But why not **etn* **edn* by I § 651. 1 p. 497?

§ **1020.** Greek.

(1) After Consonants Idg. *-énti -ént* and *-n̥ti -n̥t*.

(*a*) *-énti* and *-ént*.

Primary *-énti*. Dor. ἐντί Att. εἰσί instead of *ἑντι = Idg. **s-énti* with smooth breathing following εἰμί etc.[1])

Secondary *-ént*. Doric and other dialects ἦν 'erant' for *ἦ(σ)-εν: Skr. *s-án ás-an*; cp. § 502 p. 65 on the 3rd sing. ἦεν ἦν. *iē*-Optative εἶ-εν εἰδεῖ-εν τιθεῖ-εν; O.Lat. *si-ent*; on El. συν-έαν refer to § 944 p. 487.

(*b*) *-n̥ti* and *-n̥t*.

Primary *-n̥ti* = Gr. -ᾰτι. Instead of *ἵστ-ατι *τίθ-ατι

1) εἰσι 'eunt' in Theognis 716 is too uncertain to make it a ground for assuming pr. Gr. *ἱ-εντι = Skr. *y-ánti*. See Osthoff, *M. U.* iv 288 f.

**δίδ-ατι* (Skr. *bíbhr-ati dádh-ati*) we find (Dor.) *ἵστα-ντι τίθε-ντι δίδο-ντι*, as in (2). But *-ατι* is preserved in the perfect, as Dor. *ἐθώκ-ατι* (Hesych.), Phoc. *ἱερητεύκ-ατι* Hom. *λε-λόγχ-ασι*, and I may suggest that this ending was taken from reduplicated present stems (cp. § 555 p. 108).

Secondary *-n̥t* = Gr. *-α* is lost; all examples of secondary 3rd pl. took *-ν*. *ἔ-τι-θε-ν ἔ-δι-δο-ν* like *τί-θε-ντι*. Similarly **ϝεῖπ-α(τ)* 'they said' = **u̯é-u̯q-n̥t* gave way to *ϝεῖπαν*, thus following no. 2 (§ 557 p. 109). Again, *-αν* got into the *s*-aorist, where originally either *-ént* (with roots that had gradation), or *-n̥t*, seems to have been the ending; e. g. *ἴσ-αν ἔ-δειξ-αν* (instead of **ϝισσ-εν* **ἴ-διξ-εν*?) **ϝειδε-αν* (instead of **ϝειδε-α*?); on the last see § 1021. The *oi̯*-optative took over the ending of the *i̯ē*-optative: *φέροι-εν* instead of **φέροι̯-α* following *εἶεν* (El. *-οιαν*, e. g. *παρ-βαίνοιαν*, seems to have arisen by regular change from *-οιεν* as *συν-έαν ἐπι-θεῖαν* from **-εεν -θειεν*); side by side with which Delphic has *φέροι-ν*, analogical like mid. *φέροι-ντο* (§ 1068).

(2) After Sonants Idg. *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. *ἄεισι* 'they blow' for **ἀϝη-ντι*: Skr. *vá-nti*; Lesb. *φίλεισι* 'they love' *δίψαισι* 'they thirst': Lat. *ple-nt vide-nt juva-nt*. Conj. Dor. *φέρω-ντι* Att. *φέρωσι* (§ 923 p. 471). Dor. El. N.-W. Gr. *φέρο-ντι* Att. *φέρουσι*.

Secondary *-nt* = Gr. *-ν*. *ἔ-δρᾰ-ν ἔ-τλᾰ-ν ἔ-γνο-ν ἔ-μιγε-ν ἔ-γνωσθε-ν* for **ἔ-δρᾱ-ντ* etc., whence also *ἔ-φῠ-ν*.

The vowel before the personal ending is sometimes long instead of short. The reason is undecided. Examples are Hom. *μιάνθην* Cret. *διελέγην* Hom. *ἔφῡν*.

Remark. In Morph. Unt. I 72 f., I assumed in agreement with G. Meyer and others that the long vowel was taken from other forms of the paradigm, as for instance it must be explained in *πλῆντο ἄηνται* and other like them. Solmsen now tries to make out a case for believing that *-ην -ων* etc. arose at the sentence-end, and that *ἔλεγεν* replaced the regular in-sentence form **ἔλεγεντ* on the analogy of *ἐλέγην* (Bezz. Beitr. XVII 329 ff.).

These endings *-ντι* and *-ν* spread to all stems with

gradation that ended in -ā, -ē, or ō. τί-θε-ντι ἔ-τι-θε-ν ἔ-θε-ν [1]), δί-δο-ντι ἔ-δι-δο-ν ἔ-δο-ν (cp. 1. *b*). Dor. φα-ντί Att. φᾱσί, φά-ν. δάμνᾱσι (δαμνᾶσι) for *δαμ-να-ντι instead of *δαμ-ν-εντι. By analogy ῥήγνῡσι (ῥηγνῦσι) for *ϝρηγ-νυ-ντι instead of *ϝρηγ-νυ(ϝ)-εντι.

§ 1021. The ending -αν, which developed first in Greek (§ 1020. 1. *b*), spread widely and was the model for many innovations.

(1) -αν instead of -εν and instead of -α became usual in the Indicative of stems which did not end in -ā, -ē, -ō. Some have been already mentioned: εἶπ-αν, ἴσ-αν ἔ-δειξ-αν *ϝειδε-αν (by analogy, the ind. perf. γέ-γον-αν § 844 p. 386). So Boeot. παρ-εῖαν for *-η(σ)-αν (I § 72 p. 63) from √ *es*- 'to be', Hom. Aeol. ἔχευ-αν (§ 504 p. 67 f.) and others. Also opt. δείξειαν instead of *δειξει-εν as we should expect (§ 944 p. 489).

In the tendency which exchanged -εν for -αν the middle ending -ατο may have had some influence, e. g. in ἔχευαν (instead of *ἔ-χυ-αν), beside which there once was a 3rd pl. middle *ἐ-χυ-ατο (cp. 3rd sing. ἔ-χυ-το).

That -εν remains in the Opt., as τιθεῖ-εν, must be put down to the strong stem τιθειη- (cp. ἔμιγεν : ἐ-μιγη-, ἐτιθεν : ἐ-τιθη-). Then τιθεῖ-εν propped up φέροι-εν despite the mid. φεροί-ατο.

(2) *ἦ-αν 'erant' (Boeot. παρ-εῖαν) under the influence of ἦσ-τε ἦσ-τον ἤσ-την became ἦσ-αν, which may be compared with ἴσ-μεν (§ 502 p. 65). Similarly ϝείδεσαν ᾔδεσαν depend upon a lost *ϝειδεσ-τε (§ 836 p. 372); the form was once *ϝειδε-αν (cp. § 1020. 1. *b*). Then the ending -σαν became familiar, and was detached as a type, beginning partly with these, and partly with σ-aorists of the form ἔπηξαν (to whose system once belonged *ἔπᾱκμεν *ἔπᾱκτε, see § 820 p. 357); examples are ἔ-φα-σαν ἐ-τίθε-σαν ἔ-θε-σαν ἔ-γνω-σαν ἐ-μίγη-σαν ἐ-δικάσθη-σαν (Hellenistic also ἐλάβοσαν εἴπασαν and the like),

1) Although we must assume Idg. **dh-ént *é-dh-ent*, we can hardly venture to say that the Greek form is derived straight from this ground-form.

plpf. *ἕ-στα-σαν*, opt. *εἴη-σαν*, imper. *ἔστω-σαν*. The wider use of *-σαν* was assisted by a wish to make the number of syllables the same in 1st 2nd and 3rd plural (*ἔφασαν* : *ἔφαμεν ἔφατε*).

(3) On the analogy of *ἵστα-ν* to *ἵστα-ντι*, *ἔ-τιθε-ν* to *τίθε-ντι*, *ἔ-διδο-ν* to *δίδο-ντι*, a primary *-αντι* sprang up as complement to *-αν*. Beside **ἦαν* 'erant' then stands the pres. Ion. *ἔᾱσι*; we also have *ἴᾱσι* 'eunt', *ῥηγνύ-ᾱσι*. Beside *ἴσαν*, the pres. (perf.) *ἴσσᾱσι ἴσᾱσι* 'sciunt' Dor. *ἴσαντι* (§ 863 p. 411). Also perf. *δε-δί-ᾱσι τε-τρόφ-ᾱσι* Dor. *τε-θέκ-αντι*.

Doubtless something is due to the analogy of the middle *-αται*, as *ῥηγνύ-ᾱσι* : **ῥηγνύ-αται* (like *εἰρύ-αται* § 1068. 1. *a*), *τετρόφ-ᾱσι* : *τετρόφ-αται*. For the Perfect cp. also the ending *-ᾰτι*, § 1020. 1. *b*.

(4) Following *ἴ-ᾱσι* beside *ἴ-μεν*, *ῥηγνύ-ᾱσι* beside *ῥήγνυ-μεν*, *δεδί-ᾱσι* beside *δέδι-μεν* sprang up *τιθέ-ᾱσι διδό-ᾱσι *ἱστά-ᾱσι ἱστᾶσι* as 3rd pl. to *τίθε-μεν δίδο-μεν ἵστα-μεν*, Hom. *βεβά-ᾱσι* Hom. Att. **ἑστά-ᾱσι*[1]) *ἑστᾶσι* to *βέβα-μεν ἕστα-μεν*, Boeot. *δεδό-ανθι* (on the *θ* see § 1068). Similarly Boeot. *ἀν-έθεαν* (*εθειαν ἔθιαν*), by which form the number of syllables in the 3rd plural was made to agree with the 1st and 2nd plural (as with *-σαν*, see no. 2. above).

Remark. Thess. imperf. *ἐν-εφανίσσοεν* aor. *ἐδούκαεν ἀν-εθείκαϊν ἐτάξαϊν* are not yet properly explained. If their *-εν -ιν* = pr. Gr. *-εν*, their model must have been **ἦ-εν* 'erant' (§ 1020. 1. *a*) *εἶ-εν φέροι-εν*; if again *-εν* (*-ιν*) is regular in Thessalian for *-αν* (Prellwitz, De dial. Thess., 9), they fall into line with Boeot. *ἔθε-αν* mentioned above. Solmsen conjectures that the endings *-ον -αν* were pronounced *-ον̥ -αν̥*, to get an equal number of syllables with the 1st and 2nd plural, and that *-οεν -αεν -αιν* are various attempts to write these sounds (Bezz. Beitr. XVII 336).

Late Greek new forms in the 3rd pl. are treated by Buresch in the Rhein. Mus., XLVI 193 ff.

§ **1022.** Italic. In Umbro-Samnitic the endings **-nti* and **-nt* become *-nt* and *-ns* respectively, and are thus kept distinct. But in Latin the primary ending *-nt* was made universal in

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1) This uncontracted form is wanting in Epic, because it did not suit the dactylic metre.

prehistoric times in the same way, though earlier, as the primary *-t* can be seen before our eyes usurping the place of the secondary *-d* (§ 996 p. 531). The form *quotiēns*: Skr. *kíyat* (III § 225 p. 106) makes it probable that Latin once had Umbr.-Samn. *-ns* = Idg. **-nt*.

The complete disappearance of *-i* from *-nti* in Italic is remarkable; the same thing in seen with the ending *-ti* (§ 996 p. 531).

Along with *-ns* Latin must once have had a sentence doublet *-n*, if Johansson is right in saying that O.Lat. *danunt* is really **dan* + the ending of *legunt* which it took by analogy (Akadem. afhandl. til Prof. S. Bugge, pp. 29 ff.); compare § 1023 on *sēder-unt*, and the O.H.G. and A.S. *sind-un* instead of *sind*, § 1025. Similarly *ex-plēnunt prōd-īnunt* would stand for **plen *in* (cp. the form *int* beside *eunt*, formed complementary to *īmus ītis* as *sint* was to *sīmus sītis*, instead of *sient*). The same *-n* may perhaps be the ending of Umbr. staheren 'stabunt'.

Remark. I will not pass unmentioned Danielsson's conjecture (in Pauli's Altital. Stud. III 148) that *-ns* originally belonged to the indic. perfect only, and that *-s* is the same as we see in Avest. *-arᵉš* (§ 1077). Compare further Johansson, Bezz. Beitr. XVIII 49.

(1) The post-consonantal Idg. *-énti -ént* and *-n̥ti -n̥t* run together into *-ent(i) -ens* in Italic.

(*a*) *-énti* and *-ént*.

Primary *-énti* = Ital. *-ent(i)*. Umbr. *s-ent* Osc. set *set* 'sunt'.

Secondary *-ént* = Ital. *-ens*. Opt. Lat. *si-ent* instead of **si-ens*; new form *sint* following *sī-mus sī-tis*, so also Umbr. *sins* sis with the secondary ending kept. Lat. *vīderint* like *sint*.

(*b*) *-n̥ti* and *-n̥t*.

Primary *-n̥ti* = Ital. *-ent(i)*. Since in Umbr.-Samn. the orig. *-o-nt(i)* has disappeared and given place to *-ent(i)* (see below), we may assume as 3rd pl. to *di-d-e-t* 'dat' (§ 553 p. 107) the form **dident*, which would be a parallel to Skr. *dá-d-ati*.

Secondary *-n̥t* = Ital. *-ens* seems to be lost.

(2) After Sonants *-nti* or *-nt*.

Primary *-nti* Ital. *-nt(i)*. Lat. *ple-nt fla-nt vide-nt ama-nt*, Umbr. *furfant* 'februant'. Hence by analogy Lat. *da-nt* like Gr. *ἔ-δο-ν* § 1020 p. 548, *i-nt* (beside *eu-nt*). Lat. *feru-nt su-nt*: Skr. *bhára-nti* O.Russ. *sątĭ*. Thematic Conjunctive Lat. *eru-nt*.

Secondary *-nt* = Ital. *-ns*, instead of which Latin has the primary *-nt*. Osc. fu-fa-ns 'erant' Lat. *amā-ba-nt*. Conj. Umbr. *dirsa-ns dirsas* 'dent' Osc. *deica-ns* 'dicant', Lat. *dīca-nt*; Osc. herrí-ns 'caperent' tríbarakattí-ns 'aedificaverint', Lat. *age-nt agere-nt*. Also, with *-n* for *-nt*, Lat. *ex-plēn-unt* etc. according to Johansson's explanation, for which see above p. 550.

In Umbr.-Samn. often *-ent*, where *-ont* is expected. Osc. fiiet 'fiunt'. Thematic Conjunct. of the *s*-Aor.: Umbr. furent 'erunt' Osc. *censazet* 'censebunt' (§ 824 p. 362), and these served as the model for fut. pf. Umbr. *benurent* 'venerint' Osc. tríbarakattuset 'aedificaverint' (§ 872 p. 421). Of the same kind are perhaps Umbr. eitipes 'decreverunt' Osc. prúfattens 'probaverunt', cp. the thematic 3rd sing. prúfatted (§ 867 p. 416, §§ 872 f. pp. 420 ff.). The spread of *-ent* (*-ens*) was probably not due to the solitary form *sent*; probably there also existed **ed-ent* 'they eat' O.Russ. *jad-ętĭ*, forms of the XIIth Present Class in *-n-ent* = Skr. *-n-ánti*, of the XVIIth in *-nu̯-ent* = Skr. *-nv-ánti* (*-nuv-ánti*), and again the form **did-ent* = Skr. *dád-ati* (see above, 1. *b*).

§ **1023.** The Perfect in Latin shows the endings *-erunt -ērunt* and *-ēre*; to which we must add from inscr. *ded-rot ded-ro C. I. L.* I 173, 177, and some other forms which have been gathered by Deecke (De redupl. Lat. lingu. praeterito, pp. 17 f.). Though it is natural enough to derive *-erunt*, beside *-is-tis -is-tī*, from **-is-ont(i)* (§ 841 p. 378), still the *r* of these 3rd pl. endings is doubtless connected in some part at least with the Skr. *-ur*, Avest. *-arᵉ*, Skr. mid. *-rē*, and others of like nature (§§ 1076 ff.). With the extension of the *-r*-form by *-ont* compare Skr. *-r-anta -r-atē -r-ata* (on the form *-r-an*,

which looks as though it were most closely connected, refer to § 1078. 8). That there is no doubt of its being a middle *-r*-form extended by the active *nt*-suffix is shewn by the 1st sing. *tutud-ī* (§ 1044), which has the middle ending. For further conjectures I refer to Osthoff, Perfect 210 ff., 609 f.; Windisch, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *R*, pp. 47 f.; Henry, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 373 ff.; Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 281 ff.; Schweizer-Sidler and Surber Lat. Gramm. I² 139; Stolz, Lat. Gr.² 372 f.; Bartholomae, Stud. Idg. Spr. II 195 ff.

§ **1024**. Keltic.

Primary Ending. Idg. *-énti* remains in O.Ir. *it* O.Cymr. *int* 'they are' for pr. Kelt. **s-enti*, see footnote to II p. 196 (in the light of which I § 243. 3 p. 202 must be corrected). Elsewhere only Idg. *-nti*. O.Ir. *berit*: Gr. *φέρο-ντι*. *carit* for **carā-nti*: cp. Lat. *ama-nt*. Conjunctive *berit*: Lat. *fera-nt*; cp. Mid.Cymr. *gwelo-nt* 'videant'. *lenit* 'they hold' for **lina-nti*, as Gr. *δάμνᾱσι* (*δαμνᾶσι*) for **δαμ-να-ντι* (§ 1020 p. 548), instead of Idg. **-n-énti*.

Side by side runs the Conjunct inflexion: indic. *do-berat*, in the oldest glosses *-ot* is still found, as *tu-thegot* = later *do-thiagat* 'they go away'; *no charat* 'amant'; conj. *do-berat*. Whether these are descended straight from forms in Idg. *-nt* (**bero-nt* **cara-nt* **berā-nt*), or are middle forms with the Idg. ending *-nto*, has not been made out (see I § 657. 1 p. 506, and § 82. 1 p. 76); the second alternative however seems better. Zimmer, who identifies *-berat* with Gr. *φέρο-ντο*, explains the active function of this form by supposing that *berit* represents a confluence of two, **bero-nti* and **bero-ntai* (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 236).

§ **1025**. Germanic.

(1) After Consonants, *-énti -ént* and *-n̥ti -n̥t*.

(*a*) Primary *-énti* = pr. Germ. *-inþi*. Goth. *sind* O.H.G. *sint* 'they are' for pr. Germ. **sindi*, which is either the unaccented form of the word (cp. I § 669 p. 534) or has taken the place of the regular **sínþi* = Goth. **sinþ* O.H.G.

**sind* on the analogy of *bairand berant*; O.H.G. also *sint-un sind-un* (O.Sax. and A.S. *sind-un*) with an additional ending following 1st pl. *birum* 2nd pl. *birut*. Secondary *-ént* is quite lost.

(*b*) Primary *-n̥ti* is lost. Secondary *-n̥t* = Germ. *-un* is perhaps original in O.Sax. *ded-un* 'they did' O.H.G. *wissun* 'they knew' (§ 1017. 1. *b* p. 544). *-un* is always found in the 3rd pl. of both strong and weak Perfect, and also sometimes in the Present: e. g. Goth. *skaiskáid-un bēr-un* O.H.G. *sciad-un bār-un*, Goth. *nasidēd-un* O.H.G. *nerit-un*, Goth. *vit-un* O.H.G. *wiʒʒun* (§ 508 p. 74), O.Icel. *er-o er-u* 'they are'. Perhaps these endings have been under the influence of the middle **-undai̯* *-unda* = Idg. *-n̥tai̯ -n̥to*, which we may assume to have lasted down to proethnic Germanic.

(2) After Sonants *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. Goth. *salbō-nd* O.H.G. *salbō-nt*, O.H.G. *habē-nt*. Goth. *baíra-nd* O.H.G. *bera-nt*; instead of the latter, Frank. *berent*, formed doubtless like the 1st pl. *beremēs* (instead of *beramēs*) under the combined influence of the 2nd plural *beret* (§ 1035) and present stems with *-i̯o-* (*suoche-mēs -nt*).

Secondary *-nt*. Perhaps it is old in O.H.G. conj. *salbō-n* like O.Ir. *-carat* 'ament' (§ 930 p. 476). Further, **-nt*, but not original, in all optatives, as O.H.G. *s-ī-n bār-ī-n*, which are to be compared with Lat. *s-i-nt* instead of *s-i-ent* (it is hardly likely that *sīn* is for **s-ii̯-inþ* = Idg. **s-ii̯-ént*), and O.H.G. *berē-n* (instead of Idg. **bhéroi̯-n̥t*), which falls in line with Gr. *φέροι-ν* (§ 1020. 1. *b* p. 547). Gothic in the optative shows *-na*, *salbō-na bērei-na baírái-na*; and the *-n* of Old Swedish must come from *-na* (cp. Kock, P.-B. Beitr. xv 244 ff.), while the W.-Germ. *-n* may possibly have once been followed by a vowel, now lost. This *-na* displaced *-n* = Idg. **-nt* on the analogy of the 1st plural *-ma* (§ 1007. 2 p. 538). I suggest that in the 1st plural of these forms there were first two parallel suffixes *-ma* and *-m*, and that this fact produced *-na* beside *-n*; then the fuller form won the day in all persons.

§ 1026. Slavonic[1]). The variation of (O.Russ.) *-ntĭ*

1) In Baltic, the 3rd singular did for 3rd plural too; see § 999 p. 533.

and (O.Bulg.) *-ntŭ* (= *nt* + particle *u*) ran parallel to that of *-tĭ* and *-t-ŭ* in the 3rd sing., see § 999 p. 532 f.

(1) After consonants, *-énti -ént* and *-n̥ti -n̥t*, both running into *-ętĭ -ę*.

(*a*) Primary *-énti* = *-ętĭ*. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *jad-ętĭ*: Skr. *ad-anti*. Secondary *-ént* in O.Bulg. *jad-ęt-ŭ* (but cp. below).

(*b*) Primary *-n̥ti* = *-ętĭ*. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *dad-ętĭ*: Skr. *dád-ati*. Secondary *-n̥t* in O.Bulg. *dad-ęt-ŭ* like Skr. *dád-at-u* (but cp. below) and perhaps in the *-ę* of *s*-Aorists, as O.C.Sl. *dašę* (§ 1017. 1. *b* p. 543 f.

(2) After sonants, *-nti* and *-nt*.

Primary *-nti*. O.C.Sl. (Russ.) *imątĭ* beside 3rd sing. *ima-tĭ*, *berątĭ sątĭ znajątĭ*.

Secondary *-nt*. Aor. O.C.Sl. *nesą*, injunct. *bą* for **bhu̯-o-nt* (§ 523 p. 87), *bądą* (§ 909 p. 458). With the particle *u*, O.Bulg. *imątŭ berątŭ sątŭ znajątŭ*.

On *smrĭdętĭ -ętŭ* for **-inti *-int-u*, see § 637 Rem. p. 176.

If in proethnic Slavonic the *mi*-presents had *-ntĭ*, the rest *-ntŭ* (*jadętĭ* — *berątŭ*), and if levelling took place in different directions in the several dialects (cp. § 999 p. 534 on *-tĭ* and *-tŭ* in the 3rd singular), O.Bulg. *jadętŭ* could not be brought in evidence for Idg. *-ént* (1. *a*), nor O.Bulg. *dadętŭ* for Idg. *-n̥t* (1. *b*).

1ST PERSON DUAL.

§ **1027.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic. The suffix began with *u̯-* and shows in its ending some kinship with the 1st plural suffixes beginning with *m-*. It can only be traced in Aryan, Germanic, and Balto-Slavonic.

(1) Primary forms *-u̯es -u̯os* and *-u̯esi -u̯osi*. Skr. *s-vás bhárā-vas*, Avest. Gath. *us-vahī* (3rd sing. *vaš-tī* 'wishes'). Also doubtless Goth. *baírōs salbōs*, cp. § 1029.

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms *-u̯ĕ -u̯ŏ*. Skr. *á-bharā-va*. Goth. opt. *baírái-va*; perf. *bēru* for **bēru-u̯(i)* or *-u̯(a)*, possibly for **bēr-uu̯i* or *-uu̯a* with a form of suffix that makes a parallel to *-m̥me -m̥mo* (= Goth. *-um*?); cp. § 1001 p. 535. Lith. pret. *sùko-va* refl. *-vo-s*, O.C.Sl. aor. *vezo-vě* (but cp. § 1030).

§ **1028.** Aryan. In Sanskrit only *-vas* and *-va*, in Avestic only *-vahī* and *-va* are found. That Sanskrit has no *-vasi*, Avestic no *-vō*, may be considered an accident. For examples see § 1027; I add Avest. injunct. *jvāva* i. e. *jīvā-va* from Ar. *jīv-* 'to live' (Bartholomae Handb. § 91 *a* Anm. 4, p. 40).

§ **1029.** Germanic.

The primary form appears to occur in Goth. *bairōs* (3rd sing. *bairi-þ*) *salbōs* (3rd sing. *salbō-þ*), cp. 1st pl. O.H.G. *-mēs*. *salbōs* perhaps for **salbō-u̯s* (cp. Streitberg, Die germ. Compar. auf *-ōz-*, p. 9 as against I § 181 Rem. p. 159). Instead of *baírōs* we should expect **bairáus*. To assume an Idg. ground-form **berōu̯es* on the strength of Goth. *baírōs*, as Streitberg does (Zur germ. Spr., 108) seems to me to be open to criticism.

Secondary forms. Opt. Goth. *bairái-va* like 1st pl. *bairái-ma*. Perf. *bēru* see § 1027; similarly Norse Run. *waritu* for **writ-u* 'we both scratched, or wrote'.

A neat conjecture is that of van Helten (P.-B. Beitr. xv 472), who sees a 1st dual injunct. aorist in O.Sax. *wita* 'come along, very well' orig. 'tendamus', for **wita-w-*. Compare 1st pl. A.S. *wuton* 'come along' § 532 p. 94.

§ **1030.** Balto-Slavonic.

Lith. *ẽs-va sùka-va* reflex. *sùka-vo-s*, cp. 2nd dual *sùka-ta sùka-to-s*. *-vō* is a secondary ending like *-mė* (*-mė-s -me*) in the 1st plural. But *-vō* is doubtless not = Idg. **-u̯ō* (for which we ought rather to have *-vů*), but a transformation of the Idg. secondary endings on the analogy of the 2nd dual (cp. Slav. *-va* below).

O.C.Sl. *-vě*: *jes-vě veze-vě* aor. *vezo-vě* opt. *vezě-vě*. As representing Idg. **-u̯ē* we expect *-vi* (cp. *mati* 'mother' I § 76 p. 66). There seems therefore to have been an imitation of *vě* 'we two' (cp. § 1008 p. 539 on 1st pl. *-my*). The ending *-va*, rare in O.C.Sl., more common in Mod.Slov. and Czech, I prefer to regard as an imitation of *-ta* (2nd dual) than as representing Idg. **-u̯ō* (cp. above Lith. *-va*). In Mod.Slovenian, which has *-vě* and *-va* both, a difference of gender has developed between them, because it so happened that there were feminine words

like *rąсě* (III § 286 p. 194) and masculines like *vlŭka* (III § 285 p. 193), and *vě* and *va* were grouped accordingly (cp. what is said of *-tě* in § 1036).

2ND PERSON DUAL.

§ **1031.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending something like **-thes *-thos*; observe that the aspirate rests on the authority of Aryan only; the same is true of the 2nd plural (§ 1009 p. 540). Skr. *s-thás bhára-thas*. Lat. *es-tis agi-tis* (cp. § 1034). Goth. *baira-ts* (cp. § 1035).

(2) Secondary or Perfect forms.

(*a*) *-tā*. Lith. pret. *sùko-ta* reflex. *-to-s*, O.C.Sl. aor. *veze-ta*. And, no doubt, Umbr. *futu-to* 'estote' (§ 1034).

(*b*) *-tom* (also *-tem*?). Skr. *á-bhara-tam*. Gr. *ἐ-φέρε-τον*.

§ **1032.** Aryan. Skr. primary *-thas*: *s-thás bhára-thas*; secondary *-tam*: *ás-tam á-bhara-tam*. The Avestic forms in *-þō* and *-tem*, which answer to these, are used for the 3rd dual.

On Skr. *-áthur* in the Perfect, see § 1038.

§ **1033.** Greek. The secondary ending *-τον* drove out the primary in prehistoric times (cp. the levelling out of all but *-μεν* in the 1st plural, § 1004 p. 537): pret. *ἦσ-τον ἐ-φέρε-τον*, pres. *ἐσ-τὸν φέρε-τον*.

A consequence of the use of *-τον* for both 2nd and 3rd dual in primary tenses was that the same was done in historic tenses, where *-τον* belonged properly to the 2nd dual and *-τᾱν* (Ion.-Att. *-την*) to the third. Thus we get *ἐφέρετον* for both persons, and by similar reasoning *ἐφερέτην* for both also.

§ **1034.** Italic. Lat. *es-tis agi-tis agē-bātis sī-tis* are probably dual forms; see § 1013 p. 541.

The secondary ending *-tā* may have taken plural use in Umbrian forms like *futu-to* 'estote', for which see § 967 p. 509, and § 1040.

§ **1035.** Germanic. The primary ending is represented by Goth. *-ts*, which at the same time acted as secondary:

baíra-ts (*-a-* instead of *-i-*, cp. O.H.G. 2nd pl. *bera-t* § 1015 p. 542) perf. *bēru-ts* opt. *vilei-ts*. On the *-t* of *-ts* — for which **-þs* would be expected — see I p. 406 footnote 1, Kluge in Paul's Grundr. I 324 (§ 10. 1. *b*), and Johansson Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 554 f.

The O.H.G. 2nd pl. *bere-t* 'fertis', which cannot be explained as being for Idg. **bere-t(h)e*, may be a dual form. As far as sound-laws go, it may be compared with any of these three, Skr. *bhára-thas bhára-tam* or O.C.Sl. *bere-ta*, see § 1015 p. 542.

§ **1036.** Balto-Slavonic.

Lithuanian has the secondary ending *-ta* (reflexive *-tō-s*) = Idg. *-tā* as its only form: *sùko-ta*, *sùka-ta* (instead of **suke-ta*, see § 999. 2 p. 533), *ẽs-ta*.

So also Slavonic: aor. *veze-ta* opt. *vezě-ta* pres. *veze-ta jes-ta*. A few instances of *-tě* are found, as also in the 3rd dual, probably in imitation of *-vě* in the 1st dual; so by reverse attraction *-va* is found instead of *-vě* (§ 1030 p. 555). *-tě* in the 2nd and 3rd dual is used where the subject is feminine, as we saw in the case of *-vě* (loc. cit.).

3RD PERSON DUAL.

§ **1037.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic. This person is only preserved in Aryan, Greek, and Slavonic (as regards Lithuanian see § 999 p. 532 f.), which makes it difficult to determine what suffixes were used in the parent language. The only thing certain is that *-tām* is nothing but secondary: Skr. *ás-tām* Gr. *ἤσ-την*.

§ **1038.** Aryan.

Primary ending pr. Ar. *-tas*: Skr. *bhára-tas* Avest. *bara-tō*. Avest. *yūidya-þō* 'they both fight' shows the 2nd dual ending.

Secondary, pr. Ar. *-tām*. Skr. *á-bhara-tām*. In Avestic always *-tem*, the ending of the 2nd dual, as *āi-tem* 'they both went', just as in Greek we see *-τον* in place of *-τᾱν* (§ 1039).

In the Perfect pr. Ar. *-at̥r*, Skr. *-átur* Avest. *-atarᵉ*: Skr. *ca-kr-átur sēd-átur da-d-átur*; Avest. *yaęt-atarᵉ* (from *yat-* 'to stretch, strive to reach'), beside this Gath. *vaocātarᵉ* (from *vac-*

'to speak'), where *ā*, we may conjecture, comes from the middle suffix *-āitę̄* (*maman-āitę̄*). The *r*-ending is undoubtedly borrowed from the 3rd pl. in *-r̥r* (Skr. *-ur* Avest. *-arᵉ*, § 1077), and the Skr. *-áthur* of the 2nd du., e. g. *cakr-áthur*, is due to the use of both *-thas* and *-tas* (cp. O.C.Sl. *pri-jętŭ* as 2nd and 3rd Person § 830 p. 367). The *a* of *-atur* appears to be that of the 3rd sing. and 2nd plural perfect.

§ **1039.** Greek. Primary *-τον*: *ἐσ-τὸν φέρε-τον*. Secondary *-τᾱν* and *τον*: *ἤσ-την ἐ-φερέ-την* and *ἦσ-τον ἐ-φέρε-τον*. Cp. § 1033 p. 556.

§ **1040.** Slavonic. *-te* and *-ta* are variants without any distinction: O.C.Sl. pres. and aor. *veze-te* and *-ta*, opt. *vezě-te* and *-ta*. *-te* may be derived from **-tes*, cp. Skr. *-tas*. Whether *-ta* originally belonged to the 3rd dual or was the ending of the 2nd dual is not clear. Perhaps *-ta* must be identified with Umbr. *-tā* in etu-ta 'eunto', see § 967 p. 508. As regards a third form *-tě* (used with a fem. subject), see § 1036 p. 557.

MIDDLE ENDINGS.

1ST PERSON SINGULAR.

§ **1041.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary endings there appear to be two:

(*a*) *-mai̯* or *-mə̑i̯* in unthematic stems: Gr. *ἵ-στα-μαι δί-δο-μαι*, Lith. reflex. *vel-mė-s(i)* Pruss. *as-mai* 'sum'.

(*b*) *-ōi̯* in thematic stems (vgl. *-ō* in the active). Skr. thematic Conjunct. *kr̥-ṇáv-āi* (3rd sing. *kr̥-ṇáv-a-tē*). Norse Run. *haite* O.Icel. *heite* 'I bid, call'. The same ending in the long-vowel Conj.: Skr. *bhárāi* (cp. § 918 Rem. p. 466).

(2) The Secondary endings are quite obscure:

(*a*) Unthematic Stems. Skr. *á-dviṣ-i* doubtless for *-ə* (*á-dviṣ-i* : *di-dviṣ-ḗ* = 1st pl. *-mahi* Gr. *-μεθα* : *-mahē*), but opt. *dviṣīy-á bhárēy-a*. Gr. *ἐ-δό-μην δι-δοί-μην φεροί-μην* (Dor. *-μᾱν*), recalling the Suffix of the 2nd sing. *-thēs* beside act. *-tha*.

(*b*) Thematic Stems. Skr. *á-bhar-ē*. Gr. *ἐ-φερό-μην*.

(3) *-ai̯* or *-əi̯* in the Perfect, is doubtless connected with

the *-a* of Skr. *dviṣīy-á* and the *-i* = *-ə* of Skr. *á-dviṣ-i* (cp. § 1054. 3). Skr. *tutud-ḗ*. Lat. *tutud-ī*. O.C.Sl. *věd-ě*.

§ 1042. Aryan.

(1) Primary ending. The *-āi* of the thematic Conj. is old: Skr. *mán-āi* Avest. Gath. *mĕn-āi* beside indic. Skr. *á-ma-ta*, *s*-Aor. Skr. *mą-s-āi* Avest. Gath. *mĕ̄ŋgh-āi* beside indic. Skr. *á-mą-s-ta*, Skr. *kr̥-ṇáv-āi* beside indic. *kr̥-ṇu-tḗ*. Also *-āi* in the long-vowel Conj.: Skr. *bhárāi* Avest. *barāi*. So there was once indic. pres. **bharāi* (cp. active indic. Avest. *ufyā* Gr. φέρω like conj. Avest. *aŋhā* Gr. ἔω Lat. *erō* and conj. Skr. *árcā* Gr. φέρω § 976. 2 p. 517), which was exchanged even in pr. Aryan for **bharai̯* = Skr. *bhárē* Avest. *barę̄* following the *-ai̯* of the unthematic Indicative, and the analogy of *-sai̯* *-tai̯* etc., for the purpose, I would suggest, of distinguishing the conj. and indic. moods.

Instead of *-āi* in the conj. Avestic has sometimes *-ānę̄*, a new formation based upon the active *-āni* and its termination imitating the middle *-t* as compared with act. *-ti* etc., e. g. *varᵉšānę̄* beside 3rd sing. *varᵉš-a-itę̄* (*s*-aorist of *varz-* 'to work'), *yazānę̄* (beside *yazāi*) with 3rd sing. *yazā-itę̄* (from *yaz-* 'to offer').

Aryan *-ai̯* in the non-thematic indic. present: Skr. *bruv-ḗ* Avest. *mruyę̄* i. e. *mruv-ę̄* beside 3rd sing. *brū-tḗ* *mrū-itę̄*, Skr. *duh-ḗ*, Avest. *γn-ę̄* (√ *ghen-* 'strike, slay'). This *-ai̯* I regard as borrowed from the perfect in place of orig. **-mai̯* (vice versa we have in Greek perf. δέδο-μαι following pres. δίδο-μαι), just as in the 3rd sing. Skr. *-ē* (§ 1055), and in the 3rd pl. Skr. *-rē* (§ 1078. 1), came from the perfect to the non-thematic present.

(2) Secondary ending. Thematic Skr. *á-bharē* Avest. *a-barę̄* O.Pers. *a-takšaiy* (from *takš-* 'to shape, make all right').

Unthematic. In the Indicative Ar. *-i* for *-ə*: Skr. *á-duh-i* *á-kr-i*, Avest. Gath. *aoj-ī* (from *aoj-* 'to speak'), *s*-aorist Skr. *á-ruts-i*, O.Pers. *a-darš-iy* (from *dar-* 'to hold'). But in the Optative Ar. *-a*: Skr. *tanvīy-á* Avest. *tanuya* i. e. *tanviy-a* from *tan-* 'to stretch' (§ 940 p. 485), Skr. *bhárēy-a* Avest. Gath.

vāuray-ā (from *var-* 'to choose'), Avest. *mainya* for **manyay-a* (I § 643 p. 482) = Skr. *mányēy-a*.

(3) Pr. Ar. *-ai̯* in the perfect: Skr. *śu-śruv-ḗ* Avest. *susruyę̄* i. e. *su-sruv-ę̄* from √*k̑leu̯-* 'hear'.

§ **1043.** Greek. Primary *-μαι*; on the analogy of *δίδο-μαι ἄρνυ-μαι* we get *φέρο-μαι φέρω-μαι* and perfect *δέδο-μαι τέτυγ-μαι*, etc.

Secondary (Dor.) *-μᾱν*: *ἐδιδό-μην ἐδεικνύ-μην ἐδειξάμην τετύγ-μην τιθεί-μην φεροί-μην*.

§ **1044.** Italic. Only the perfect Idg. *-ai̯* or *-oi̯* remains, but it loses its middle meaning: Lat. *tutud-ī*: Skr. *tutud-ḗ*, *ded-ī*: Skr. *dad-ḗ* (§ 867 p. 414). Perhaps we should explain *revertī* beside *revertor*, *assēnsī* beside *assentior* as due to the originally middle force of *-ī*.

§ **1045.** Germanic. Idg. *-ōi* (§ 1041. 1. *b*) in O.Icel. *heite heiti* 'I bid, call', beside Goth. *háita*.

Remark. I cannot agree with Jellinek's conjectures in his Beitr. zur Erklärung der germ. Flexion, 1891, pp. 70 ff.

In Gothic the 3rd sing. *háitada* does duty for the 1st sing. too; so also A.S. *hātte* is 3rd and 1st sing., cp. Goth. 3rd and 1st pl. *háitanda*. On this use of the 3rd person for the 1st see Jellinek in the work just cited, pp. 103 ff.

§ **1046.** Balto-Slavonic.

In Baltic Idg. *-mai̯* or *-mə̯i̯* remains: Lith. reflex. *velmė̃-s(i)* (§ 511 p. 76), Pruss. *as-mai* 'I am'. Cp. § 983 p. 522.

The perfect *-ai̯* or *-əi̯* occurs in the single form O.C.Sl. *vědě* 'I know'.

2ND PERSON SINGULAR.

§ **1047.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending *-sai̯* or *-səi̯*. Skr. *bhára-sē*, Gr. *φέρεαι φέρῃ*, Goth. *baíra-za*; thematic Conj. Skr. *mą-s-a-sē* Gr. *βιή-σ-ε-αι* (Theogn.), long-vowel Conj. Skr. *bhár-ā-sē* Gr. *φέρηαι φέρῃ*. Skr. *da-t-sḗ dha-t-sḗ*, Gr. *δί-δο-σαι τί-θε-σαι*, Lith. *dũsi desė̃-s* O.C.Sl. *dasi*.

The same ending in the Perfect: Skr. *da-di-ṣḗ ri-rik-ṣḗ*, Gr. *δέ-δο-σαι λέ-λειψαι*.

(2) Secondary endings *-so* and *-thēs*, the latter connected with perf. act. *-tha* (§ 984. 3 p. 523), and recalling Gr. *-μᾱν* (§ 1041. 2 p. 528). Originally it would seem that *-so* belonged only to thematic and *-thēs* only to unthematic stems.

(*a*) *-so*. Avest. *bara-ŋha*, Gr. *φέρεο φέρου ἐ-φέρεο ἔ-φέρου*, Lat. *sequere*. Possibly also Idg. *-se*, see § 1082. 1.

(*b*) *-thēs*. Skr. *á-di-thās*, Gr. *ἐ-δό-θης*. *s*-Aor. Skr. *á-śramiṣ-ṭhās* from *śram-* 'to grow tired' Gr. *ἐ-κρεμάσθης* from *κρέμα-μαι* 'I hang'. O.Ir. *cluin-te* 'exaudi'.

§ **1048**. Aryan. On *-sụa* in the imperative see § 968 p. 510.

(1) Primary ending, pr. Ar. *-sai̯*. Skr. *bhára-sē* Avest. *bara-ŋhę̄*. Conj. Skr. *pṛchā-sē* Avest. *perᵉså-ŋhę̄*; on *-sāi* in the Skr. conjunctive, see § 922 p. 470. Skr. *brū-ṣē kṛ-ṇu-ṣé*, Avest. *raosę̄* beside 3rd sing. injunct. Gath. *raostā* (from *rud-* 'to grow'). Perfect Skr. *dadi-ṣé*.

(2) In the Secondary endings Sanskrit and Avestic do not go together; the former has only pr. Ar. *-thās*, the latter only pr. Ar. *-sa*. Skr. *á-kṛ-thās á-dhat-thās á-dhūnu-thās janiṣ-ṭhās*, opt. *vāvṛdhī-thā́s bhárē-thās*, pret. *á-bhara-thās*. Avest. *a-yasa-ŋha* (cp. Skr. *á-yacha-thās*), Gathic *aoγžā* beside 3rd sing. *aogᵉdā* (I § 482 p. 356), *då-ŋhā* (but Skr. *á-dhi-thās*), opt. *daiϑī-ša baraę-ša* (but Skr. *dadhī-thās bhárē-thās*).

§ **1049**. Greek.

(1) Primary ending *-σαι*. *ἧσαι* 'thou sittest' for **ἧσ-σαι* (§ 494 p. 54), *δίδο-σαι δάμ-να-σαι*. *φέρεαι φέρῃ*,[1]) conj. *φέρηαι φέρῃ*. Perf. *γέγραψαι δέδο-σαι μέμνη-σαι*. That the 2nd sing. imper. of the *s*-Aorist, as *λέξαι*, comes in here, we saw in § 910 Rem. p. 460, § 969. 2 p. 511.

(2) Of the two secondary endings, *-θης* holds its ground in the Present of Classes I and X and in the *s*-Aorist, as *ἐ-δό-θης* = Skr. *á-di-thās* (3rd sing. *ἔ-δο-το* = Skr. *á-di-ta*) *ἐ-κτά-θης* = Skr. *á-kṣa-thās* (3rd sing. *ἔ-κτα-το* = Skr. *á-kṣa-ta*), *ἐ-βλή-θης*

1) On the supposed middle forms in *-ει*, see Meisterhans Gramm. d. att. Inschr.² 131, the Author, Gr. Gr.² p. 147.

(3rd sing. *ἔ-βλη-το*), *ἐ-μείχϑης* (3rd sing. *ἔ-μεικτο* for **ἐ-μεικ-σ-το*. On these forms is founded the whole "Weak" passive aorist *ἐ-δόϑη-ν* etc. See § 589 pp. 130 f.

The only suffix which remained in living use was *-σο*; and this, as in Avestic, spread to unthematic stems. *ἐ-φέρε-ο ἐ-φέρου*, injunct. imper. *φέρε-ο φέρου*. *ἔ-ϑε-ο ἔϑου* (beside *ἐ-τέ-ϑης*), injunct. imper. *ϑέ-ο ϑοῦ*, *ἧσο* for **ἧσ-σο*, *ἐ-δίδο-σο*, *ἐ-γέγραψο ἐ-δέδο-σο*, *ἐ-δείξα-ο* (*ἐδείξω* Dor. *ἐδείξᾱ*), opt. *ϑεῖ-ο φέροι-ο*.

The σ of *-σαι* and *-σο* of course dropt in pr. Greek after vowels (I § 564 p. 420 f.). In Attic on the analogy of forms such as *γέγραψαι ἐγέγραψο*, the σ was restored in the perfect, pluperfect, and unthematic present and imperfect, with a very few exceptions of which one is *ἐδύνω*: *δέδοσαι δίδοσαι ἐδέδοσο ἐδίδοσο ἵστασαι* etc. Homer has still the unrestored forms, *βέβληαι* plpf. *ἔσσυο δίζηαι ἐμάρναο* imper. *παρ-ίσταο*, side by side with *δύνασαι παρ-ίστασαι* imper. *ἵστασο*. The aorist everywhere kept clear of this tendency: Att. *ἔϑου ἐδείξω*.

In later times, the vulgar dialect used *-σαι* with thematic stems as well, e. g. in the N.Test. *πίεσαι*.

§ 1050. Italic. Latin keeps *-so* in the form *-re* (I § 81 p. 73): — *seque-re*: Gr. *ἕπε-ο*, *rē-re vidē-re fābulā-re*, conj. *sequā-re*.

Side by side with *-re* there is a variant *-ris*, found everywhere except in the imperative; e. g. *sequeris*. The reason for this formation, which is analogical, is that *agis* and *age* were associated as being both second person. In the older language, *-re* is still commoner than the other.

As regards *sequere sequeris* the student may further compare the remarks in § 1082 on Osc. *vincter*.

Inscriptions also have *-rus*, as *spatiārus ūtārus*. I offer the following conjecture as to this ending. We may suppose that at the time when **spatiā-so* was the form, a suffix **-so-r* arose answering to **-to-r -tur* in the 3rd singular,[1]) and that

1) **-so-r *-rur* beside **-so -re* like O.Ir. *-the-r* beside *-the* (§ 1051).

**-rur* changed to *-rus* following *-ris*. This I think more probable than supposing that *-ris* changed to *-rus* on the analogy of *-ur* and *-tur*. Compare further p. 577 footnote.

§ **1051.** Keltic. Irish retains Idg. *-thēs*.

-the for **-thēs* in the injunctive with imperative function, as *cluin-te* 'exaudi'; this is found almost exclusively with verbs which are altogether or mostly deponent in flexion. See § 909 p. 458.

-ther, made up of *-the* + the deponent suffix *-r*, appears in the conjugation of deponents; e. g. pres. indic. *-sechther* 'sequeris' conj. *-sechther* 'sequeris'. In the *s*-aorist **-s-thēs* became *-sse*, and with *-r* *-sser*; as *ro-sudigser* from *sudigim* 'pono', like Skr. *janiṣ-ṭhās*.

§ **1052.** Germanic. Here only *-sai̯* can be traced, Goth. *-za* (cp. III § 263 Rem. p. 165 f., Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 217): *salbō-za* cp. Gr. perf. *τε-τίμη-σαι* Lat. injunct. pres. *amā-re*; *baira-za* (*a* as the thematic vowel, as in 3rd sing. *baira-da*, comes from the plural *bairanda* in all probability): cp. Gr. *φέρε-αι*.

The ending *-zau* in opt. *bairái-zau* is, like *-dau* in the 3rd sing. and *-ndau* in 3rd plural, obscure. Compare imper. *at-steigadau liugandau*, § 970 p. 511.

§ **1053.** Balto-Slavonic. Here also the only suffix is *-sai̯*, with active meaning.

In Lithuanian, it occurs with unthematic verbs, as *desë(-s)* for **det-së*: Skr. *dhatsē*; Pruss. *seggē-sai* 'thou doest'. See § 991 p. 528.

In Old Church Slavonic, also with verbs in *-mi*, as *dasi* 'givest' for **dō-t-sai̯*: Skr. *datsē*. See *ibid*.

3RD PERSON SINGULAR.

§ **1054.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) Primary ending *-tai̯* or *-tə̯i̯*. Skr. *ás-tē* Gr. *ἧσ-ται*. Skr. *ṛ-ṇu-tē* Gr. *ὄρ-νυ-ται*. Gr. *ἄη-ται* Lesb. *ποίη-ται τίμᾱ-ται* Goth. *salbō-da*. Skr. *bhára-tē* Gr. *φέρε-ται* Goth. *baira-da*.

Thematic Conjunct.: Skr. *kar-a-tē mą́-s-a-tē* Gr. *φϑί-ε-ται ἀμείψ-ε-ται.* Long-vowel Conjunct.: Skr. *manyā-tē* Gr. *μαίνη-ται.*

(2) Secondary ending *-to.* Skr. *á-di-ta* Gr. *ἔ-δο-το* Lat. *da-tu-r.* Skr. *á-stō-ṣ-ṭa* Gr. *ἔμειχτο* for **ἐ-μειχ-σ-το.* Opt. Skr. *dadhī-tá* Gr. *τιϑεῖ-το* Lat. *duī-tu-r,* Skr. *bhárē-ta* Gr. *φέροι-το.* Skr. *á-bhara-ta* Gr. *ἐ-φέρε-το* Lat. *agi-tu-r.* Conj. Lat. *ferā-tu-r* O.Ir. *do-berthar.*

-to also in Venetian: *zo-to* 'ἔδοτο', *zonas-to* 'ἐδωρήσατο, donavit'. See p. 53 footnote 2. In Armenian Bugge (Idg. Forsch. I 440) sees *-to* in the *-v* of the 3rd sing. aor. II mid., as *cnav* 'natus est' for **ĝenə-to*, cp. 3rd pl. *cna-n* § 1066. I also conjecture *-to* in such forms as Lith. *rìms-ta*, see footnote to p. 216.

On the strength of Osc. *-ter* beside Lat. *-tur* = *-to + r*, e. g. *vincter* 'vincitur', we should perhaps assume another Idg. form *-te* beside *-to* (and similarly in the 3rd pl. *-nte* beside *-nto*), see § 1082.

(3) *-ai̯* or *-ei̯* in the Perfect: Skr. *ca-kr-ḗ da-dh-ḗ.*

In § 1041. 3 p. 560 I said that *-ē* in Skr. 1st sing. *di-dviṣ-ḗ* is doubtless connected with *-i* = *-ə* in the 1st sing. *á-dviṣ-i.* If so, we must connect *-ē* in 3rd sing. *didviṣ-ḗ* with *-i* in 3rd sing. aor. mid. pass., as ai. *á-vāc-i*; all the more because the root-vowel so strikingly recals the Skr. 3rd sing. perf. act. (*u-vā́c-a*). Compare § 905 p. 453.

§ **1055.** Aryan. As regards *-ām* and *-tām* in the Imperative, see § 968. 2 p. 510.

(1) Primary ending Ar. *-tai̯.* Skr. *vás-tē* Avest. *vas-tẹ̄* (from *vas-* 'to clothe oneself'), Skr. *dhattḗ* Avest. Gath. *dazdẹ̄* (I § 482 Rem. 1 p. 356). Skr. *bhára-tē* Avest. *baraitẹ̄* O.Pers. *gauba-taiy* 'is called'. Conj. Skr. *yam-a-tē* Avest. *yamaitẹ̄* (from *yam-* 'cohibere'), Skr. *yáj-ā-tē* Avest. *yazāitẹ̄* O.Pers. *gaubā-taiy*; on *-tāi* in the Skr. Conj. see § 922 p. 470.

(2) Secondary ending Ar. *-ta.* Skr. *á-brū-ta* Avest. Gath. *mrū-tā*, Skr. *á-ha-ta* O.Pers. *a-ja-tā.* s-Aor. Skr. *á-praṣṭa* Avest. Gath. *fraštā* from √*prek̑-* (§ 814 p. 352). Skr. *á-bhara-ta* Avest. *bara-ta* O.Pers. *a-naya-tā* 'was led'.

Opt. ai. *bruvī-tá* Avest. Gath. *mrvī-tā* Skr. *dadhī-tá* Avest. *daiþī-ta*, Skr. *bhárē-ta* Avest. *barae̜-ta*.

(3) Perfect Ar. *-ai̯*. Skr. *da-dhr-ḗ* Avest. Gath. *dā-dr-ę̄*, Skr. *dá-dh-ē* Avest. *daiđ-ę̄*. The *-i* of Skr. *á-vāc-i* Avest. Gath. *a-vāc-ī* may be regarded as in some degree the secondary ending of this *-ai̯*; see § 1054. 3.

It is not uncommon to find Ar. *-tai̯* and *-ai̯* interchanging, in consequence of the close connexion between Present and Perfect. Thus on the one hand we have Skr. *ī́ṣ-ṭē* instead of *ī́ś-ē* (Avest. *is-ę̄*, Goth. act. *áih*, § 848. 1 p. 391).[1] On the other hand, Skr. *bruv-ē* Avest. *mruyę̄* i. e. *mruvę̄* instead of *mrū-tḗ mrūitę̄*, Skr. *śr̥ṇv-ḗ* instead of *śr̥ṇu-tḗ*. There is the same confusion in the 3rd pl. (§ 1078. 1). Compare also act. *nṓ-nav-a* beside *nṓ-navī-ti* § 850 p. 398. There is nothing to prevent forms like Skr. *bruv-ē* from being called an unreduplicated perfect.

§ 1056. Greek. On the imper. *-σθω* see § 966 p. 506 f.

(1) Primary ending *-ται* (Boeot. *-τη* Thess. *-τει* I § 96 p. 90). *ἵστα-ται φέρε-ται*, conj. *ἀμείψε-ται φέρη-ται*. Arcad. *-τοι* instead of *-ται*, but (notwithstanding O. Hoffmann, Die griech. Dial. I 180 f.) this comes from the analogy of *-το*.

Even in pr. Greek perf. *δέδο-ται πέπυσται* following the present (cp. Skr. *ī́ṣ-ṭē* instead of *ī́ś-ē* § 1055. 3), just as *δέδο-μαι* follows *δίδο-μαι* (§ 1043 p. 560).

(2) Secondary ending *-το* (Cypr. *-τυ* I § 80 p. 71): *ἵστα-το ἐ-φέρε-το*, opt. *τιθεῖ-το φέροι-το*.

§ 1057. Italic. Here we have *-to* with *-r*. Lat. *da-tu-r*: Gr. *δό-το*. *sequi-tu-r*: Gr. *ἕπε-το*. As to Osc. *-ter* see § 1054. 2 p. 564, § 1082.

§ 1058.[2] Keltic. Probably only *-to*.

First in the 3rd sing. of the *t*-preterite, as O.Ir. *as-bert*

1) Compare the change of Upper-Germ. *er weiss* to *er weisst* and of O.Fris. *āch* 'he has' (= got. *áih*) to *ācht*.

2) Whoever assumes with Zimmer that the 3rd pl. act. *berit* represents both **beronti* and mid. **berontai̯* (see § 1024 p. 552) may also regard 3rd sing. *sechidir* and 3rd pl. *sechitir* as representing *-tai̯+r* and *-ntai̯+r*.

dixit', which is followed by 1st sing. *-burt* etc. after *-t* became part of the stem; see § 506 pp. 72 f.

Next, in the middle ending *-thar* for *-to+r*, as conj. *doberthar*: Lat. *ferā-tur*.

§ **1059.** Germanic. Only *-tai̯* remains. Goth. *háita-da* A.S. *hātte* for **hai̯ta-đai̯*, Goth. *salbō-da*. See § 1045 p. 560. *-a-* is the thematic vowel, as in the 2nd sing. *háita-za* § 1052 p. 563.

The ending *-dau* in Goth. opt. *bairái-dau* (also used as 1st sing.) is obscure. Compare *bairái-zau*, loc. cit.

1ST PERSON PLURAL.

§ **1060.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic. We may suppose that *-medhai̯* or *-medhəi̯* = Skr. *-mahē* is the Primary, and *medhə* = Skr. *-mahi* Gr. *-μεθα* the Secondary ending, e. g. pres. Skr. *bhárā-mahē* pret. Skr. *á-bharā-mahi* Gr. *ἐ-φερό-μεθα*. Compare § 973 p. 515 f.

Goth. *bairanda* is doubtless 3rd pl. and not for **bira-mda* **-midai̯* (§ 1071).

As to *-m̥medhai̯* (Avest. *hišc-amaiđē*), answering to act. *-m̥mes*, see § 1001 p. 535 f.

§ **1061.** Aryan. Skr. *-mahē -mahi* with *h* = *dh* is to be explained like the imper. ending *-hi* beside *-dhi*, see § 960 p. 503.

(1) Primary ending Skr. *-mahē* Avest. *-maiđē*. Skr. *bhárā-mahē* Avest. *barā-maiđē*. Conj. Skr. *saniṣā-mahē* Avest. *cinaþā-maiđē* (beside *cinas-ti* 'he teaches' § 626 p. 163); on Skr. conj. forms like *yájāmahāi* see § 922 p. 470.

The same ending in the Perfect: Skr. *mumuc-mahē*.

(2) Secondary ending Skr. *-mahi* Avest. Gath. *-maidī*. Skr. *á-yuj-mahi*, *s*-Aor. Skr. *á-ga-s-mahi* (from *gam-* 'to go') Avest. *a-mēhmaidī* (from *man-* 'to think', § 815 p. 353). Opt. Skr. *bhárē-mahi* Avest. *barōi-maidī*.

In late Avestic *-maiđē* is also used as secondary (just the opposite in Greek, § 1062), e. g. opt. *barōi-maiđē*.

§ **1062.** Greek. Only *-μεθα*, the secondary ending, is kept, and used for both primary and perfect suffix as well as secondary. *ὀρ-νύ-μεθα φερό-μεθα, ἐ-φερό-μεθα, φεροί-μεθα*, perf. *πεπύσμεθα*.

Homer. *-μεσθα* with *σ* by analogy of *-σθε -σθον -σθην*.

Remark. V. Henry (Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 73 f.) thinks that Greek once had in the active *φέρομες* : **ἐφερομε*, and at this period the type *φερόμεσ-θα* was produced on the analogy of *ἐφέρομε-θα*; after that *-μεσθα* was employed as secondary as well as primary.

Aeol. *-μεθεν*, only known through the grammarians, appears to be modelled upon *-μεν* (*-μεθεν* : *-μεν* = *-σθε* : *-τε*). Compare 3rd pl. Thess. *-νθει-ν* § 1068.

2ND PERSON PLURAL.

§ **1063.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic. All that can be fairly inferred from Ar. *-dhu̯ai̯* (primary) *-dhu̯am* (secondary) and Gr. *-σθε* (both) is that the original ending contained *dh*. It is phonetically possible to derive Gr. *-σθε* from **-σθϝε*. The original ending of the suffix may perhaps be that shewn by Aryan. It is possible that Gr. *-σθον* was orig. 2nd plural (*-σθον* = Skr. *-dhvam*), and turned into a dual because of the dual meaning of *φέρετον*; after which *-σθε* was made for the plural to match *-τε*.

Remark. The *σ* of *-σθε* is the most obscure part of this suffix. Three explanations are possible.

(1) The suffix originally began with *-zdh-*, which became Gr. *-σθ-*. In Aryan *z* dropt between consonants, and the type thus produced became general.

(2) It orig. began with *-dh-*. Then Gr. *ἦσ-θε πέπυσ-θε* come straight from it. In mentally analysing these forms, *σ* was conceived to be part of the suffix; whence *φέρε-σθε* etc. On this supposition it remains doubtful whether such forms as *ἔσπαρθε ἔσταλθε πεφύλαχθε* still have the orig. suffix, without the intrusive *σ*, or whether they once had *σ* and it disappeared as it regularly would.

(3) There was a double suffix, with initial *-zdh-* or *-dh-*; and each of the two types was preferred by certain languages.

Compare Bartholomae, Rhein. Mus. XLV 153.

§ **1064.** Aryan. On Skr. *-dhvād* imper., see § 965 p. 506.

(1) Primary ending Ar. *-dhu̯ai̯ -dhuu̯ai̯*: Skr. *-dhvē*, also *-dhuvē* in Vedic, Avest. *-duyę̄* i. e. *-duvę̄*. Skr. *aṅg-dhvē*

(from *anák-ti* 'he smears, anoints') Avest. Gath. *merᵉṇgᵉ-duyē* (from *marc-* 'to destroy', § 626 p. 162). Conjunctive Skr. *kāmáyā-dhvē*; as regards *-dhvāi* in the conj., see § 922 p. 470.

The same ending in the Perfect: *bubudhi-dhvḗ*.

(2) Secondary ending. Ar. *-dhu̯am -dhuu̯am*: Skr. *-dhvam*, also *-dhuvam* in Vedic, Avest. *-đwem -dūm* (I § 159 p. 142). Skr. *á-bhara-dhvam* Avest. *bara-đwem*. Avest. *s*-aorist Gath. *ϑrā-z-dūm* from *trā-* 'to push through' (§ 813 p. 351).

§ **1065.** Greek. Always -σθε, see § 1063. φέρεσθε ἦσθε ἐ-φέρε-σθε φέροι-σθε. Perfect πέπυσθε.

Perf. πέφανθε beside 1st sing. πέφασμαι 3rd sing. πέφανται is doubtless a transformation of *πέφασθε on the lines of ἔσπαρθε beside ἔσπαρθαι; see § 862 p. 411.

3RD PERSON PLURAL.

§ **1066.** Proethnic Indo-Germanic.

(1) After consonants *-n̥tai̯* or *-n̥təi̯* and *-n̥to*.

(*a*) Primary ending *-n̥tai* or *-n̥təi̯*. Skr. *ás-atē* Gr. Hom. ἥ-αται, Skr. *dá-dh-atē pu-n-atḗ ta-nv-atḗ*.

(*b*) Secondary ending *-n̥to*. Skr. *ás-ata* Gr. Hom. ἥ-ατο. Skr. *á-kr̥-ṇv-ata*, *s*-Aor. *á-dr̥kš-ata*. Opt. Gr. γενοί-ατο.

(2) After sonants *-ntai̯* or *-ntəi̯* and *-nto*.

(*a*) Primary ending *-ntai̯* or *-ntəi̯*. Skr. *bhára-ntē* Gr. φέρο-νται Goth. *baíra-nda*. Thematic Conj. Skr. *mą-s-a-ntē* Gr. Hom. ἐπ-εντύνο-νται (ἐπ-εντύνω 'I arrange'). Long-vowel Conjunctive Avest. *hacā-ntē* Gr. ἕπω-νται. Gr. δίζη-νται Lesb. προ-νόη-νται τίμα-νται Goth. *salbō-nda*.

(*b*) Secondary ending *-nto*. Skr. *á-bhara-nta* Gr. ἐ-φέρο-ντο Lat. *feruntu-r* O.Ir. *do-bertar*. Conj. Lat. *fera-ntu-r* O.Ir. *do-bertar*. Gr. ἔμ-πλη-ντο Lat. *im-ple-ntu-r planta-ntu-r*.

-nto is conjectured by Bugge (Idg. Forsch. I 440) in the *-n* of the Armen. 3rd pl. aor. II mid., as *cna-n* 'nati sunt' for **ĝenə-nto*.

On account of Oscan forms of the 3rd plural like karanter 'pascuntur' beside Lat. *-ntur* = *-nto+r*, we should perhaps

assume an Idg. form *-n̥te -nte* beside *-n̥to -nto* (similarly in the 3rd sing. *-te* beside *-to*), see § 1082.

(3) Perfect. What connexion there is between the Aryan forms, as Skr. *du-duh-rḗ ja-gm-i-rḗ*, and O.Ir. *do-mēn-atar* (Gr. *τετράφ-αται*) is still a riddle. See §§ 1076 ff.

§ 1067. Aryan. On the Imperative in *-atām -ntām* see § 968 p. 510.

(1) After sonants Ar. *-atai̯ -ata*.

(*a*) Primary ending *-atai̯*. Skr. *vás-atē*, *indh-atḗ indh-átē*, Avest. *merᵉnc-aitē̜*.

(*b*) Secondary ending *-ata*. Skr. *á-gm-ata á-tanv-ata*, Avest. Gath. *darᵉs-atā* (√ *derk̂-*).

In Avestic *-aitē̜ -ata* as a rule gave way to *-antē̜ -anta*, which mark the plural number better; cp. act. *daþ-enti* as contrasted with Skr. *dádh-ati* § 1018. 1. *b* p. 545. E. g. *åŋhantē̜ dadentē̜ verᵉnvaintē̜* (Skr. *ás-atē dádh-atē vr̥ṇv-átē*), *mravanta* (3rd sing. *mrao-tā mrū-ta*), opt. *barayanta*.

As regards O.Pers. *ahatā* 'erant' it is impossible to say whether it ought to be spelt with a nasal or not (I § 197 Rem. p. 166).

(2) After sonants Ar. *-ntai̯ -nta*.

(*a*) Primary ending *-ntai̯*. Skr. *bhára-ntē*, Avest. *bara-ntē̜*. Short-vowel Conjunctive Skr. *na̜-s-a-ntē* (from *nam-* 'to bend, bow oneself'), long-vowel Avest. *yazå-ntē̜*. On *-ntāi* in the Skr. Conjunctive see § 922 p. 470.

(*b*) Secondary ending *-nta*. Skr. *á-bhara-nta*, Avest. *yaze-nta* O.Pers. *a-baratā* (read *abarantā*).

(3) In the Perfect we have an *r*-ending, Skr. *-rē* Avest. *-rē̜*, see § 1078. 1. Observe that in Sanskrit this ending crept into the Present like the *-ē* of the 3rd sing. (§ 1055. 3 p. 565). e. g. *duh-rḗ sunv-i-rḗ*.

§ 1068. Greek. On imper. *-σθω -σθων -σθωσαν* see § 966 p. 506 f.

(1) After consonants *-αται -ατο*.

(*a*) Primary ending *-αται*. Hom. *ἥ-αται* for **ἡσ-αται*,

κέ-αται for *κεχ-αται (variant κείαται with κει- following κεῖ-μαι etc., see I § 130 p. 117 f.), εἰρύ-αται.

(*b*) Secondary ending -ατο. Hom. ἥ-ατο κεί-ατο εἰρύ-ατο. Opt. Hom. and elsewhere γενοί-ατο ἐπι-φρασσαί-ατο ἐπι-σταί-ατο, whose diphthongs οι and αι are to be explained like κεί-αται (*a*), δαινύατο = -νυι-ατο (§ 944 p. 487).

-αται -ατο are special favourites in the Perfect system, where they occur even in Attic prose; e. g. τετεύχ-αται γεγράφ-αται ἐ-τετάχ-ατο (cp. § 898 p. 446).

Instead of *τιθ-αται *διδ-αται (Skr. *dá-dh-atē*) we have τίθε-νται δίδο-νται (2), as act. τίθε-ντι instead of *τιθ-ατι (§ 1020. 1. *b* p. 547).

(2) After sonants -νται -ντο.

(*a*) Primary ending -νται. φέρο-νται. Conj. φέρω-νται. δίζη-νται Lesb. προ-νόη-νται.

(*b*) Secondary ending -ντο. ἐ-φέρο-ντο. πλῆ-ντο = *πλᾱν-το pres. πελάζω, ἔμ-πλη-ντο from *plē-* 'fill'.

Of the same kind are perf. μέμνη-νται δεδούλω-νται ἐ-μέμνη-ντο.

Wherever a long vowel precedes -νται -ντο it was previously short, as it should be (I § 611 p. 461). Compare opt. -πλῆτο μεμνήμην § 944 p. 488. With φέρωνται cp. act. φέρω-ντι § 923 p. 471.

Both -αται -ατο and -νται -ντο overstep their proper boundaries in one or more dialects. In Ionic the former pair are applied to stems in *ā*, *ē*, or *ō*; as Hom. βεβλή-αται βεβλή-ατο instead of βέβλη-νται βέβλη-ντο, late Ion. πεπονέαται (for -ηαται) and τιθέ-αται διδό-αται, cp. act. τιθέ-ᾱσι (§ 1021. 4 p. 549). On the other hand, -νται -ντο are added to stems in *i* and *u* in Attic and elsewhere, sometimes in Ionic itself; e. g. κεῖ-νται ἔκει-ντο λύ-ντο ἄγνυ-νται (should be *ἄγνυ-αται, cp. Skr. *aśnuv-atē*) εἴρυ-ντο, opt. γένοι-ντο τιθεῖ-ντο, with which compare 1st sing. ἔφῡ-ν (§ 979. 3 p. 520) and opt. 1st sing. φέροι-ν (*ibid.*) and 3rd pl. φέροι-ν (§ 1020. 1. *b* p. 547). Further, ἧνται ἧντο beside ἥαται ἥατο, since ἧμαι ἥμεθα (for *ἡσ-μαι *ἡσ-μεθα) were regarded as similar in structure to ἄη-μαι etc.

Boeotian and Thessalian have ϑ in place of τ in the 3rd plural endings, as Boeot. *ἐστροτευάϑη* (= Ion. *ἐστρατεύαται*) *ἐβάλονϑο* Thess. *ἐγένονϑο*; and Boeotian has ϑ in the active endings too, *καλέονϑι διδόανϑι*. It may be suggested that ϑ came in from the middle endings *-μεϑα* and *-σϑε*, and in Boeotian had spread from the 3rd pl. middle to the 3rd pl. active.

In Thessalian we get *-νϑει-ν* as a primary ending, in which *-ν* probably came from the active; cp. § 1062 p. 567 on *-μεϑεν*. Example: *ἐφανγρένϑειν*.

§ **1069.** Italic. Here we have *-nto* + *-r*. Lat. *feru-ntur ama-ntur*, Umbr. ema-ntur 'emantur'. On Osc. kara-nter see § 1066. 2. *b* p. 568.

§ **1070.**[1]) Keltic. Here too we have *-nto*+*r*, as O.Ir. *do-bertar* 'dantur': Lat. *feru-ntur*. Beside this *-nto* without *-r* is possibly contained in *do-berat* 'dant', see § 1024 p. 552.

§ **1071.** Germanic. *-ntai̯* or *-ntəi̯* in Goth. *baíra-nda salbō-nda*, used for both 1st and 2nd plural (cp. § 1060 p. 566).

An obscure form is *-ndau* in the opt. *baírái-ndau* (also used for both 1st and 2nd plural); cp. § 1052 p. 563.

PERSONS OF THE DUAL MIDDLE.

§ **1072.** 1st Person. Aryan alone has any special suffix; Skr. prim. *-vahē* sec. *-vahi*, which if we judge by *-mahē -mahi* will be derived from **-u̯edhai̯* or **-u̯edhəi̯* and **-u̯edhə*. E. g. *bhárā-vahē* opt. *bhárē-vahi*; on *-vahāi* in Conjunctive forms like *sacāvahāi* see § 922 p. 470.

Greek. *-μεϑον*, only found in rare instances and questionable at that, is doubtless a transformation of *-μεϑα* made to match the ending of *-σϑον*.

§ **1073.** 2nd and 3rd Person. Here there is hardly anything to do but to present the facts. Aryan alone shows suffixes that can have any claim to be regarded as original.

§ **1074.** Aryan. Skr. primary 2nd dual *-āthē* 3rd dual *-ātē*,

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1) See footnote 2 to § 1058 p. 565, above.

secondary 2nd dual *-āthām* 3rd dual *-ātām* in unthematic stems. Indic. pres. *dviṣ-áthē -átē*, imperf. *á-dviṣ-āthām á-dviṣ-ātām*. It has the primary endings in the Perfect, *cakr-áthē -átē*. In Avestic the same stems have the secondary 3rd dual *-ātem* = pr. Ar. **-ātam*: *a-srv-ātem* von *sru-* 'hear'. In Vedic are other secondary endings, *-īthām -ītām*: 2nd dual injunct. aor. *trá-s -īthām* 3rd dual indic. aor. *á-dh-ītām*.

Skr. primary 2nd dual *-ēthē* 3rd dual *-ētē*, secondary 2nd dual *-ētham* 3rd dual *-ētām* in thematic stems. Indic. pres. *bhárēthē bhárētē*, imperf. *á-bharēthām á-bharētām*. On the Conjunctives *bhárāithē bhárāitē* see § 922 p. 470. In Avestic there is a 3rd dual indic. pres. *vaęnōiþę*, answering to the form of the Skr. 2nd dual; but injunct. 3rd dual *jasaętem*.

Rarely Skr. *-thē* etc. without any preceding vowel in the ending itself. Skr. 2nd dual indic. perf. *ci-kḗ-thē*, 3rd dual indic. pres. *patya-tē* conj. aor. *yam-a-tē*, 2nd dual injunct. *dī-dhī-thām*. Similarly Avest. 3rd dual indic. perf. *dazdę* = **dha-dh+taį*.

See further details in Bartholomae, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIX 283 ff.; Jackson, Amer. Or. Soc. Proceed., Oct. 1889, p. CLXV.

§ **1075.** Greek. Indic. pres. 2nd dual *φέρε-σθον* 3rd dual *φέρε-σθον*, imperf. 2nd dual *ἐ-φέρε-σθον* (*ἐ-φερέ-σθην*) 3rd dual *ἐ-φερέ-σθην* (*ἐ-φέρε-σθον*) answering to the active *φέρε-τον* etc., see § 1033 p. 556, § 1039 p. 558. Possibly *φέρε-σθον* was originally 2nd plural (§ 1063 p. 567), and caused *-σθᾱν* to be made on the model of *-τᾱν*.

ARYAN, ITALIC, AND KELTIC ENDINGS WITH *R*.[1])

§ **1076.** In this section we discuss those endings of the Aryan, Italic, and Keltic branches which consist of, or contain, the suffix *-r*.

Remark. It is not impossible, but certainly it is unlikely, that the *r* which we noticed in the 2nd and 3rd singular in Armenian has the same origin (§ 986 Rem. p. 524).

1) These have been more fully treated by Windisch and Zimmer in their essays cited on pages 512 and 513.

Italic and Keltic are very much alike in these endings. Aryan is quite different; and it has not yet been shewn which best represents the parent language, or how the present variation came about. Perhaps *r* was originally a perfect suffix; for the perfect has peculiar endings in other of its persons. But whether *r* properly belonged to the 3rd plural, or denoted an indefinite subject or subjects, such as *one says*, *one comes*, or what, it is at present quite impossible to say. Certain *r*-forms in both Italic and Keltic appear to belong to the separate history of those branches.

I shall not indulge in any speculations as to the earliest value of this *r*. The latest discussion may be seen in Johansson's paper, Bezz. Beitr. XVIII 49.

§ 1077. Aryan shows it almost exclusively in the 3rd plural (exceptions are the 2nd and 3rd dual perf. act. in *-athur -atur* in Sanskrit).

The Active voice has it in the 3rd pl. perfect, aorist, and optative, with exception of the 2nd and 3rd dual perfect.

First as regards the usage in the 3rd plural. Here *-r* sometimes is the only personal suffix and sometimes it is combined with *s*. Tracing the forms back to proethnic Aryan, we get four:

(1) *-r* = Avest. *-rᵉ*: opt. *hyā-rᵉ* 'sint', a later re-formate with the strong opt. suffix *-yā-* (§ 1018. 2 p. 546).

(2) *-r̥r* (the form taken by *r̥* before sonants) = Skr. *-ur* Avest. *-arᵉ* (I § 290 p. 233): perf. Skr. *ās-úr* Avest. *åŋh-arᵉ*, aor. Skr. *á-dh-ur* Avest. Gath. *d-arᵊ*, opt. Skr. *sy-úr bhárēy-ur*. But Skr. *-ur* may be equated with Avest. *-erᵉš* (4).

(3) *-rš* = Avest. *-rᵉš*: opt. *daiþyā-rᵉš*, a new form like *hyā-rᵉ* (1).

(4) *-r̥š* = Avest. *-erᵉš*: perf. *cikōit-erᵉš* (§ 850 p. 397, § 852 p. 402). This form may also be the origin of Skr. *-ur*, compare gen. abl. Skr. *mātúr* with Avest. *nerᵉš* III § 235 pp. 125 f.

Exceptionally Skr. *-ur* appears in the indic. present as well, as *duh-úr* 'they milk'. But this formation, 3rd pl. mid. *duh-rḗ* and

3rd sing. mid. *duh-é*, may if you will be called an unreduplicated perfect. In any case *duh-úr* does not justify our assuming that *r* originally belonged to the indic. present.

The combinations Skr. *-atur* Avest. *-atarᵉ* in the 3rd dual, and Skr. *-athur* in the 2nd dual, are without doubt peculiar to Aryan; see § 1038 p. 557 f.

§ 1078. In the Middle and Passive *r* is found only with the 3rd plural, and only combined with other elements, added after it, which usually appear as middle and passive suffixes in other connexions.

(1) *-rai̯* in the 3rd pl. perf., and by analogy in the 3rd pl. present, is proethnic in Aryan. Skr. *du-duh-rḗ da-dh-rḗ*, pres. or unreduplicated perf. *duh-rḗ* (cp. *duh-úr* § 1077); Skr. *śḗ-rē* Avest. *saę-rę̄ sōi-rę̄* 'they lie' (cp. 3rd sing. *śáy-ē* beside *śḗ-tē*). In Sanskrit *-rē* is generally preceded by *-i-* = Idg. *-ə-*, regularly so in Vedic with a long stem-syllable (cp. § 844 p. 385), as *īś-i-rḗ ja-jñ-i-rḗ* (cp. Avest. *vaoz-i-rem* under 2.); so also pres. *śr̥ṇv-i-rḗ* (cp. 2nd sing. *śr̥ṇv-i-ṣḗ* § 853 p. 403). *-irē* became a new suffix and in classical Sanskrit was the only one used for the Perfect, as *duduh-irē cikriy-irē* (pres. *śay-irē* beside *śē-ratē*). By analogy of forms like *duduh-rḗ* and like *jajñ-irḗ* we have in Vedic *duduh-rirḗ jagr̥bh-rirḗ*, and others.

In Avestic *-rę̄* passed into the *ā*-Conjunctive: *åŋhā-rę̄* beside indic. *ās-tę̄* 'sits'.

Ar. *-rai̯* seems to have the same relation to act. *-r* (*-r̥*) as *-ntai̯* to *-nt*, 3rd sing. *-tai̯* to *-t* and the like.

(2) Further, *-ram* in the augmented preterite is pr. Aryan, as *á-dr̥ś-ram a-sr̥g-ram*, Avest. *vaoz-i-rem* (§ 844 p. 385, § 854 p. 403). *-ram* is usually compared with the middle ending of 2nd pl. *-dhvam*.

The following *r*- suffixes appear in Sanskrit only.

(3) *-ra* in augmented preterite: *á-duh-ra*. *á-duh-ra* : *duh-rḗ* = *á-duh-ata* : *duh-atḗ* (*duh-átē*).

(4) *-ratē* and *-rata*: pres. *duh-ratē śḗ-ratē*, opt. *mąs-ī-rata bharē-rata*.

(5) Isolated: *-ranta* in *á-va-vr̥t-ranta*.

(6) *-rām* and (7) *-ratām* in the Imperative: *duh-rā́m* and *duh-ratā́m*. Cp. *duh-ā́tām* § 968. 2 p. 510. Lastly

(8) *-ran* in the augmented preterite, as *a-va-vṛt-ran á-ca-kr-i-ran á-dṛś-ran á-śē-ran*, and in the Optative, as *da-dī-ran bhárē-ran*. That the ending *-an* is the same as *-an* in the active (for **-ant*) I cannot regard as proved at all. It may be some element not found elsewhere as a personal suffix, of like character with *-s* in the Avestic active ending *-r^eš*.

§ **1079.** As regards the *r*-suffixes in Italic and Keltic, the first remark to be made is that not one of them can be confidently held to have originally had an active meaning. All of them may be explained as originally deponent or passive (cp. § 1081 *sub fin.*).

The Latin suffixes of the 3rd pl. indic. perf. *-erunt -ērunt -ēre* (with *dedrot* etc.) are at least in some degree akin to the Aryan *r*-forms. This has been already pointed out as likely in § 1023 p. 551. But there is no need to believe that the Latin forms have any such basis as the Aryan active forms of the 3rd plural perfect. Since the 1st sing. *tutud-ī* was properly middle, the 3rd plural may be derived from a middle type like that of Skr. *-rē -ra*.

The remaining *r*-forms in Italic and Keltic fall into two groups.

§ **1080.** (I) Forms in Umbro-Samnitic and in Keltic where *r* appears to be the only personal suffix.

The Umbro-Samnitic forms seem best translated by aid of the indefinite *one* or *they*. Umbr. *pihafei(r)* 'let them have appeased', Osc. sakrafír (with últiumam for object) 'let them have consecrated' (§ 874 p. 422, § 926. 3 p. 473). Umbr. *ferar* 'let one carry', *ier* 'one will go' possibly for **ier-er* i. e. **e(i̯)-es-er* (§ 837 p. 374), *benuso(r)* 'one will have come' (§ 872 p. 421). With Zimmer and Conway, I formerly regarded these as 3rd plural active (Ber. sächs. Ges. der Wiss., 1890, pp. 214 ff.). But, as we infer from a comparison of sakrafír with sakrim fakiiadon the other Oscan inscr. of the same kind (Rhein. Mus. XLIII 557 f.), they may be 3rd singular

deponent. Compare the active and deponent imperatives with *-tu* and *-mu*, used with indefinite subject in the ritual rules of the Iguvine Tables; and the Avest. 3rd sing. *zazan-ti* 'one trains, breeds' and others like it (Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. II 82); and a great deal of illustrative matter may be found in Miklosich's essay on Sentences without a Subject (Subjectlose Sätze, 2nd ed. 1883). There is a third possibility. They may be 3rd singular passive, answering to Latin impersonal constructions (*legitur* 'one reads, they read'); Osc. sakrafír últiumam would exactly correspond to Lat. *legitur Vergilium*, *legendum est Vergilium* (see Weisweiler, Lat. part. fut. pass., pp. 70 ff.). The last view is best; it is best supported by Keltic, as will now be shewn.

These Umbro-Samnitic forms run on parallel lines with the Keltic 3rd sing. passive; e. g. O.Ir. *do-berar* 'datur' (also *-berr* because of the two *r*'s, but this syncope is not otherwise found — we only have *-canar*, for example; Zimmer, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 252 takes a different view), whose absolute bye-form *berir*, like the 3rd pl. *bertir* beside *do-bertar* (§ 1082), I believe to be a new Keltic developement; imper. *berar* 'should be brought', Mod.Bret. *quemerer* (i. e. **com-berer*) 'is taken', Mod.Cymr. *ni chenir* 'there will be no singing'. Zimmer's view that these Keltic *r*-forms, like the Umbrian and Oscan, are 3rd plural active, has not enough to support it.

Remark 1. Zimmer's attempts to prove that the active indefinite idiom with *one* is kept in Britannic (*loc. cit.*, pp. 237 ff.) fail, according to Thurneysen. "They are proved to fail by the single fact that in expressions like 'he is killed' or 'one kills him' the pronoun which is the object can be left out, even in Cymric, thus shewing that the person is regarded as the subject. Furthermore, Zimmer forgets that the passive preterite to the *r*-forms in Britannic, as in Irish (and in Italic), is represented by the part. passive with *-to-*. This indicates that the *r*-form was regarded as a real passive, possibly in proethnic Keltic (or, if you will, in Italo-Keltic)."

Remark 2. If we assume these Italo-Keltic *r*-forms to be 3rd sing. deponent or passive, the question arises whether their *-r* came from **-ro*, a form which may have stood to the middle ending **-to* in much the same relation as Pali 3rd pl. *socarē* 'they trouble themselves' to Skr. *śōcantē*.

§ 1081. (II) *r* in combination with other personal endings,

active and middle, which always precede it (cp. Skr. 2nd and 3rd dual *-athur -atur* § 1077 p. 574).

These forms may be either deponent or middle in Latin. In Keltic, however, these two moods were distinguisht in form; for in the deponent conjugation, *r* runs through all persons except the 2nd plural, but the passive forms only the 3rd singular and plural with such suffixes.

It is possible that once, in proethnic Italo-Keltic, *r* was used only with middle endings; that in this use it came to be a medio-passive sign; and that it was afterwards added to middle or active endings with the effect of making them middle or passive.

§ **1082.** (*A*) *r* added to Middle endings.

(1) Italic and Celtic 3rd pl. *-nto+r*. Lat. depon. *sequi-tur sequo-ntur sequā-tur sequa-ntur* etc., pass. *agi-tur agu-ntur* etc. Umbr. e. g. emantur 'emantur'. O.Ir. depon. *-sechethar* 'sequitur' *-sechetar* 'sequontur' perf. *do-mēnatar* 'putaverunt', pass. *do-bertar* 'dantur, dentur'; in the 3rd sing. indic. pass. this ending is shown only in the 2nd and 3rd Conjugations in Irish, as *no charthar* 'amatur' *do-lēicther* 'linquitur' (1st Conjug. *doberar*, conjunct. *-berar* and *-berthar*).[1] The absolute forms *sechidir* 'sequitur' *sechitir* 'sequontur' *bertir* 'feruntur, ferantur' *carthir* 'amatur' *lēicthir* 'linquitur' etc. are analogical like *berir* 'fertur' (§ 1080 p. 576).

No satisfactory explanation has been given of the Umbr.-Samn. endings with *e*-vowels, which answer to Lat. *-tur -ntur*. Osc. *vincter* 'vincitur' sakarater 'sacratur' sakahíter 'sanciatur' *comparascuster* 'consultus erit' karanter 'pascuntur', Pelign. *upsaseter* 'operaretur' or 'operarentur', Marruc. *ferenter* 'ferantur'. Umbr. herter herte *herti hertei* 'oportet' *ostensendi* 'ostenderentur'; for the form emantur, see above. The Oscan forms had undoubtedly a short *e*; and I venture to conjecture that parallel to *-to -nto* there were Idg. forms *-te -nte* (cp. 1st pl. *-mo(s) -me(s)*, *-mom -mem*, § 1000 p. 535).[2] Umbr. *hertei* points

1) See footnote 2 to § 1058, page 565.

2) If this be correct, there would be no need to derive the *-re* of Lat. *sequere* (cp. Gr. ἕπε-ο) from Idg. *-*so*; it might be derived from

to *ē*. Very well — we may suppose that there were variants *-tē -ntē* beside *-te -nte*, as we saw *-mēs* beside *-mes* in the 1st plural (*loc. cit.*). But herter is used in such a way that we may believe it to be conjunctive; and then we are led to ask whether its *ē*, and that of *ostensendi* (*-i* for *-ē*), be not the conjunctive suffix *-ē-*, which could easily creep into the personal ending when there was such a form as **ferē-r* (cp. *ferar*).

Remark. On Zimmer's view of these Umbro-Samnite forms (Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxx 277), which I regard as wrong, see Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Sprache pp. 79 f.

(2) Latin forms of the 2nd singular, like *spatiārus* possibly contain **-ru-r* = **-so* + *r*. See § 1050 p. 562.

(3) In Oscan *censamur* 'censemino, censetor' *r* is seen combined with the Umbr.-Samn. mid.-pass. suffix **-mōd*. *-d* was exchanged for *-r*. See § 967 pp. 508 f.

(4) O.Ir. *-ther* in the 2nd sing. of deponent verbs, e. g. *-sechther* 'sequeris', is derived from *-the* = Idg. **-thēs*, which is preserved without *-r* in the imperative type *cluin-te*. See § 1051 p. 563.

§ 1083. (*B*) *r* added to Active endings.

(1) Italic and Keltic 1st sing. **-ōr*, in Keltic only deponent. Lat. *sequor* O.Ir. *-sechur* 'sequor', Lat. *gradior* O.Ir. *-midiur* 'iudico', pass. Lat. *feror capior*. Lat. *ferar* beside Act. *feram*, *ferrer* beside act. *ferrem*; *-r* takes the place of *-m*.

Remark 1. It is of course not certain that **-ōr* is the active *-ō* + *r*. It may be that Italo-Keltic had the 1st sing. mid. **seqōi̯* (§ 1041. 1. *b* p. 558), and that this was transformed to **seqōr*, as in Oscan **-mōd *-mud* became *-mur* (§ 1082. 3).

(2) Italic and Keltic 1st pl. **-mor*, in Keltic only deponent. Lat. *sequimur sequāmur sequēmur ferimur* etc., O.Ir. *-sechemmar* 'sequimur, sequamur' perf. *do-mēnammar* 'putavimus'. Whether **-mor* was transformed to **-mos* by exchanging *-s* for *-r*, or whether it was an extension of **-mo* (cp. § 1000. 2. *a* p. 535), is doubtful. *mm* instead of *m* in Irish is due to the active forms *ammi bermmi* etc. (see § 1006 pp. 537 f.).

Idg. **-se*. *ūtāris* would be related to *ūtārus* as Osc. *vincter* to Lat. *vincitur* Compare § 1050, page 562.

(3) In the Irish deponent perfect we have 1st sing. *do-mēnar* 2nd sing. *do-mēnar* beside the active forms 1st sing. *cechan* for **ce-can-a* 2nd sing. *cechan* (§ 981. 4 p. 521, § 989 p. 525). In 3rd sing. *do-mēnair* beside act. *cechuin* the non-palatal pronunciation of the *n* is a difficulty. Is this due to the analogy of other persons of the perfect, or because *-gēnair* comes from **ge-gnā-*?

Remark 2. Neither Italic nor Keltic have an *r*-form in the 2nd plural. Latin has *sequiminī feriminī* (see II § 71 p. 165). The Irish deponents have the active ending, as *-midid* beside *-midiur*, *do-mēnaid* beside *dō-menar*.

PERIPHRASTIC MIDDLE IDIOMS (REFLEXIVE).

§ 1084. In several languages, where the Idg. Middle (Skr. *bhára-tē* Gr. *φέρε-ται*) either dwindled or quite died out, its place was filled by the combination of the Active (or some Middle form degraded until it could not be distinguisht from the active) and an Oblique Case of the pronoun which answered to the active form in question, and which referred to it.

From a comparison of Sanskrit and Greek we may believe that this roundabout idiom was general at the time when the Idg. Middle was still in living use. For in Greek and Sanskrit both periphrastic reflexive and middle are used side by side; and this is true, both when the contrast between the subject and object is important, that is, when there is a contrast with some other person, which makes it necessary to lay stress on the person implied by the middle form; and also when the cases are not clearly shown by the middle, or where this could be understood as a passive, so that there was every need to make the expression as clear as possible. Thus we have Skr. *yád yajamānabhāgá̜ prāśnáty ātmánam ēvá prīṇāti* (Taitt. Sa̜h. I 7. 5. 2) 'when he eats his share of the offering, he gets new life in himself' (otherwise it is his task to quicken others), *nḗd ātmána̜ vā pr̥thivī̜ vā hinásāni* (Satap.-Brāhm. I 2. 4. 7)

'that I may not destroy either myself or the earth', Gr. *ἐμοὶ δὲ δέκ' ἔξελον οἴῳ* (Od. 9. 160) 'but for myself alone I chose ten (goats)', *ἀποκρύπτω ἐμαυτόν* 'I hide myself' beside *ἀποκρύπτομαι* 'I hide for myself' or 'I am hidden'. Often enough we find the middle used with the reflexive pronouns, as *tā́bhir vāí sá ātmā́nam ā́prīṇīta* (Tāitt.-Saṃh. v 1. 8. 3) 'therewith he enjoyed himself', *sá yajñā́m ātmā́na vyàdhatta* (Māitr.-Saṃh. I 9, 3) 'he changed himself into the offering', *ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι* (Thuc. I. 33. 3), *ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βούλεται ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι* (Xen. An. v 6, 17). Cp. Lith. *bùrną sáu prausiū́-s(i)* § 1086.

§ 1085. The next step is represented in Italic and Keltic. Here the original Middle had got mixt up very much with the *r*-deponent (§§ 1081 ff.). E. g. Lat. *sequitur* O.Ir. *-sechethar* 'sequitur' = Skr. *sácatē* Gr. *ἕπεται*, Lat. *re-minīscor* O.Ir. *do-muiniur* 'I think' = Skr. *mányatē*. But it partly gave place to the periphrastic reflexive, Lat. *dedecore se abstinebat* (*ἀπείχετο*), *gloriam sibi peperit* (*ἐπορίσατο*, *ἐκτήσατο*), *mecum reputo* (*σκοποῦμαι*, *λογίζομαι*), O.Ir. *no-m-moidim* 'glorior' (Wb. 14ᶜ), lit. 'I pride myself', *act r-an-glana* 'si emundaverit se' (Wb. 30ᶜ). In Latin this idiom is often hardly distinguishable from the deponent, as *immiscemus nos rei* and *immiscemur*, *castris se effundunt* and *effunduntur*, *relaxat se* and *relaxatur*.

§ 1086. Next come Germanic and Balto-Slavonic, where the Idg. Middle with middle meaning had died out in prehistoric times. — In Gothic the forms remain but have passive meaning; in Balto-Slavonic there are forms of the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ sing. middle in the place of active forms, see § 1046 p. 560, § 1053 p. 563, and footnote to page 216 above. — Here then the Periphrastic Reflexive is regularly used in place of the Idg. Middle.

Remark. Regularly so used, but not always. Sometimes the Active form alone does duty for the Idg. middle, as Goth. *ga-nisiþ* 'he gets happily through, finds protection or health' as against Skr. *násatē* Gr. *νέεται*, Lith. *sekù* 'I follow' against Skr. *sácatē* Gr. *ἕπεται* (Lat. *sequitur* O.Ir. *-sechethar*), O.C.Sl. *mĭnją* 'I think' as against Skr. *mányatē* (O.Ir. *do-muiniur*). In Gothic, verbs in *-nan* may represent the old Middle, as

and-bundniþ 'he lets himself go, gets free, sets off' beside pass. *and-bindada* 'he is released' act. *and-bindiþ* 'he sets free'. There are more of the kind.

Gothic *gavandja mik* O.H.G. *gi-went(i)u mih* 'I turn myself towards, converto me, convertor, return'. Goth. *skama mik* O.H.G. *scamēm mih* 'I am ashamed'. Goth. *ōg mis* 'I fear' (for myself). O.H.G. *furht(i)u mir*, the same. Goth. *gaqimand sik* 'they gather together', reflex. In Norse, about the 8th century, the pronoun affixt itself firmly to the verb in a contracted shape (*-sk* for *sik*, dat. *-ss* for *-seʀ*). Then *-sk* and *-ss* were used for the 1st and 2nd persons as well as the third. However, in the oldest period we do find a 1st sing. *-mk* (for *mik*), as *heito-mk* 'I call myself' (where the ending *-ō* is kept, though it drops with *heit* 'I call'). This Norse type, much altered and obscured by sound-change and analogy, was also used as a passive. Compare Noreen, Aisl. und Anorw. Gramm. pp. 185 ff.; Paul's Grundriss I 518 ff.; Specht, Das Verbum Reflexivum und die Superlative im Westnord. (Acta Germ. III 1), Berlin 1891.

In Lithuanian *-si* (for **sĕ*) became a universal reflexive, and coalesced with the verb, being used for all persons. It was originally only locative or dative, but afterwards came to be used for the accusative (III § 447 p. 385). *-si* at the end of words has now generally become *-s*. *kelù'-s(i)* 'I raise myself, get up' 2nd sing. *kelĕ-s(i)*, and so forth. *bijaũ-s(i)* 'I fear'. *džiaugiù'-s(i)* 'I enjoy myself'. *bùrną prausiù'-s(i)* 'I wash my face'. Also *bùrną sáu prausiù'-s(i)*, like Gr. περιποιήσασθαί τι ἑαυτῷ (§ 1084 p. 580). *mùsza-s(i)* 'they struck each other'. When a verb has a prefix, *si* stands between prefix and verb, as *pa-sì-kelu* 'I raise myself, rise' (dial. also *pa-sì-kelù-s*). Compare Lett. *bìstû-s* 'I fear' (in folk-poetry *-si* sometimes survives, and has not yet become *-s*); Pruss. *grīki-si* 'they fall into sin' (III § 447 p. 385), with a variant *-sin*, obviously the accusative case, as *etlāiku-sin* 'let him abstain, forbear'. In O.C.Sl. we see the acc. *sę* answering to Pruss. *-sin* as a

(Continued on p. 594.)

[Here follow Tables of the Verb Finite pp. 582—593.]

1. **Ind. pres. and imperf. act. of Present Class. I.** Append[ix]

	Pr.Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek
Sing. 1.	**és-mi*: 'I am'	*ás-mi*	*ah-mi*	*em*	εἰμὶ
2.	**ési*:	*ási*	*ahi*		εἶ, εἶ-ς (εἶ-ς)
	**és-si*:			*es*	ἐσσὶ
3.	**és-ti*:	*ás-ti*	*as-ti*	*ē*	ἔσ-τι ἐσ-τὶ
Plur. 1.	**s-mĕs(i)* (**s-mos(i)*):	*s-más s-mási*	*mahi*	*ēmḳ*	Dor. εἰμὲς, Ion. εἰμὲν, Att. ἐσμ[εν]
2.	**s-té* (**s-thé*):	*s-thá*	*s-tā*	*ēḳ*	ἐσ-τὲ
3.	**s-énti*:	*s-ánti*	*h-enti*	*en*	εἰσὶ, ἔασι
Dual. 1.	**s-u̯és(i)* (**s-u̯os(i)*):	*s-vás*	**xᵛ-ahi*		[Dor. εἰμὲς etc.]
2.	**s-tés* (**s-thés*):	*s-thás*			ἐσ-τὸν
3.	?	*s-tás*	*s-tō*		ἐσ-τὸν
Sing. 1.	**ḗs-m̥*(**ḗs-m̥m*): 'I was'	*ā́s-am*	O. Pers. *ah-am*	*ēi*	ἦα ἦ, ἦν
2.	**ḗs-s*:	*ā́s, ā́sī-ṣ*	**ās*	*ēir*	ἦσθα
3.	**ḗs-t*:	*ā́s, ā́sī-t*	*ās (as)*	*ēr*	Dor. ἦς [ἦεν ἦν]
Plur. 1.	**és-s-mĕ(m) *ḗs-mĕ(m) (-mŏ(m))*:	*ā́s-ma*	*a-h-ma*	*ēaḳ*	ἦμεν
2.	**é-s-te *ḗs-te*:	*ā́s-ta*		*ēiḳ*	ἦσ-τε, ἦτε
3.	**é-s-ent *ḗs-ent*:	*ā́s-an (s-án)*	O. Pers. *ah-a* (Avest. *h-en*)	*ēin*	Dor. ἦν, Boet. εἶα[ν], Att. ἦσαν
Dual. 1.	**é-s-u̯ĕ *ḗs-u̯ĕ(-u̯ŏ)*:	*ā́s-va*			[ἦμεν]
2.	**é-s-tom *ḗs-tom (-tem?)*:	*ā́s-tam*			ἦσ-τον, ἦτον [ἤ-τηι]
3.	**é-s-tām *ḗs-tām*:	*ā́s-tām*			ἤσ-την, ἤτην [ἦ-τον]

1) When any of the forms here given under a certain heading belong to the place assigned them in me[aning] alone, while their ending belongs to a different person, they are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

)2 — 1086.

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
,	*am*	*im*	*b-im*	*es-mì*	*jes-mĭ*
ēs	*at*	*is* (§ 990. 1)	(*bis bist*)	*esì* (991. 1)	*jesi*
t	*is*	*is-t*	*is-t*	*ēs-ti ēs-t*	O.Russ. *jes-tĭ* O.Bulg. *jestŭ*
us	*ammi*	*sijum*	*b-irum b-irumēs*	*ēs-me*	*jēs-mŭ -my*, Mod.Bulg. *s-me*, Serb. *jes-mo*
tis]	*adi-b*	*sijuþ*	*b-irut*	*ēs-te*	*jes-te*
t, Umbr. *-ent*	*it*	*s-ind*	*s-int*	[*esti ēst*]	O.Russ. *sątĭ*, O.Bulg. *sątŭ*
		siju		*ēs-va*	*jes-vě*
pl. *es-tis*		*sijuts*		*ēs-ta*	*jes-ta*
		[*s-ind*]		[*ēs-ti ēs-t*]	*jes-te*, *jes-ta*
s. *ēs* (?)					
					nesě-as-te
					nesě-as-ta
					nesě-as-te

Spaced Type implies that the inflexion of any given form may be regarded as derived straight from that of the : language.

2. Ind. pres. and injunct. (pret.) act. of Present Class X.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek
Sing. 1.	*u̯ē-mi 'I blow'	vā́-mi	vā-mi	mna-m 'I remain'	ἄη-μι
2.	*u̯ē-si:	vā́-si	vā-hi	mna-s	ἄη-ς
3.	*u̯ē̂-ti:	vā́-ti	vā-iti	mnay	ἄη-σι
Plur. 1.	*u̯ē-mē̆s(i) (-mos(i)):	vā-más -mási	vā-mahi	mna-mḱ	Dor. ἄη-μες, Att. ἄη-μεν
2.	*u̯ē-te (-the):	vā-thá		mnayḱ	ἄη-τε
3.	*u̯ē̂-nti:	vā́-nti	vå̄-nti	mna-n	ἄεισι
Dual 1.	*u̯ē-u̯es(i) (-u̯os(i)):	vā-vás	vā-vahi		[Dor. ἄη-μες, Att. ἄη-μεν]
2.	*u̯ē-tes (-thes):	vā-thás			ἄη-τον
3.	?	vā-tás			ἄη-τον
Sing. 1.	*(e-)u̯ē-m:	á-vā-m	vąm		ἄη-ν, ἔ-δρα-ν
2.	*(e-)u̯ē-s:	á-vā-s	vå̄		ἄη-ς, ἔ-δρα-ς
3.	*(e-)u̯ē-t:	á-vā-t	vā-ḇ		ἄη, ἔ-δρα
Plur. 1.	*(e-)u̯ē-mē̆(m) (-mō̆(m)):	á-vā-ma	vā-ma		ἄη-μεν, ἔ-δρα-μεν
2.	*(e-)u̯ē-te:	á-vā-ta	vā-ta		ἄη-τε, ἔ-δρα-τε
3.	*(e-)u̯ē-nt:	á-v-ur	vąn		ἄε-ν, ἔ-δρα-ν (ἄη-σαν, ἔ-δρα-σαν)
Dual 1.	*(e-)u̯ē-u̯ē̆ (-u̯ō̆):	á-vā-va			[ἄη-μεν, ἔ-δρα-μεν]
2.	*(e-)u̯ē-tom (-tem?):	á-vā-tam			ἄη-τον, ἔ-δρα-τον [ἀή-την, ἐ-δρά-την]
3.	*(e-)u̯ē-tām:	á-vā-tām			ἀή-την, ἐ-δρά-την [ἄη-τον, ἔ-δρα-τον]

.atin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
	am	*im*	*b-im*	*es-mì*	*jes-mĭ*
	at	*is* (§ 990. 1)	(*bis bist*)	*esì* (991. 1)	*jesi*
	is	*is-t*	*is-t*	*ẽs-ti ẽs-t*	O.Russ. *jes-tĭ* O.Bulg. *jestŭ*
;	*ammi*	*sijum*	*b-irum b-iru-mēs*	*ẽs-me*	*jěs-mŭ -my*, Mod.Bulg. *s-me*, Serb. *jes-mo*
]	*adi-b*	*sijuþ*	*b-irut*	*ẽs-te*	*jes-te*
Umbr. *n t*	*it*	*s-ind*	*s-int*	[*esti ẽst*]	O.Russ. *sąti*, O.Bulg. *sątŭ*
		siju		*ẽs-va*	*jes-vě*
. *es-tis*		*sijuts*		*ẽs-ta*	*jes-ta*
		[*s-ind*]		[*ẽs-ti ẽs-t*]	*jes-te*, *jes-ta*
ẽs (?)					
					nesě-as-te
					nesě-as-ta
					nesě-as-te

...paced Type implies that the inflexion of any given form may be regarded as derived straight from that of the ...nguage.

1. **Ind. pres. and imperf. act. of Present Class. I.**

	Pr.Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek
Sing. 1.	**és-mi*: 'I am'	*ás-mi*	*ah-mi*	*em*	εἰμὶ
2.	**ési*: **és-si*:	*ási*	*ahi*	 *es*	εἶ, εἶ-ς (εἶ-ς) ἐσσὶ
3.	**és-ti*:	*ás-ti*	*as-ti*	*ē*	ἔσ-τι ἐσ-τὶ
Plur. 1.	**s-mĕ̄s(i)* (**s-mos(i)*):	*s-más s-mási*	*mahi*	*ēmḱ*	Dor. εἰμές, Ion. εἰμέν, Att. ἐσμ
2.	**s-té* (**s-thé*):	*s-thá*	*s-tā*	*ēḱ*	ἐσ-τὲ
3.	**s-énti*:	*s-ánti*	*h-enti*	*en*	εἰσὶ, ἔασι
Dual. 1.	**s-u̯és(i)* (**s-u̯os(i)*):	*s-vás*	**xw-ahi*		[Dor. εἰμές etc.]
2.	**s-tés* (**s-thés*):	*s-thás*			ἐσ-τὸν
3.	?	*s-tás*	*s-tō*		ἐσ-τὸν
Sing. 1.	**ḗs-m̥*(**ḗs-m̥m*): 'I was'	*ás-am*	O. Pers. *ah-am*	*ēi*	ἦα ἦ, ἦν
2.	**ḗs-s*:	*ā́s, ā́sī-ṣ*	**ās*	*ēir*	ἦσθα
3.	**ḗs-t*:	*ā́s, ā́sī-t*	*ās (as)*	*ēr*	Dor. ἦς [ἦεν ἦν]
Plur. 1.	**és-s-mĕ̆(m)* **ḗs-mĕ̆(m)* (-*mŏ̆(m)*):	*ā́s-ma*	*a-h-ma*	*ēaḱ*	ἦμεν
2.	**é-s-te* **ḗs-te*:	*ā́s-ta*		*ēiḱ*	ἦσ-τε, ἦτε
3.	**é-s-ent* **ḗs-ent*:	*ā́s-an (s-án)*	O. Pers. *ah-a* (Avest. *h-en*)	*ēin*	Dor. ἦν, Boet. ἦαν, Att. ἦσαν
Dual. 1.	**é-s-u̯ĕ̆* **ḗs-u̯ĕ̆(-u̯ŏ̆)*:	*ā́s-va*			[ἦμεν]
2.	**é-s-tom* **ḗs-tom* (-*tem*?):	*ā́s-tam*			ἦσ-τον, ἦτον [ἤ-την]
3.	**é-s-tām* **ḗs-tām*:	*ā́s-tām*			ἤσ-την, ἤτην [ἦ-τον]

1) When any of the forms here given under a certain heading belong to the place assigned them in ... alone, while their ending belongs to a different person, they are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

ẞ — 1086.

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
	am	*im*	*b-im*	*es-mì*	*jes-mĭ*
s	*at*	*is* (§ 990. 1)	(*bis bist*)	*esì* (991. 1)	*jesi*
	is	*is-t*	*is-t*	*ẽs-ti ẽs-t*	O.Russ. *jes-tĭ* O.Bulg. *jestŭ*
is	*ammi*	*sijum*	*b-irum b-irumês*	*ẽs-me*	*jes-mŭ -my*, Mod.Bulg. *s-me*, Serb. *jes-mo*
is]	*adi-b*	*sijuþ*	*b-irut*	*ẽs-te*	*jes-te*
, Umbr. *ent*	*it*	*s-ind*	*s-int*	[*esti ẽst*]	O.Russ. *sątĭ*, O.Bulg. *sątŭ*
		siju		*ẽs-va*	*jes-vě*
pl. *es-tis*		*sijuts*		*ẽs-ta*	*jes-ta*
		[*s-ind*]		[*ẽs-ti ẽs-t*]	*jes-te*, *jes-ta*
, *ēs* (?)					
					nesě-as-te
					nesě-as-ta
					nesě-as-te

Spaced Type implies that the inflexion of any given form may be regarded as derived straight from that of the language.

4. **Indic. perf. act.**

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Greek
Sing. 1.	*ĝe-ĝón-a? *ĝe-ĝen-a? 'genui', *u̯ói̯d-a? *u̯éi̯d-a? 'I know':	ja-ján-a [ja-jān-a], véd-a	dā-dar^es-a, vaęd-ā	γέ-γον-α, οἶδ-α
2.	*ĝe-ĝón-tha, *u̯ói̯tˢtha:	ja-ján-tha ja-jñ-i-thá, véttha	vōistā	γέ-γον-ας, οἶσθα
3.	*ĝe-ĝón-e, *u̯ói̯d-e:	ja-ján-a, véd-a	da-đār-a [va-va-ca], vaęd-ā	γέ-γον-ε, οἶδ-ε
Plur. 1.	*ĝe-ĝn̥-mé(m), *u̯id-mé(m), (mŏ(m)):	ja-jñ-i-má ca-kr̥-má, vid-má	su-sru-ma vaox^e-mā	γέ-γα-μεν γε-γόν-αμεν, ἴδ-μεν Att. ἴσ-μεν
2.	?	ja-jñ-á, vid-á	ha-ŋhān-a	γέ-γα-τε, γε-γόν-ατε, ἴσ-τε
3.	*ĝe-ĝn-ŕ̥(r), *u̯id-ŕ̥(r) (-r̥s):	ja-jñ-úr, vid-úr	ca-xr-ar^e, ci-kōit-ar^eš	γε-γά-ᾱσι γε-γόν-ᾱσι, ἴσᾱσι
Dual. 1.	*ĝe-ĝn̥-u̯é, *u̯id-u̯é (-u̯ŏ):	ja-jñ-i-vá ca-kr̥-vá, vid-vá		[γέ-γα-μεν etc.]
2.	?	ja-jn-áthur, vid-áthur		γέ-γα-τον γε-γόν-ατον, ἴστον
3.	?	ja-jn-átur, vid-átur	yaęt-atar^e	γέ-γα-τον γε-γόν-ατον, ἴστον

5. **Imper. praes. act.**

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Armenian	Greek.
Sing. 2.	*éi̯ 'go': *i-dhí 'go': *bhére 'carry': *i-tṓd, *bhére-tōd:	 i-hí bhára itā́d, bhára-tād	 i-đi bara	 ber	εἶ-ει ἴ-θι φέρε ἐλθέ-τως· ἐλθέ (Hes.)
3.	*i-tṓd, *bhére-tōd:	i-tā́d, bhára-tād, ét-u, bhárat-u	aęt-u, bara-tu		ἴ-τω, φερέ-τω
Plur. 2.	*i-té, *bhére-te: *i-tṓd, *bhére-tōd:	i-tá, bhára-ta i-tā́d, bhára-tād		berēk	ἴ-τε, φέρε-τε
3.	*i-tṓd, *bhére-tōd:	yánt-u, bhárant-u	yant-u, barant-u		ἴ-των, φερέ-των φερό-ντω -ντων -ντωσαν
Dual. 2.	*i-tóm (-tém?) *bhére-tom:	i-tám, bhára-tam			ἴ-τον, φέρε-τον
3.	*i-tā́m, *bhére-tām:	i-tā́m, bhára-tām			φερέ-των

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
, *nō*	*scarimm* 'I separate'	*mitō* 'I measure'	*mezzō-m*	*lìndau* 'I put somewhere'	*ima-mĭ* 'I have'
s, *nās*	*scari*	*mitō-s*	*mezzō-s*	*lìndai*	*ima-ši*
-t, na-t	*scarid*	*mitō-þ*	*mezzō-t*	*lìndo*	O.Russ. *ima-tĭ*, O.Bulg. *ima-tŭ*
-mus, nā-us	*scarmme, -scaram* (?)	*mitō-m*	*mezzō-mēs, -ō-n*	*lìndo-me*	*ima-mŭ*
-tis, nā-tis]	*-scarid, scarthe*	*mitō-þ*	*mezzō-t*	*lìndo-te*	*ima-te*
-nt, na-nt	*scarit*	*mitō-nd*	*mezzō-nt*	[*lìndo*]	O.Russ. *imątĭ*, O.Bulg. *imątŭ*
		mitōs (?)		*lìndo-va*	*ima-vě*
l. *plē-tis, ā-tis*		*mitō-ts*		*lìndo-ta*	*ima-ta*
		[*mitō-nd*]		[*lìndo*]	*ima-te, ima-ta*
-m	*ba* 'fui'	*iddja* 'I went'		*miniaũ* 'I remembered', *buvaũ* 'I was'	
-s		*iddjēs*		*mineĩ, buvaĩ*	*bě* 'eras'
t	*ba*	*iddja*		*mìnė, bùvo*	*bě*
mus				*mìnė-me, bùvo-me*	
-tis]				*mìnė-te, bùvo-te*	
nt, umbr. *'a-ns*				[*mìnė, bùvo*]	
				mìnė-va, bùvo-va	
l. *-bā-tis*				*mìnė-ta, bùvo-ta*	
				[*mìnė, bùvo*]	

3. Optative pres. act.

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic	Greek
Sing. 1.	**s-i̯ḗ-m* **s-ii̯ḗ-m* 'sim'	*s-yā́-m s-iyā́-m*	*x́yēm*	*εἴη-ν*
2.	**s-i̯ḗ-s* **s-ii̯ḗ-s*:	*s-yā́-s s-iyā́-s*	*x́yå*	*εἴη-ς*
3.	**s-i̯ḗ-t* **s-ii̯ḗ-t*:	*s-yā́-t s-iyā́-t*	*x́yāþ*	*εἴη*
Plur. 1.	**s-ī-mĕ́(m)* (*mŏ(m)*): **bhu̯-ii̯-m̥mĕ(m)* (*-m̥mŏ(m)*):	*s-yā́-ma s-iyā́-ma*	*x́yāmā* *buyamā* i. e. *bv-iy-amā*	*εἶ-μεν, εἴη-μεν*
2.	**s-ī-té*:	*s-yā́-ta s-iyā́-ta*	*x́yātā*	*εἶ-τε, εἴη-τε*
3.	**s-i̯-ént* **s-ii̯-ént*:	*s-y-úr s-iy-úr*	*hyąn hyārᵉ*	*εἶ-εν, εἴη-σαν*
Dual 1.	**s-ī-u̯ĕ́* (*-u̯ŏ*):	*s-yā́-va s-iyā́-va*		
2.	**s-ī-tóm* (*-tém?*):	*s-yā́-tam s-iyā́-tam*		*εἶ-τον, εἴη-τον*
3.	**s-ī-tā́m*:	*s-yā́-tām s-iyā́-tām*		*εἴ-την, εἰή-την*
Sing. 1.	**bhéroi̯-m̥(m)* 'feram'	*bhárēy-am*		*φέροι-μι, φέροι-ν*
2.	**bhéroi̯-s*:	*bhárē-ṣ*	*barōi-š*	*φέροι-ς*
3.	*bhéroi̯-t*:	*bhárē-t*	*barōi-þ*	*φέροι*
Plur. 1.	**bhéroi̯-mŏ(m)* (*-mĕ(m)*):	*bhárē-ma*	*baraę-ma*	*φέροι-μεν*, Dor. *-οι-μες*
2.	**bhéroi̯-te*:	*bhárē-ta*	*baraę-ta*	*φέροι-τε*
3.	**bhéroi̯-n̥t*:	*bhárēy-ur*	*baray-en*	*φέροι-εν*
Dual 1.	**bhéroi̯-u̯ŏ* (*-u̯ĕ*):	*bhárē-va*		[*φέροι-μεν*, Dor. *-οι-μες*]
2.	**bhéroi̯-tom* (*-tem?*):	*bhárē-tam*		*φέροι-τον*
3.	**bhéroi̯-tām*:	*bhárē-tām*		*φεροί-την*

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O.H.G.
n-ī, scāb-ī	*ro ce-chan* 'cecini', *ro gād* 'I begged'	*hai-háit* 'I called', *váit*	*hiaʒ* 'I called', *weiʒ*
n-istī, scāb-istī	*ro ce-chan, ro gād*	*hai-háist, váist*	*hiazi, weist*
n-it, scāb-it	*ro ce-chuin, ro gāid*	*hai-háit, váit*	*hiaʒ, weiʒ*
n-imus, scāb-imus	*ro ce-chn-ammar, ro gād-ammar*	*hai-háit-um, vit-um*	*hiaʒ-um, wiʒʒ-um* (*-umēs*)
n-istis, scāb-istis	*ro ce-chnaid, ro gād-aid*	*hai-háit-uþ, vit-uþ*	*hiaʒ-ut, wiʒʒ-ut*
n-ērunt, scāb-ērunt e)	*ro ce-chn-atar, ro gād-atar*	*hai-háit-un, vit-un*	*hiaz-un. wiʒʒ-un*
		hai-háit-u, vit-u	
		hai-háit-uts, vit-uts	
		[*hai-háit-un, vit-un*]	

Latin	Irish	Gothic	O H.G.	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
gi-tō	*beir*	*bair*	*bir*	*eī-k* *veizdi veizd* *vedi ved, vèsk*	*viždī* (§ 949)
gi-tō		*bairadau*			
gi-te agi-tōte	*berid*	*bairi-þ*	*bera-t* [*beret*]	*eīkite, vèskite*	
, agu-ntō		*baira-ndau*			
		baira-ts	2nd pl. *bere-t*	*eīkita, vèskita*	
		[*baira-ndau*]			

7. **Indic. pres. und injunct. (pret.) mid. of Present Classes I and II.**

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic
Sing. 1.	*ēs-mai̯ 'I sit' (-məi̯; *bherōi̯ 'I bring me' etc.:	ā́s-ē; bhárē	ger^{e}z-ę̄; barę
2.	*ēs-sai̯ (-səi̯); *bhere-sai̯ (-səi̯):	ā́s-sē; bhára-sē	raosę; bara-ŋhę
3.	*ēs-tai̯ (-təi̯); *bhere-tai̯ (-təi̯):	ā́s-tē; bhára-tē	ās-tę; bara-itę
Plur. 1.	*ēs-medhai̯ (-medhəi̯); *bhero--medhai̯ (-medhəi̯):	ā́s-mahē; bhárā-mahē	cīš-maidę; barā-
2.	? ; ?	ā́dhvē; bhára-dhvē	cp. mer^{e}ŋg^{e}-duyę; ba -þwę
3.	*ēs-n̥tai̯ (-n̥təi̯); *bhero-ntai̯ (-ntəi̯):	ā́s-atē; bhára-ntē	åŋh-antę cp. mer^{e}n bara-ntę
Dual 1.	*ēs-u̯edhai̯ (-u̯edhəi̯); *bhero-u̯edhai̯ (-u̯edhəi̯):	ā́s-vahē; bhárā-vahē	
2.	? ; ?	ā́s-āthē; bhárēthē	
3.	? ; ?	ā́s-ātē; bhárētē	—; [barōiþē]

	Pr. Idg.	Sanskrit	Avestic
Sing. 1.	? ; ?	ā́s-i; á-bharē	aoj-ī; a-barę
2.	*ēs-thēs; *(e-)bhere-so (-se?):	ā́s-thās; á-bhara-thās	aoγ-žā; a-bara-ŋha
3.	*ēs-to (-te?); *(e-)bhere-to (-te?):	ā́s-ta; á-bhara-ta	mrū-ta; a-bara-t
Plur. 1.	*ēs-medhə: *(e-)bhero-medhə	ā́s-mahi á-bharā-mahi	var^{e}-maidī
2.	? ; ?	ā́dhvam; á-bhara-dhvam	i-dūm; a-bara-đwem
3.	*ēs-n̥to (-n̥te?); *(e-)bhero--nto (-nte?):	ā́s-ata; á-bhara-nta	dar^{e}s-atā, mrav-an bare-nta
Dual 1.	*ēs-u̯edhə; *(e-)bhero-u̯edhə:	ā́s-vahi; á-bharā-vahi	
2.	? ; ?	ā́s-āthām; á-bharēthām	
3.	? ; ?	ā́s-ātām; á-bharētām	a-srv-ātem; a-baraiten

Greek	Gothic	Lith.	O.C.Sl.
; *φέρομαι*	— ; O.Icel. *heite*, Goth. [*bairada*]	*vel-mē-s(i)*	
; *φέρε-αι φέρῃ*	— ; *baira-za*	cp. *desē-s(i)*	*jasi*
αι; *φέρε-ται*	— ; *baira-da*		
ι; *φερό-μεθα*	— ; [*baira-nda*]		
; *φέρε-σθε*	— ; [*baira-nda*]		
αι, *ἧνται*; *φέρο-αι*	— ; *baira-nda*		
ιν; *φερό-μεθον*			
ι; *φέρε-σθον*			
ι; *φέρε-σθον*			

Greek	Latin	Irish
; *ἐ-φερό-μην*		
ἐ-δό-θης; *ἐ-φέρε-ο ἐ-έρου*	cp. *rē-re*, *-ris*, *spatiārus*; *se-que-re*, *-ris*	cp. *cluin-te*; *-sechther*
ο; *ἐφέρε-το*	*da-tu-r*; *sequi-tu-r* — Osc. *vinc-ter*	cp. *as-bert*; *-sechethar*
θα; *ἐ-φερό-μεθα*		
; *ἐ-φέρε-σθε*		
το, *ἧντο*; *ἐ-φέρο-ντο*	*da-ntu-r*; *sequo-ntu-r* — Osc. kara-nter	— ; *-bertar*, *-sechetar*
ον; *ἐ-φερό-μεθον*		
ν; *ἐ-φέρε-σθον*		
ν; *ἐ-φερέ-σθην*		

general reflexive pronoun; e. g. *privedą sę* 'I take myself somewhere, turn towards', *boją sę* 'I fear', *směją sę* 'I laugh'. This *sę*-reflexive also got a passive meaning, as *ljubljaaše sę gospodĭmĭ* 'he was loved of the Lord'.

THE VERB INFINITE (VERBAL NOUNS).[1])

§ 1087. Our description of the Verb in the strict sense of the word is now at an end. But in its wider sense the Verb includes several classes of nouns, substantive and

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1) For the sake of completeness some works are given here which have been mentioned before.

On the Indo-Germanic Verb Infinite in General. W. von Humboldt, Über das Wesen des Infinitivs und Gerundiums, A. W. von Schlegel's Indische Biblioth., II (1824) 71 ff. *Idem*, Über den Infinitiv, Kuhn's Zeitschr. II 242 ff. Max Schmidt, Über den Infinitiv, Ratibor 1826. C. E. A. Schmidt, De infinitivo, Prenzlau 1827. A. Höfer, Vom Infinitiv, besonders im Sanskrit, Berlin 1840. C. Fritsche, De substantia in verbo constituta vel de participio et infinitivis, Görlitz 1865. Schömann, Zur Lehre vom Infinitiv, Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 1869 pp. 209 ff. E. Wilhelm, De infinitivi vi et natura, Eisenach 1869. *Idem*, De infinitivi linguarum Sanscritae Bactricae Persicae Graecae Oscae Umbricae Latinae Goticae forma et usu, Eisenach 1873. J. Jolly, Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen, München 1873. Th. Benfey, *dāvánē dā́manē δόμεναι*, und die Infiitive auf *εναι*, Orient und Occident I 606 ff. L. Tobler, Über das Gerundium, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVI 241 ff. J. Jolly, Zur Lehre vom Particip, Sprachwissenschaftl. Abhandl. aus G. Curtius' grammat. Gesellsch. Leipz. 1874, pp. 71 ff. Th. Benfey, Indogermanisches Particip Perfecti Passivi auf *tua* oder *tva*, Nachr. von der Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Gött. 1873 pp. 181 ff. = Kleinere Schriften I 2 and 159 ff. H. Ebel, Das Suffix *-ant* und Verwandtes, Kuhn's Zeitschr. IV 321 ff. M. Bréal, Origine du suffixe participial *ant*, Mém. Soc. Ling. II 188 ff. F. Baudry, Le *t* du suffixe participial *ant*, *ibid.* 393 ff. Bartholomae, Zur Flexion der *nt*-Participien, Bezzenberger's Beitr. XVI 261 ff. The Author, Zur Geschichte der Nominalsuffixe *-as-*, *-jas-*, *-vas-*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXIV 1 ff. J. Schmidt, Das Suffix des part. perf. act., *ibid.* XXVI 329 ff. W. Schulze, Zum part. perf. act., *ibid.* XXVII 547 ff.

Aryan. H. Brunnhofer, Über die durch Anhängung der dativisch flectierten Wurzel *dha*, *dhā*, *dhi*, *dhū* an beliebige andere Wurzeln gebildeten Infinitive des Veda und Avesta, Bezzenberger's Beitr. XV 262 ff. A. Ludwig, Der Infinitiv im Veda, Prag 1871. M. Müller, Grammatische Formen im

adjective; these are the Infinitive, Supine, Absolutive, Gerund, Participle, and Gerundive.

Sanskrit, welche den sogenannten Infinitiven im Griech. und Lat. entsprechen, Essays IV 420 ff. H. Brunnhofer, Über Dialektspuren im ved. Gebrauche der Infinitivformen, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXV 329 ff. *Idem*, Über die durch einfache Flectierung der Wurzel gebildeten Infinitive des Veda, *ibid.* XXX 504 ff. Th. Benfey, Zu dem sanskr. Infinitiv *manē*, Orient und Occident II 132. A. Barth, Le gérondif sanscrit en *tvā*, Mém. Soc. Ling. II 238 ff. Bartholomae, Altind. Infinitive auf *-man* und *-mani*, Idg. Forsch. I 495 ff. J. Jolly, Der Infinitiv im Zendavesta, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VII 416 ff. Geldner, Ein neuer Infinitiv im Avesta, Bezzenberger's Beitr. XII 160 f. Bartholomae, Noch zwei avest. Infinitive, *ibid.* XV 12 f. *Idem*, Die Infinitivbildung im Dialekt der Gāthā's, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVIII 17 ff. *Idem*, Die ar. Flexion der Adjectiva und Participia auf *nt*, *ibid.* XXIX 487 ff. H. Kern, Le suffixe *ya* du sanscrit classique, *ia* de l'arien, Mém. Soc. Ling. II 321 ff.

Greek. K. Eichhoff, Über den Infinitiv im Griech., Cref. 1831. Delbrück, De infinitivo Graeco, Halle 1863. *Idem*, Der griech. Infinitiv auf *-ειν*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XI 317 f. L. Meyer, Der Infinitiv der homer. Sprache, Gött. 1856. Simmerle, Zur Bildung der homer. Infinitivformen, Innsbruck 1874. C. Meierheim, De infinitivo Homerico, I. Gött. 1875, II. Lingen 1876. Abel, De infinitivi Graeci forma, Budapest 1878. L. Parmentier, L'infinitif *φέρεσθαι*, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 391 ff. Bartholomae, Das griech. Infinitivsuffix *-σθαι*, Rhein. Mus. XLV 151 ff. Moiszisstzig, De adiectivis Graecis, quae verbalia dicuntur, Progr. von Konitz 1844. 1868 etc. Ch. E. Bishop, De adiectivorum verbalium *-τος* terminatione insignium usu Aeschyleo, Leipz. 1889. A. Funck, Das Verbaladjectiv auf *-τεος*, Rhein. Mus. XXXIII 615 ff.

Italic. L. Lange, Über die Bildung des lat. infinitivus praes. pass., Denkschr. der Wiener Akad. X (1860) 1 ff. F. Sander, Über die Bildung des lat. infinitivus praes. pass., Stade 1864. G. Schönberg, Ein Erklärungsversuch des lat. mediopassiven Infin. auf *ier* und *rier*, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XVII 153 ff. Giacomino, Dell' infinitivo pres. pass. latino, Savona 1880 [G. Meyer]. V. Henry, Les infinitifs médiopassifs du latin Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 62 ff. *Idem*, Esquisses morphologiques V, Les infinitifs latins, Paris 1889. A. Miodoński, Zur Erklärung der Infinitive auf *-ier -rier*, Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr. VII 132. E. H. Miles, The Passive Infinitive in Latin, Class. Review V 198 f. S. Brandt, Infinitivus futuri passivi auf *-uiri*, Arch. f. lat. Lexikogr. II 349 ff. III 457. J. P. Postgate, The Latin Future Infinitive in *-turum*, Cambridge Phil. Soc. Proceed. 1889 p. 6 and Class. Review V 301. C. Pascal, La formazione degl' infinitivi latini, Rivista di filol. XIX 471 ff. E. Walder, Der Infinitiv bei Plautus, eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung, Berl. 1874. E. W. G. Wachsmuth, Von dem Gerundio, Supino und den damit verwandten Participien, Günther und Wachsmuth's Athenäum I (1816) 37 ff. Deecke,

Of these, which hold a place halfway between the Noun and the Verb, some general account has been given in vol. II

Beiträge zur Auffassung der lat. Infinitiv-, Gerundial- und Supinum-Constructionen, Mülh. i. Els. 1890. P. Genberg, De gerundiis et supinis Latinorum, p. I—IX, Lund 1841. E. L. Richter, De supinis Latinae linguae, p. I—V, Königsb. 1856—60. F. Scholl, Das Supinum auf *u* als Dativform aufgefasst, Blätt. f. d. Bayer. Gymnasialschulw. IV (1868) 162 ff. Platzer, Die Lehre von den lat. Perfectis und Supinis, Neubrandenb. 1840. Lattmann, Das Gesetz der Perfect- und Supinbildung im Lateinischen, Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialw. N. F. II (1868) 94 ff. Nils Sjöstrand, De vi et usu supini secundi Latinorum, Lund 1891. W. Weissenborn, De gerundio et gerundivo Latinae linguae, Eisenach 1844. Schröder, Über den Ursprung des lat. Gerundium, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XIV 350 ff. H. Rotter, Über das Gerundium der lat. Sprache, Cottbus 1871. L. Adrian, Über das lat. part. praes. pass., Gross-Glogau 1875. Corssen, Zum Gerundium, Beitr. z. ital. Sprachkunde 1876 p. 589 ff. Kvíčala, Gerundium und Gerundivum, Wiener Studien I (1879) 218 ff. The Author, Der Ursprung der lat. Gerundia und Gerundiva, Amer. Journ. of Philol. VIII (1887) 441 ff. A. Döhring, Die Etymologie der sogen. Gerundivformen, Königsb. 1888. R. S. Conway, The Origin of the Latin Gerund and Gerundive, Class. Review V 296 ff. J. Weisweiler, Zur Erklärung der Arvalacten (*adolenda commolenda* etc.), Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 1889 p. 37 ff. *Idem*, Das lat. part. fut. pass. in seiner Bedeutung und syntaktischen Verwendung, Paderborn 1890. Thurneysen, *-mn-* im Lat. (formation of the Ital. gerundive), Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXX 493 ff. Carlsson, Om det latinska gerundivum och gerundium, Pedagog. tidskr. 1891 p. 349 ff. G. Dunn, Origin of the Latin Gerund and Gerundive, Class. Review VI 1 ff. *Idem*, The Latin Gerundive, *ibid.* 264. E. P. Morris, Weisweiler on the Latin Participle in *-dus*, *ibid.* 265 ff. (I may say that even after these latest attempt to explain the vext question of the origin of the Latin Gerund and Gerundive, the explanation given on pages 608 ff. as preferable seems amply to hold its own.) Winckler, De vi et usu vocabulorum *-bundus* finitorum, Colberg 1869. A. Prehn, De adiectivorum verbalium in *-bundus* exeuntium usque ad alterum p. Chr. saeculum usu, Comment. in hon. G. Studemund 1889 p. 1 ff. G. H. R. Wichert, De adiectivis verbalibus Latinis, Tilsit 1839, 1843. O. Bechstein, De nominibus Latinis suffixorum *ent-* et *mino-* ope formatis, Curtius' Stud. VIII 335 ff. J. Weisweiler, Zur Etymologie des lat. part. praes. act., Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 1889 p. 790 ff. Usener, Zur Geschichte des lat. Participiums, Fleckeisen's Jahrbb. 1878 p. 51 ff. Bréal, Participes moyens en latin, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 412 f. Birt, De participiis lat. quae dicuntur perfecti passivi, Marb. 1883. G. Bordellé, De linguae Latinae adiectivis suffixo *to* a nominibus derivatis, Düsseld. 1873. J. Ulrich, Die formelle Entwicklung des participium praeteriti in den roman. Sprachen, Winterthur 1879.

§ 144 pp. 456 f., and § 156 pp. 470 ff. Their Suffixes, both formative and case-suffixes, have been described each in its proper place. It remains to pass them in general review, and to point out certain peculiarities which have not yet been touched upon, or others on which I have had reason to change my view.

1. VERBAL SUBSTANTIVES.

§ 1088. Nomina Actionis, which appear in more than one language as Infinitive, Supine, or Gerund.

(1) Root-Nouns. Dat. Skr. *nir-ájē* 'to drive out', Lat. *ag-ī*; in Greek this type may be represented by infinitives such as *χεῦ-αι ἐνέγκ-αι* (§ 504 p. 67 f.). See II § 162 pp. 489 f.

(2) *-s- -es-* between Root and Case-Suffix; this cannot be separated from the Noun-suffix *-es-* (*-əs- -s-*) or *-s-* in the aorist. Dat. Skr. *ji-ṣ-ē* 'to conquer', *doh-ás-ē* 'to milk', Gr. *δεῖξ-αι* 'to show', Lat. *da-r-ī* (cp. loc. *da-r-e ag-er-e*). See II § 132 pp. 413, 414 f., 416, 418, § 162 p. 489 f., III § 251 p. 153, § 254 p. 155, § 272 p. 172, IV § 655 p. 190, § 824 p. 363.

(3) Suffix *-men-*. Dat. Skr. *dā́-man-ē* Gr. *δό-μεν-αι* 'to give' Lat. 2nd pl. imper. *da-min-ī*; Skr. *vid-mán-ē* 'to learn' Gr. *ἴδ-μεν-αι* 'to know'. Loc. Skr. *dhár-man* 'to hold up' Gr. *δό-μεν* 'to give'. See II § 71 p. 165, § 117 p. 367, III § 251 p. 153, § 257 p. 158.

(4) Suffix *-u̯en-*. Dat. Skr. *dā-ván-ē* Gr. Cypr. *δο-Ϝεν-αι*

Keltic. Windisch, Zum irischen Infinitiv, Bezzenberger's Beitr. II 72 ff. Loth, Le particip de nécessité en celtique, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 66 ff.

Germanic. A. Denecke, Der Gebrauch des Infinitivs bei den ahd. Übersetzern des 8. und 9. Jahrh., Leipz. 1880. Paul, Zur Bildung des schwachen Präteritums und Participiums, Paul-Braune's Beitr. VII 136 ff.

Balto-Slavonic. W. Miller, Über den letto-slavischen Infinitiv, Kuhn-Schleicher's Beitr. VIII 156 ff. Schleicher, *-tē* (d. i. *-tai*) als Endung des Infinitivs im Litauischen, *ibid.* I 27 ff. Forssmann, Der Infinitiv im Ostromir'schen Evangelium, Festschr. des Protest. Gymn. zu Strassb. 1888 p. 245 ff. Miklosich, Das Participium praet. act. I (in Old Slovenian), Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad. LXXXI (1875) 83 ff. *Idem*, Das Partic. praes. act. auf *ę* statt auf *y*, *ibid.* 95 ff.

Att. *δοῦναι* 'to give'; Avest. *vīd-van-ōi* Gr. *εἰδέναι* for **ϝειδ-ϝεν-αι* 'to know'. Loc. Avest. *rōiþ-wan* 'to make run together', with which perhaps should be compared Greek Infinitives like as *δοῦν* = **δο-ϝεν* (§ 1093. 4).

(5) *-sen-* i. e. *s+en* (cp. 2). Skr. loc. *-san-i*, e. g. *sak-ṣáṇ-i* 'to be with'. With this probably goes the Gr. infin. type Ion. Att. *φέρειν* Dor. Lesb. El. *φέρην* for **φερε-εν*. See II § 114 p. 347.

(6) Suffix *-ti-*. Dat. Skr. *pī-táy-ē* 'to drink', see II § 100 p. 298, III § 249 p. 149, § 251 p. 153. The explanation of Avest. *mrūitē* is uncertain, see III § 249 p. 150, § 260 Rem. p. 161. Loc. Lith. *dektè* 'to burn', see III § 260 p. 161, Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 27. The Lith. infinitive in *-ti*, as *dů́-ti* 'to give', and the O.C.Sl. inf. in *-ti* as *da-ti* 'to give', are probably locative, standing for **-tēi̯* or **-tei̯*. But Lith. *-ti* may be derived from **-ti̯-ai̯* (dative); this would become **-ti̯ė*, then **-tė*, and lastly, because of the accent (cp. dat. *δό-μεναι*), *-ti* (cp. 2nd sing. *vertì* for **ver-ti̯ė* § 991 p. 528) and would be related to Skr. *-tay-ē* (see above) as Pruss. *-tw-ei* to Skr. *-tav-ē* (7). And O.C.Sl. *-ti* may also be the Idg. locative *-ē* for *-ēi̯* (cp. Lith. *dektè*). See III § 260 p. 161, Hirt, Idg. Forsch. I 28, Streitberg, *ibid.* 271 und 289. It is wholly doubtful how we are to explain such Lith. infinitive forms as *dů́-tė*; see III § 260 p. 161, Hirt, as cited pp. 27 f., Streitberg *ibid.* 271.

(7) Suffix *-tu-*. Dative Skr. *dhā́-tav-ē* 'to place', Pruss. *dā-tw-ei* 'to give'. Locative supine Lat. *da-tū* O.C.Sl. *da-tu* 'to give', ground-form *-tēu̯* or *-teu̯*. Accusative Skr. *dhā́-tu-m* Lat. sup. *con-ditum* Lith. sup. *dė́-tų* (*dė́-tū*, cp. opt. 1st pl. *dė́tum-bime*) O.C.Sl. sup. *dě-tŭ* from √*dhē-* 'place'. See II § 108 pp. 323 ff., III § 250 p. 152, § 261 p. 161 f.

(8) Suffix *-o-*. Accusative Skr. adverbial gerund *abhy-ā-krā́mam* 'approaching', Umbr. *er-om* Osc. *ez-um* 'esse'; Greek similar forms perhaps are aor. 2nd sing. imper. Syrac. *λάβον* 'take' Att. *δεῖξον* 'show' etc. (*λάβον* :

δεῖξον = Skr. *-áj-ē* Gr. χεῦ-αι : *ji-ṣ-ē* Gr. δεῖξαι = Skr. *bhuj-yāi* : *a-vyáth-iṣ-yāi*). See II § 60 p. 114.

(9) There is a close connexion between the Aryan dative infinitive in *-dhi̯āi̯*, as Skr. *váha-dhyāi* 'to convey' (other suffixes with the same value are used, *-dhēyāya -dhāi* and *-dhē*), and the Greek dative infinitive in -σθαι, as ἕπε-σθαι 'to follow'. See § 1089. 12, § 1093. 8, Bartholomae in Rhein. Mus. XLV 151 ff.

§ 1089. Aryan. Alongside of complete Infinitives we meet many other forms which stand on the line between infinitives and nomina actionis. Thus it is impossible to define sharply the infinitive in this branch. In what follows no attempt has been made to give complete lists, at least of what may be called Infinitives *in posse*.

But it is only in the older dialect that Sanskrit shows this rich variety of infinitive forms. The classical language knows only that in *-tum* (9).

(1) Root-Nouns, see § 1088. 1. Dative Skr. *dṛś-ē* Avest. *dar^es-ōi* 'to see'. Locative Skr. *dṛś-í* 'to see'. Gen.-Abl. Skr. *ā-tṛ́d-as* 'to pierce'. Accus. Skr. *śúbh-am* 'to shine, be magnificent', Avest. *dąm* 'to place'.

(2) *-s- -es-* between Root and Case-Suffix; see § 1088. 2. Dat. Skr. *ji-ṣ-ē* 'to conquer' *dōh-ás-ē* 'to milk', Avest. *av-aŋh-ę* 'to help'. Gen.-Abl. Avest. *aęnaŋh-ō* 'to force'.

(3) Suffix *-men-*, see § 1088. 3. Dative Skr. *dā́-man-ē* 'to give', Avest. *stao-mainę* 'to praise'. Locative Skr. *dhár-man* 'to hold up'; Loc. Skr. *sávī-man-i* 'to uplift', Avest. *caš-mainī* 'to behold' (so the new recension, in place of the form *caš-mainę* (given in II § 117 p. 369).

Remark. The Avestic loc. forms *caš-mąn* etc., which we classed as infinitive in II § 117 p. 369 and III § 257 p. 158, comparing them with Cret. inf. δό-μην, are now denied to be infinitive at all by Bartholomae (Idg. Forsch. I 495 f.).

(4) Suffix *-u̯en-*, see § 1088. 4. Dative Skr. *dā-ván-ē* 'to give', Avest. *vīd-van-ōi* 'to know'. Locative Avest. *rōiþ-wan* 'to cause to flow together'.

(5) *-sen-*, see § 1088. 5. Dative Avest. *srao-šān-ē* 'to hear'. Locative Skr. *sak-ṣáṇ-i* 'to be with'.

(6) Suffix *-ter-*, cp. Avest. *darᵉ-þrāi*, no. 11. Locative Skr. *vi-dhartár-i* 'to divide up, distribute'.

(7) Suffix *-i-*. Dative Skr. *dṛś-áy-ē* 'to see'. See II § 93 p. 280, III § 249 p. 149, Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xv 238.

(8) Suffix *-ti-*, see § 1088. 6. Dative Skr. *pī-táy-ē* 'to drink', Avest. *kerᵉ-tēē* 'to complete'. Locative Skr. *sātáu* 'to attain' (III § 260 p. 159 f.). Instrumental Skr. *ūt-ī* 'to help', Avest. *fra-mrūiti* 'to recite', see III § 249 p. 150, Bartholomae as cited 245 f. Gen.-Abl. Avest. *darštōi-š* 'to see'. Accusative Avest. *astīm* (= **a-sth-ti-m*) 'to stand by'.

(9) Suffix *-tu-*, see § 1088. 7. Dative Skr. *dhā́-tav-ē* 'to place' (cp. *dā́tavāi* no. 16). Gen.-Abl. Skr. *dhā́-tō-ṣ* 'to place'. Accusative *dhā́-tu-m* 'to place', which, as has been said, is the only classical type of infinitive.

(10) Suffix *-tno- -tn̥no-*. Locative Avest. *aiwi-šōi-þnē* 'to inhabit', O.Pers. *car-tanaiy* 'to do'. See II § 69 p. 161.[1]) But these may be regarded as the dative from stems containing the suffix *-ten-*.

(11) Suffix *-tro-*. Dat. Avest. *darᵉ-þrāi* 'to hold fast' (cp. 6).

(12) Suffix *-i̯o-* (cp. *-i̯o-* as participial suffix § 1099. 3). Dat. Skr. *bhuj-yāi* 'to enjoy', also *-yaj-yā́* 'to honour' like *sakhyā́*, and *-yájyāya* 'to honour' like *vṛ́kāya* (III § 246 p. 145), Avest. *vaēd-yāi* 'to recognise'. Skr. *a-vyáth-iṣ-yāi* beside the *s*-Aorist 2nd sing. mid. *vyath-iṣ-ṭhās* from *vyath-* 'to waver' (Bartholomae as cited, 229 f.). Loc. Avest. *vereiδyē* 'to help on' (Bartholomae, as cited, 240). Acc. Skr. *-vídya-m* 'to find'.

The same suffix occurs in the Aryan inf. in **-dhi̯āi̯* (dative), as Skr. *váha-dhyāi* Avest. *vazaiδyāi* 'to convey, carry'. This form is a combination of the two noun-stems *vaha-* and *dh-ya-* (√ *dhē-*), compare these other forms, also used

1) The connexion there assumed between the Latin gerund in *-ndo-* and the Lithuanian participia necessitatis in *-tina-* now seems to me very dubious. See Remark to § 1103.

as infinitive, *vayō-dhḗyāya vayō-dhāí* 'for giving of strength' and *śrad-dhḗ* 'for cherishing of trust'. When *váhadhyāi* had got associated with *váha-ti* 'conveys, carries', Sanskrit formed *iṣayá-dhyāi* beside *iṣayá-ti* 'is strong', *pṛṇá-dhyāi* beside *pṛ-ṇá-ti* 'fills', Avest. *srāvayeiδyāi* beside *srāvayęiti* 'causes to hear', *verᵉn-dyāi* beside *verᵉn-tę* 'chooses' (§ 599 p. 142), *merᵉŋgᵉ-dyāi* beside *merᵉnc-inti* 'they destroy' (§ 626 p. 162) and the like. See § 1088. 9.

(13) Suffix *-i̯ā-*. Acc. Avest. *xwairyąm* 'to devour'.

(14) Suffix *-t-i̯o-* (cp. *-t-i̯o-* as a participial suffix § 1100. 4). Dat. Skr. *i-tyāí* 'to go'.

(15) Suffix *-u̯o-*. Loc. Avest. *dā-vōi* 'to place, to give'.

(16) Suffix *-teu̯o-* (cp. Gr. διωκ-τέο-ς § 1099. 4). Dat. Skr. *dā́-tavāí* 'to give', also *sár-tavā́* 'to stream' like *sakhyā́* (III § 246 p. 145). See Bartholomae as cited 224 ff., where conjecture a is offered by way of explaining the double accent.

§ **1090.** The Sanskrit Gerund (II § 108 p. 327) in *-y-ă* *-ty-ă*, as *ā-gam-ya ā-ga-tya* lit. 'with a coming' (III § 278 p. 182), and that in *-tvā́* as *śru-tvā́* lit. 'with a hearing' (II § 108 p. 327, III § 279 p. 183), are Instrumental. There is another group in *-tvī*, as *bhū-tvī́*, which Bartholomae explains as locative (Bezz. Beitr. xv 227, 240, 241); a group in *-tvāya*, which is dative, e. g. *dṛṣ-ṭvāya* (see Bartholomae, pp. 239 f.); and an accusative "adverbial gerund" as *abhy-ā-krā́ma-m* 'approaching'.

§ **1091.** Another class of verbal substantives in Sanskrit consists of the forms which are found in the well-known periphrasis with *cakā́ra ā́sa babhū́va*, the accusative in *-ām*, as *vidā́m*. See § 896, p. 445.

§ **1092.** In Armenian, the Inf. has an *l*-suffix, as *ta-l* 'to give' from indic. *ta-m*. See II § 76 p. 202, Bugge, Etruskisch and Armenisch I 15.

§ **1093.** Greek Infinitive.

(1) It is doubtful whether χεῦ-αι ἐνέγκ-αι and the like

are the dative of Root-Nouns, to be placed with Sanskrit and Latin infinitives such as *-áj-ē* and *ag-ī*. See § 1088. 1.

(2) Dative in *-σ-αι*, belonging to the *s*-aorist, e. g. *δεῖξαι*. See § 1088. 2. Thess. aor. *ὀν-γράψειν* (Att. *ἀνα-γράψαι*) with *ει* = *αι* (I § 96 p. 90), and *-ν* added on the analogy of other infinitives.

(3) Suffix *-men-*. Dative *-μεν-αι*, loc. *-μεν*, e. g. *δό-μεναι* *δό-μεν*. See § 1088. 3. By contamination of *-μεν* and *-ειν* (*φέρειν*) arose Rhod. *-μειν*, e. g. *θέ-μειν*. Cret. *δό-μην* is probably, like *δό-μεν*, Locative, with a strong-grade formative suffix; cp. Avest. loc. *caš-mąn*, see III § 257 p. 158, IV § 1089 Rem. p. 599.

(4) Suffix *-u̯en-*. Dative Cypr. *δο-Ϝεν-αι* Att. *δοῦναι* 'to give', Att. *ἀῆναι* 'to blow' for **ἀϜη-(Ϝ)εναι* (III § 251 p. 153). Forms like *δοῦν* (Theognis), *ἐξ-εῖν* (Oropus), Lesb. *μεθύσθην* may perhaps be locative in *-u̯en* like Avest. *rōiþ-wan*. See § 1088. 4.

(5) A Locative in **-s-en* may perhaps explain Att. *φέρειν* for **φερε-εν*. See § 1088. 5.

(6) Doric and Arcadian infinitives in *-ν*, such as *ἄρχεν* *ἀγαγέν*, are obscure. See the Author's Gr. Gr.[2] § 146. 5 p. 175.

(7) Perhaps the imperative in *-ον* (2nd sing.), as Syrac. *λάβον* (Att. *λαβέ*) Att. *δεῖξον*, are infinitive; see § 1088. 8.

8) The medio-passive Infinitive in *-σθαι* is connected with the Skr. inf. in *-dhyāi -dhēyāya -dhāi -dhē*, see § 1088. 9, and § 1089. 12. *εἴδεσθαι* for instance is the dative of a compound consisting of the noun stem *Ϝειδεσ-* (*εἶδος*) + **dhē-* **dh-* √ *dhē-* 'place, do'); cp. *ἐπεσ-βόλος* and the like, II § 29 p. 50; the Skr. *śrad-dh-ḗ* corresponds exactly. After the second member of such compounds had sunk into a mere suffix, *εἴδεσθαι* was mentally analysed *εἴδε-σθαι* because such was the structure of the forms associated with it, *εἴδε-ται* and the rest. Then this supposed suffix *-σθαι* was added to other tense-stems, and became a type. It received its medio-passive

meaning because this was the meaning of *-μεθα -σθε* and similar personal endings with *θ*.

§ **1094.** Italic Infinitive.

(1) Dat. of Root-Nouns, Lat. depon. pass. *sequ-ī ag-ī*, see § 1088. 1.

(2) Dat. in *-s-ī -r-ī* = **-s-ai̯*, Lat. depon. pass. *da-rī* (O.Lat. *dasī*) *fer-ri*. Loc. in *-s-e -r-e -er-e* = **-s-i *-es-i*, Lat. act. *da-re es-se ag-ere*. See § 1088. 2.

(3) In Old Latin, and later in poetic style, we meet with deponent or passive forms with the ending *-ier -rier*, having the same value as *-ī -rī*; e. g. *ag-ier da-rier*. In II § 162 Rem. 2 p. 490 f. an attempt is made to explain this type; and my attempt has been followed by others, those of Henry, Miodoński, and Miles (see footnote, page 595); compare further Stolz, Lat. Gr.[2] pp. 380 f. The origin of these forms is still not quite cleared up.

Remark. If we agree with Fr. Müller (Grundr. der Sprachwiss. III 2 p. 651) that *-er* is the exponent of the deponent and passive, and that this was added to forms in *-ī*, we must suppose that it has been abstracted from forms like Osc. *vincter* 'vincitur' karanter 'pascuntur'. As pointed out in § 1082. 1, it is possible that the Latin language once had likewise these indicative forms in *-er*.

(4) An infinitive with formative suffix *-men-* is probably to be seen in the Lat. 2nd pl. imper. in *-minī*, as *da-minī sequi-minī*. See II § 71 p. 165, § 117 p. 373, IV § 1088. 3.

(5) On the Lat. inf. fut. in *-tūrum*, as *da-tūrum*, see § 900 p. 448 and no. (7) below.

(6) An Infinitive type is also to be seen in forms like *āre* in *āre faciō*, see § 578 p. 120, § 896 Rem. p. 445, § 899 p. 447.

(7) In Umbr.-Samn. the inf. pres. act. ends regularly in *-om*, as Umbr. *er-om* Osc. *ez-um* 'esse', Umbr. fašiu 'facere' *stiplo* 'stipulari' (for **stiplā-om*), Osc. deíkum 'dicere' *moltaum* 'multare' fatíum 'fari'. See II § 60 p. 114, IV § 1088. 8, § 1103 Rem., Buck, Der Vocalismus der osk. Spr. 123, von Planta, Vocalismus der osk.-umbr. Dialekte 111 f., 272·

Postgate holds that the Latin inf. fut. in *-tūrum* represents the same type, and that its ending is **-tū+erom*; see § 900 p. 448.

§ **1095.** In Latin there are two Supines, in *-tu-m* (acc.) and in *-tū* (loc.), e. g. *da-tum da-tū*. The former occurs in Umbr., *aseriato* 'observatum' (*-o(m)* for *-u(m)*, I § 49 p. 42). See § 1088. 7.

On the Latin Gerund with *-ndo-* see § 1103. 3.

§ **1096.** Where other languages use the Infinitive, Irish has instead a group of nomina actionis which do not lose their noun character, and when an object is exprest, it is put in the dependent genitive (II § 156 p. 471). As a rule, each verb has some noun from the same root ready to be used as the infinitive; the strong verbs having nouns with the suffixes *-men-*, *-ti-*, *-tu-* and others (Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. Celt. 483 ff., Windisch, Bezz. Beitr. II 75, Ir. Gr. pp. 97 ff.), and the weak verbs usually nouns with *-tu-*, e. g. *nertad* 'a strengthening' beside *nertiam* 'I strengthen' (II § 108 p. 329). Most commonly these are used in the dative with *do* 'to', as Mid.Ir. *do blith* 'to grind, for grinding' (pres. *melim*) *do nertad* 'for strengthening'. This is as near as Irish ever comes to the infinitive of the other European languages.

For the infinitive in Britannic dialects, which differs from Irish only in unimportant particulars, see Zeuss-Ebel, Gr. Celt. 534 ff.

§ **1097.** In Germanic there used to be in prehistoric times a noun with the suffix *-ono-* used in the accusative case as an infinitive; e. g. Goth. *itan* O.H.G. *ezzan* 'to eat' = **ed-ono-m*, Goth. *áihan* O.H.G. *eigan* 'to possess, own'. These come very near the Skr. *ádana-m* neut. 'an eating', and Irish infinitive-nouns such as Mid.Ir. *blegon* 'a milking'. See II § 67 p. 153.

§ **1098.** Balto-Slavonic. (1) *-ti-* forms the infin. stem in Lithuanian, where the infinitive ends with *-ti* or *-tė*, and in Old Church Slavonic, which has *-ti*; e. g. Lith. *dė́-ti dė́-tė*, O.C.Sl. *dě-ti* 'to place, lay'. There are also Lith. inff. in *-tè*

(loc.), as *dektè dẽga* 'it burns fiercely' (cp. Leskien, Bildung der Nomina im Lit., 404). See § 1088. 6.

(2) The Suffix *-tu-* occurs in the Supines Lith. *dė̃tū* i. e. *dė̃-tų* (cp. opt. 1st pl. *dė̃tum-bime*) O.C.Sl. *dě-tŭ* (acc.) and O.C.Sl. *dětu* (loc.), beside which observe Pruss. acc. *dā-tun dā-ton* and dat. *dā-twei* 'to give' used in the ordinary infinitive way (the more usual ending for this meaning is *-t*, as *dā-t*). See § 1088. 7.

(3) A verbal substantive in *-ě* is seen in O.C.Sl. *vidě-achŭ* 'I saw'. See § 903 p. 452.

2. VERBAL ADJECTIVES.

§ 1099. As already explained, no clear line can be drawn between Verbal Adjectives (Participle, Gerundive) and other Adjectives. I mention first such suffixes as are found in more than one language with verbal adjectives.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive. **dhə-tó-s* 'placed, laid': Skr. *-dhitá-s hitá-s* Gr. *θετό-ς* Lat. *crēditu-s* Lith. *dė̃ta-s*. Mid.Ir. *do-breth* 'datum est Skr. *bhr̥-tá-s* 'borne'. Goth. *vaúhr-t-s* Avest. *varš-ta-* 'done'. O.C.Sl. *žę-tŭ* 'cut, mown' Skr. *ha-tá-s* 'struck, killed'. See II § 79 pp. 218 ff., § 140. 3 and 4 p. 452 f.

(2) *-no- -eno- -ono-*, part. pret., mostly passive. Skr. *pūr-ṇá-s* 'filled', Alban. *θενε* (Gegian dialect *θan*) 'said' for **θons-no-* (G. Meyer, Kurzg. Alban. Gramm., p. 42 f., Alban. Stud. II 76, III 65 f.), O.H.G. *gi-tān* 'done' O.C.Sl. *o-děnŭ* 'done again, turned over', A.S. *bund-en* O.Icel. *bund-enn* Goth. *bund-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-buntan* 'bound', O.C.Sl. *neś-enŭ* 'borne'. See II §§ 65—67 pp. 138 ff., § 140. 3 p. 452.

(3) *-i̯o-*, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive). Skr. *dŕ̥ś-ya-s dárś-iya-s* 'conspiciendus, visible, worth seeing', Goth. *un-qēþ-s* 'inexpressible' O.Sax. *un-fōd-i* 'insatiate' (cp. also Gr. *ἅγ-ιο-ς* 'venerandus' Lat. *ex-im-iu-s* 'eximendus, remarkable'). See II § 63 pp. 123 ff., § 140 p. 452.

(4) *-teu̯o-*, *-tu̯o- -tuu̯o-*, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive). Gr. *διωκ-τεό-ς* 'to be followed' for **-τεϝο-ς* (Hesiod *φατειό-ς* for

*φα-τεϜ-ιο-ς?), Skr. *kar-tavyà-s* 'faciendus' (implies **kar-tava-*, cp. inf. in *-tavāi* § 1089. 16 p. 601), Skr. *kár-tva-s kár-tuva-s* 'faciendus'. See II § 61 p. 116, § 63 p. 127, § 64 p. 135, § 140 p. 452.

(5) *-lo-*. Armen. part. aor. act. and pass., *gereal* 'capiens', captus' from *gerem* 'capio', O.C.Sl. part. pret. act. II *nes-lŭ* 'having borne'. See II § 76 p. 212, § 140 p. 451.

(6) *-ent- -nt-*, part. pres., aor., and fut. act. Skr. *bhárant-* Gr. *φέρων* Lat. *ferēns* Goth. *baírand-s* O.C.Sl. *bery* 'ferens', Lith. *vežą̃s* 'vehens'. *s*-Aor. Skr. *dhák-ṣ-at-* 'burning', Gr. *πέψᾱς* 'cooking'. *si̯o*-Fut. Skr. *dā-syá-nt-* Lith. dial. *dů-sius* for **-sians* High Lith. *dů'sęs* Gr. *δώσων* 'daturus'. See II §§ 125 f. pp. 394 ff., § 140 p. 451, IV § 491 p. 50 footnote.

(7) *-u̯es-* part. perf. act. Skr. *ririk-vás-* Gr. *λελοιπ-ώς* Lith. *lìkęs* 'having left', O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-ŭ* 'having milked'. See II § 136 pp. 438 ff., § 140 p. 451.

(8) *-meno- -mono- -mno-*, part. mid.-pass. Pres. Skr. *yája-māna-s* Avest. *yaza-mna-* Gr. *ἁζό-μενο-ς* from √*i̯ag̑-* 'honour', Pruss. *po-klausi-manas* (ī) nom. pl. fem. 'being heard'. Fut. Skr. *dā-syá-māna-s* Gr. *δω-σό-μενο-ς* from √*dō-* 'give'. Perf. Gr. *δε-δό-μενο-ς*. The suffix *-āna-*, which replaces this in Sanskrit with unthematic stems, e. g. pres. *dá-dh-āna-s* perf. *riric-āná-s*, may perhaps come from **-m̥no-*. See II § 67 Rem. p. 152, § 71 pp. 163 ff., § 140 p. 451.

§ 1100. Aryan.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf. mostly passive. Skr. *kr̥-tá-s* Avest. *kerᵉ-ta-* O.Pers. *kar-ta-* 'made', Skr. Avest. O.Pers. *i-ta-* 'gone'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-no-*, in Sanskrit, beside *-to-*, as *pūr-ṇá-s* = *pūr-tá-s* 'filled', *bhinná-s* 'split'. See § 1099. 2.

(3) *-i̯o-*, part. fut. pass. (Gerundive), Skr. *dr̥ś-ya-s dárś-iya-s* Avest. *darᵉs-ya-* 'conspiciendus, visible'. See § 1099. 3.

(4) Skr. *-t-ya-* instead of *-ya-* (3) when the root ends in a short vowel, as *kŕ̥-tya-s* 'faciendus'. See II § 63 p. 123. Cp. infin. *i-t-yāi* beside *bhuj-yāí* § 1089. 12, 14 pp. 601 f.

(5) Skr. *-āy-yā -āy-iya-*, part. fut. pass., based upon the

Infinitive in *-āy*, as *śravā́y-iya-s* 'laudandus, praiseworthy'; next we have *stuṣḗyiya-s* 'celebrandus, praedicandus' based upon the Infin. *stu-ṣ-ḗ* (§ 1089. 2 p. 599). Cp. Mod.H.G. *der zu lobende*, *ein zu lobender* from *zu loben*.

(6) Skr. *-tva-* *-tuva-* and *-tavya-*, part. fut. pass., *kár-tva-s kár-tuva-s* and *kar-tavyà-s* 'faciendus'. See § 1099. 4.

(7) Skr. *-anīya-*, part. fut. pass., derived from nomina actionis in *-ana-m* (II § 67 p. 150), as *karaṇī́ya-s* 'faciendus' from *karaṇa-m* 'a making', cp. *gṛhamēdh-ī́ya-s* adj. of *gṛhamēdhá-s* 'house offering', *tṛt-ī́ya-s* 'tertius' (II § 63 p. 122). These gerunds did not grow common until the later period.

(8) Skr. *-ēnya-* *-ēniya-*, part. fut. pass., as *dṛśḗniya-s* 'conspiciendus', from an *s*-aorist *yąs-ḗnya-s* 'cohibendus'. A suggestion may be offered that this form comes from the infin. with *-ē*; compare the remarks on *-na-* as a secondary suffix in Sanskrit, vol. II § 66 p. 142.

(9) *-ent-* *-nt-*, part. pres., fut., and aor. active. Skr. *s-ánt-* Avest. *h-ant-* 'being', Skr. *váha-nt-* Avest. *vaza-nt-* 'vehens', fut. Skr. *vak-ṣyá-nt-* Avest. *vax-šya-nt-* from *vac-* 'to speak', *s*-aorist Skr. *dhák-ṣ-at-* from *dah-* 'to burn'. See § 1099. 6.

(10) *-o-*, part. pres. active. Skr. *pra-mṛṇá-s* 'destroying' with indic. *-mṛṇá-ti*, Avest. *perᵉsō* 'asking' with indic. *perᵉsa-iti*. See III § 198 p. 78.

(11) Skr. *-u-*, part. pres. active of *s*-Desideratives (§ 667 pp. 198 ff.), as *dipsú-ṣ* 'wishing to hurt' beside indic. *dípsa-ti*, and from verbs in *-áya-ti* (§ 794 pp. 326 ff., § 795 pp. 330 f.), as *bhājayú-ṣ* from indic. *bhājáya-ti*. See II § 104 p. 314. With the latter participles compare those from denominative verbs, such as *aśvayú-ṣ*. II § 105 p. 319.

(12) Skr. *-uka-*, part. pres. active, formed from *-u-* (11) with *-ka-*, as *śikṣu-ka-s* 'sharing' (specially common in the Brāhmanas). See II § 88 p. 264.

(13) *-ues-*, part. perf. active. Skr. *ci-kit-vás* Avest. *ci-kiþ-wah-* beside indic. Skr. *ci-kḗt-a* 'knows'. See § 1099. 7.

(14) Skr. *-tavant-*, part. perf. active, formed from *-ta-* (1)

with *-vant-*, as *kṛtá-vant-* 'factum habens, πεποιηκώς' (cp. the unique Avestic *(vī-)verᵉzda-vant-* = ai. *vṛddhá-vant-* from *vardh-* 'to help, exalt'). See II § 127 p. 406, Bartholomae, Stud. zur idg. Sprachg. I 14 ff.

(15) Skr. *-māna-* Avest. *-mana- -mna-*, part. mid.-pass. with thematic stems. Pres. Skr. *bhára-māṇa-s* from *bhar-* 'to bear', Avest. *barᵉze-mana- barᵉze-mna-* from *barz-* 'to raise oneself, be high'. Fut. Skr. *yak-ṣyá-māṇa-s* from *yaj-* 'to honour' Avest. *varᵉšya-mna-* from *varz-* 'to work'. See § 1099. 8.

(16) Ar. *-āna-*, part. mid.-pass. with thematic stems. Pres. Skr. *dá-dh-āna-s* Avest. *da-þ-āna-* beside indic. Skr. *dá-dhā-ti* 'places'. Perf. Skr. *ja-gm-āná-s* from *gam-* 'to go', Avest. *vāverᵉz-āna-* from *varz-* 'to work'. The ground-form of this *-āna-* is doubtful. See § 1099. 8.

§ **1101.** Armenian.

(1) *-lo-*, part. aor., e. g. *gereal* 'capiens, captus', from the *ç*-Aorist *gereçeal* (§ 905[a] p. 453). See § 1099. 5.

(2) *-auλ* (later *-ōλ -oλ*) forming nomina agentis and part. pres. act., e. g. *gerauλ* 'captor, capiens'. Bugge, Idg. Forsch. I 437 derives *-auλ* from Idg. *-ə-tro-* (II § 62 pp. 118 ff., § 119 pp. 376 ff.).

(3) Two part. fut., both with active and passive meaning, are made from the infinitive in *-l* + *-i* and *-oç*, as *gereli* and *gereloç*.

§ **1102.** Greek.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive (but generally used as adj.) and gerundival (expressing capacity, possibility, or the like, II § 79 p. 220); e. g. δρα-τό-ς 'skinned', λυ-τό-ς 'capable of being set free'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-teṷo-*, part. fut. passive, as διωκ-τέο-ς 'fit to be pursued'. See § 1099. 4.

(3) *-ent- -nt-*, part. pres., aor., and fut. active, as λείπων λιπών λείψᾱς λείψων from λείπω 'I leave'. See § 1099. 6.

(4) *-ṷes-* (*-ṷet*), part. perf. active, as λε-λοιπ-ώς. See § 1099. 7.

(5) *-meno-*, part. mid.-pass. from any mid.-pass. indicative; *λειπό-μενο-ς λιπό-μενο-ς λειψά-μενο-ς λειψό-μενο-ς λε-λειμ-μένο-ς*. See § 1099. 8.

§ **1103.** Italic.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive (for the use of this participle with deponents see II § 79 p. 219 f.). Lat. *scrīp-tu-s*, Umbr. *screihtor* pl. 'scripti' Osc. *scriftas* pl. 'scriptae'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) Lat. *-tūro-*, part. fut. active, as *datūru-s*. Possibly developed out of the inf. in *-tūrum*. See § 900 p. 448.

(3) Ital. *-endo-*, part. fut. passive (Gerundive.) Lat. *ferun-du-s ferendu-s faciundu-s faciendu-s*, *juvandu-s*, *videndu-s*, Umbr. *an-ferener* gen. 'circumferendi' *pihaner* gen. 'piandi', Osc. úpsannam 'operandam'. In the explanation suggested in vol. II § 69 p. 161 f. (cp. Bartholomae, Stud. idg. Spr. II 96) I went far astray, chiefly because the Lith. participles in *-tina-s*, which I compared, are probably analogical and belong only to Balto-Slavonic (§ 1106. 3). Of the explanations which I have met with in the meantime, those of Thurneysen, Conway, and Dunn (for references see footnote to page 596) in my opinion none will do.

Remark. Weisweiler's investigations (for which see same page) make it extremely probable that 'something to be done' is really the original meaning of this Gerundive; and that the Gerund (which is not found in our records of Umbrian or Samnite) is a mere outgrowth of the gerundive, such a phrase as *virtūs colenda est* suggesting *colendum est* (similarly *patriae dēfendendae causā* suggested *dēfendendī causā*) as an impersonal construction with similar meaning (*colitur* = *cultiō fit*, *cultum est* = *cultiō facta est*, hence *colendum est* = *cultiō facienda est*). And since the other Idg. languages, so far as we know, have nothing which we can compare with the suffix of the Italic gerundive, it becomes probable *a priori* that the gerundive grew up in Italy, and was based upon the infinitive of purpose, just as Mod.H.G. *der zu lobende*, *ein zu lobende* comes from *zu loben*, and Skr. *śravā́y-iya-s* 'laudandus' from inf. **śravāi* (§ 1100. 5 p. 102). On this I base the following conjecture.[1])

1) This was written before I learnt that Pott (Et. Forsch. II[1] 239 and II[2] 517) and Schröder (Kuhn's Zeitschr. XIV 354) had already analysed *ferendus* into *feren-do-*, and that in the final part of it, *-do-*, they saw the Mod.H.G. *zu* (Engl. *to*). But their view of the first part of *feren-do-* is untenable.

In pr. Italic it was customary to combine the accus. infinitive in *-m*, such as Umbr. *fero(m)* fašiu(m), with the postposition **dō* or **de* 'to' (cp. Lat. *en-do indu*, *dō-nicum dō-nec*, Avest. *vaęsman-da* 'to the house', Gr. ἡμέτερόν-δε ἡμέτερον δῶ, O.Ir. *do* 'to' A.S. *tō* O.H.G. *zuo* and *zī* 'to', see III § 223 Rem. 3 p. 102, Fick, Wtb.[4] 457), the combination meaning the same as our *to* with the infinitive. *-md-* must have become *-nd-* in pr. Ital. (cp. O.Lat. *quan-de* Umbr. *pane* and the like, I § 207 p. 174); this isolated the inf. + postposition from the ordinary inf. in *-m*. Then these forms ending with *dō* or *de* were made the foundation for derivative adjectives in the *o*-declension, on the same principle as *subjugu-s*, *anteno-vissimu-s*, *perfidu-s* come from *sub jugō*, *ante novissimum*, *per fidum* (II § 15 p. 31, § 35 p. 62).

The explanation of the forms *plendu-s videndu-s flandu-s arandu-s* depends upon our view of the Umbr.-Samn. infinitive (Osc. fatíum 'fari' *censaum* 'censere' Umbr. *stiplo(m)* 'stipulari' — *-o(m)* contracted from *-ā-om*). Firstly, these may be transformations of *-ē-m* and *-ā-m* on the lines of the thematic conjugation. In view of all that has been said in § 487 p. 41 f. §§ 578 ff. pp. 118 ff., and of infin. forms like Avest. *dąm* 'to place, give' (§ 1089. 1 p. 599), **plē-m *vidē-m *flā-m *arā-m* in the same sense as *plēre*, *vidēre* etc. would seem nothing strange. In Lat. *plendu-s arandu-s* Osc. úpsannam, then, we should see these older infinitive forms unchanged. For Lat. *rotundu-s* (beside *rota*) *rubicundu-s* (beside *rubicāre Rubicō* from **rubico-*) it would be needful to assume inf. **rotō-m *rubicō-m* (cp. *aegrō-tu-s*); *rotundu-s* for **rotōndo-s* like *latrunculu-s* for **latrōn--culu-s*. And the agreement in form between *arandu-s videndu-s* and part. pres. *arant- vident-*, whilst in **ferondo-s* (*ferundu-s*) the vowel did not agree with *ferent-*, produced very soon, indeed in pr. Italic, the re-formate *ferendo-s*. Secondly: it is possible that even in pr. Italic the Oscan forms fatíum *censaum* existed, in the shape **-ē-i̯om *-ā-i̯om* (cp. 1st sing. pres. in **-ē-i̯ō *-ā-i̯ō*),[1]) and so there were also in use *-ē(i̯)on-do- -ā(i̯)on-do-* (cp. Lat. *faciundu-s* beside Umbr. fašiu(m) 'facere'). Then the relation of **ferondo-* to the participial stem **feront-* (cp. *eunt-* etc. II § 126 p. 401) produced not only *ferendo-* following *ferent-* but also *arando- videndo-* following *arant- vident-*. In this case a simple explanation is possible for *rotundu-s rubicundu-s*.[2]) They would go with *rotāre rubicāre*, and would come regularly from **rotā(i̯)ondo- *rubicā(i̯)ondo-* through the intermediate stage of **rotōndo-*

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1) This would allow a simple explanation for Umbr. *suboco* in the formula *sobocau suboco* 'I entreat entreatingly'. It would be inf. like Lith. *degtì* in *degtì dẽga* 'it burns up bright' (cp. § 473 Rem. p. 17 f.). But it would be perhaps not acc., for **-ā-i̯o-m*, but instr., for **-ā-i̯ō* ('with weeping'). For the ending of the 1st sing. *subocau* see § 980 p. 520.

2) What is gained by connecting the group in *-cundu-s* with the Greek κ-perfect I cannot see (cp. Weisweiler, p. 41; Johansson, Beitr. Gr. Spr., 91 f.).

**rubicōndo-* (cp. 1st sing. *rotō* for **rotā-(i̯)ō*) — *rotundus* would mean 'that which goes rolling, rollable'. These then will have kept the older form of the infinitive more exactly than *rotandu-s rubicandu-s*, because they so soon became simple adjectives.

Of these two explanations I prefer the second.

The Lat. adjj. in *-bundu-s* cannot be directly connected with the *b*-future, as is shewn by *furibundu-s* (beside *furere*) *pavibundu-s* (beside *pavēre*) and like forms. If we are not to start from nouns with the suffix *-bho- -bhā-* (II § 78 pp. 216 ff.), the best thing is to suppose that they are compounds containing *-bhu̯-o-* (from √*bheu̯-* 'to be come, be', cp. Skr. *á-bhv-a-m*). We then compare the Skr. *váha-dhyāi* and similar compounds (§ 1089. 12 p. 600).

(4) *-ent- -nt-*, part. pres. active. Lat. *prae-sēns* Osc. *prae-sentid* 'praesente', Lat. *sedēns* Umbr. zeřef *serse* 'sedens'. See § 1099. 6.

(5) The part. perf. active with *-u̯es-* must have been living in Umbro-Samnite, because it was used to make the future perfect, as Umbr. *dersicust* 'dixerit'; cp. also Osc. *sipus* 'sciens'. See II § 136 p. 445, IV § 872 p. 421, § 1099. 7. p. 606.

§ **1104.** Keltic.

(1) The *-to-* of the part. perf. (passive), which is contained in the pret. passive, e. g. Mid.Ir. *do-breth* 'datum est', was exchanged for *-te -the*, which consist of *-to-* + *-i̯o-*; e. g. O.Ir. *brithe brethe* 'brought'. Cymric had in place of *-to-* the ending *-(e)tic* i. e. *-t-īco-*. See II § 79 p. 232 f., IV § 1099. 1.

(2) O.Ir. *-ti -thi*,[1]) part. fut. passive ("participle of necessity"); e. g. *messi* 'iudicandus' *carthi cartha̯i* 'amandus'. Mod.Cymr. *cara-dwy* Cornish *cara-dow*.

Remark. The last who has discussed this participle is Ascoli (Sprachwiss. Briefe, 76 ff.); but he comes to no definite conclusion. Thurneysen writes: "I know no plausible explanation. Ir. *-thi* admits of no ending with orig. *-os* or *-ā*. British has for final the diphthong which has developed in stem-syllables from *ei* (or from *ē* in borrowed words), e. g. O.Bret. *in-aatoe*, a gloss, 'ineundum' (√*ag-*) Mod.Cymr. *caradwy* 'amandus'. The suffix perhaps originally had *ă* before the dental even in primary verbs, cp. Brit. **aga-toi*, Ir. *bethi* for **biathi* 'to cut' beside part. passive *bīthe* (this word *bethi* I have wrongly explained in Kuhn's Zeitschr. xxxi 92), *for-canti* 'to teach' for **-canathi*. Its

1) The supposed ending *-tī -thī* is due to a scribe's blunder, *dénti* 'faciendum' being written *déntí*.

connexion with the stem of the part. passive, which came about in Irish with primary verbs, must then be secondary; it is not carried out in Old Irish. We should arrive at something like **-ateivis* as the original ending."

§ 1105. Germanic.

(1) *-to-*, part. perf., mostly passive, in Weak Verbs and those Strong ones which had a weak preterite (§ 907 p. 454). Goth. *salbō-þ-s* O.H.G. *gi-salbō-t* 'anointed', Goth. *vaúrh-t-s* O.H.G. *gi-worht -woraht* 'worked'. See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-no- -eno- -ono-*, with the same function as *-to-* (1), only in Strong Verbs. O.H.G. *gi-tān* 'done', O.H.G. *bund-en* O.Icel. *bund-enn* Goth. *bund-an-s* O.H.G. *gi-buntan* 'bound' (II § 65 p. 138, § 67 pp. 151, 153). See § 1099. 2.

(3) *-i̯o-*, part. fut. passive, seems establisht for the earlier periods of Germanic as a participial suffix, e. g. Goth. *un-qēþ-s* 'inexpressible', O.Sax. *un-fōdi* 'insatiate'. See § 1099. 3.

(4) *-nt-*, part. pres. active. Goth. *kiusa-nd-s* O.H.G. *chiosanti* 'trying, choosing' (II § 126 p. 402). See § 1099. 6.

§ 1106. Balto-Slavonic.

(1) *-to-* part. perf., mostly passive. Living in all classes of verbs in Lithuanian, as *sùk-ta-s* 'turned'. In O.C.Sl. however its use is circumscribed; an example of it is *žę-tŭ* 'chopped, hewn, mown' (II § 79 p. 236). See § 1099. 1.

(2) *-no- -eno-*, with the same function as *-to-* (1), and in O.C.Sl. much the commoner; e. g. *danŭ* 'given' *nes-enŭ* 'borne, carried' (II § 67 p. 151, 154). See § 1099. 2.

(3) A part. fut. passive is formed in Lithuanian and Slavonic from the part. in *-to-* (1), and in Slavonic from that in *-no- -eno-*, the further suffix used for this purpose being *-n̥no-* Lith. *-ina-* O.C.Sl. *-ĭno-*; e. g. Lith. *sùk-tina-s* 'fit to be turned' O.C.Sl. *pri-jętĭnu* 'acceptable, preasant', O.C.Sl. *ne-iz-d--reč-enĭnŭ* 'inexpressible'. On consideration of what Leskien says in his Bildung der Nomina im Lit., 255 f., I now believe that the comparison of Lith. *-tina-* with the O.Pers. infin. in *-tanaiy* and the Lat. gerundive in *-ndo-* (II § 69. 2 pp. 161 f.) must be given up.

(4) O.C.Sl. *-lo-*, so-called part. pret. active II, e. g. *nes-lŭ* in *neslŭ jesmĭ* 'I have borne' (§ 903 p. 452). See § 1099. 5.

(5) O.Preuss. *-mana-*, part. pres. passive: *madlas poklausimanas' ast* 'the prayers are heard'. See § 1099. 8.

(6) *-mo-*, part. pres. passive in Baltic and Slavonic; also part. fut. passive in Baltic. Lith. *vežà-ma-s* O.C.Sl. *vezo-mŭ* 'being carried', Lith. fut. *vèszi-ma-s*. Add the so-called Lith. part. pres. active II in *-da-ma-s*, as *sùk-dama-s* 'turning', which is closely connected with the imperf. *-davau* (§ 908 p. 455) and must originally have been middle (deponent). Compare Umbr. persnih-mu 'precamino', II § 72. 1 p. 166.

(7) *-ent- -nt-*, part. pres. and fut. active. Lith. *vẽžą̃s* O.C.Sl. *vezy* 'vehens', Lith. fut. dialectic *vèszius* for **vesziąns*, High-Lith. *vèszę̃s* (O.C.Sl. *byšąštęje byšęštęje* 'futurum, τὸ μέλλον'). See § 1099. 6.

(8) *-u̯es-*, part. perf. active. Lith. *mìlž-ę̃s* O.C.Sl. *mlŭz-ŭ* 'having milked'. In Lith. also in the so-called part. imperf. act. in *-davę̃s*, belonging to the indic. in *-davau* (§ 908 p. 455). See § 1099. 7.